

# PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES  
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

V

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## PREFACE TO VOLUME V

IN this volume we reach the end of the third of Cohn and Wendland's six volumes, and with it the end also of what is perhaps the most important part of Philo's work, in which, to repeat the words used by us in the General Introduction, he expounds what he considers to be the inner and spiritual meaning of various incidents and texts in Genesis.<sup>a</sup>

Mr. Whitaker remains a substantial contributor to this volume, even more so than in Vol. IV. At his death in 1930 he left in ms. the whole of *De Fuga* and *De Somniis*, i., and about a fifth of *De Somniis*, ii. They had not been revised, but though I have made considerable alterations and corrections, especially in *De Somniis*, i., and though the introductions entirely, and the notes almost entirely, are my unassisted work, the translation of this part is fundamentally his. Still, as I said in the Preface to Vol. IV., both in what I have left unchanged and in what I have altered or corrected I must take the final responsibility.

<sup>a</sup> For some account of the nature of the work which still remains to be done see General Introduction, Vol. I. p. x.



## PREFACE

I wish to call the attention of such readers as are interested in the minutiae of the text of this and the preceding volumes to the supplementary list printed on pp. 613 ff., where also I have modified somewhat the remarks I made on this subject in the Preface to Vol. IV.

F. H. C.

*February 1934.*

## LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

### SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

#### VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (De Opificio Mundi)  
Allegorical Interpretation (Legum Allegoriae)
- II. On the Cherubim (De Cherubim)  
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (De Sacrificiis  
Abelis et Caini)  
The Worse attacks the Better (Quod Deterius Potiori  
insidiari solet)  
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (De Posteritate  
Caini)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (Quod Deus im-  
mutabilis sit)  
On Husbandry (De Agricultura)  
On Noah's Work as a Planter (De Plantatione)  
On Drunkenness (De Ebrietate)  
On Sobriety (De Sobrietate)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (De Confusione Lin-  
guarum)  
On the Migration of Abraham (De Migratione  
Abrahami)  
Who is the Heir (Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres)  
On the Preliminary Studies (De Congressu quaerendae  
Eruditionis gratia)
- V. On Flight and Finding (De Fuga et Inventione)  
On the Change of Names (De Mutatione Nominum)  
On Dreams (De Somniis)
- VI. On Abraham (De Abrahamo)  
On Joseph (De Iosepho)  
Moses (De Vita Mosis)

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### VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)  
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
- VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)  
On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)  
On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)
- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)  
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)  
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)  
Flaccus (In Flaccum)  
Hypothetica <sup>1</sup> (Apologia pro Iudaeis)  
On Providence <sup>1</sup> (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)  
GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

### SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis <sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus <sup>2</sup> (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

<sup>1</sup> Only two fragments extant.

<sup>2</sup> Extant only in an Armenian version.

ON FLIGHT AND FINDING  
(DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE <sup>a</sup>)

<sup>a</sup> In Mangey's and earlier editions the Latin title is given as *De Profugis*.



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS treatise, which follows at once on the preceding, continues the exposition of Genesis xvi. from the middle of vs. 6 to vs. 12, omitting vs. 10. These verses are quoted in full in § 1, but the discussion is chiefly confined to a few words or phrases, namely "fled," "found," and "fountain." The first point to be noted is that Hagar fled. Flight may be due to three different causes: hatred, fear, and shame (2-3). Hagar is an example of the third, and the story shows that the inward monitor or Elenchus, which is typified by the angel, taught her that this shame must be tempered by courage (4-6).

But we must first say something about the other two causes of flight. Hatred was the cause of Jacob's flight from Laban. Here the two may stand from one point of view for the materialistic and the theistic creed respectively, and from another for the fool and the wise (7-13). On either interpretation the Jacob soul, finding itself unable to correct the Laban soul, will flee from association with it and repudiate it. Jacob's wives, that is his powers, joined in this repudiation, and that part of their speech in which they say that God has taken from Laban his wealth and glory and given them to themselves lead to a short meditation on true wealth and glory (15-19). A further proof of the need of flight is drawn from

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Laban's expostulation that he would have sent Jacob forth with mirth and music, which the Practiser knows to be mere enticement to return to the lower life (20-22).

For flight caused by fear we have the flight of Jacob to Laban and Haran before the wrath of Esau. Here Laban represents the brilliancy of secular life, and the lesson to be drawn is that the right way to answer the unjust, when they claim that the good things of the world fall to them, is to shew how these good things can be justly used (23-27). Let us not therefore shrink from wealth, from power, or from the banquet. Our liberality will convict the spendthrift and the miser, our just administration the tyrant, and our abstemiousness the glutton (28-32). Indeed those who affect the ascetic life are for the most part hypocrites, and to function in the outer world is the best preparation for the higher life of contemplation (33-37). The ministry to men must precede the ministry to God (38).

Again, Jacob's flight to Haran will signify the proper attitude of the soul in the practising and progressive stage. It must fly the hard ignorance of Esau, but also it is not as yet fit to share the higher life of Isaac (39-43). And Laban to whom it is sent is after all called the brother of Rebecca or persistence, while Haran where he lives represents, as elsewhere, the world of sense, the knowledge of which is necessary to the progressing, and after some days he will be recalled thence to the higher life (44-47). Similarly Isaac bids him go to Mesopotamia, that is to the mid-torrent of life's river, and to the house of Bethuel or daughter of God, wisdom, that is, who, though a daughter, is also a father (48-52).

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

Other thoughts on flight are suggested by the cities of refuge. The law states that the intentional murderer shall be put to death, but that the unintentional homicide may find refuge in an appointed place (53). Before, however, considering this latter point, he notes that the first clause of the law runs : " If a man strikes another and he dies, let him be put to death with death." Philo, as so often, fails to understand that the last words of this are the Greek translation of the common Hebrew idiom for "surely be put to death," and infers that "dying with death" indicates the real, the spiritual death (54-55). Other texts are quoted to shew that, as virtue is the true life, vice is the true death (56-59), though, in another sense, vice can never die, as shewn by the sign given to Cain (60-64). Another part of the same text, where it is said of the involuntary homicide that God delivered the victim to his hands, suggests that God employs subordinate ministers for the lower, though beneficial and necessary, work of punishment, and this he supports, as elsewhere, by the use of "we" in the first chapter of Genesis, and the entrustment of cursing to the less worthy and of blessing to the worthier tribes (65-74). Again, the words "I will give thee a place" may be understood to mean that God Himself is the place where the innocent can take refuge (75-76). When we read that the wilful murderer who takes refuge in a sanctuary shall be dragged from it and put to death, it means that the voluntary evil-doer, who takes refuge with God, that is, ascribes to Him the responsibility for his sins, blasphemes (77-82); and how deadly a sin blasphemy against the Divine Parent is, is shown by the very next words where the



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death penalty is assigned to those who speak ill of their earthly parents (83-84). The cities of refuge are only for those who truly understand the difference between the voluntary and involuntary (85-86).

As to the cities of refuge, four questions arise : (1) why they are in Levitical territory ; (2) why they are six in number ; (3) why three are beyond Jordan and three in Canaan ; (4) why the refugee must remain till the death of the High Priest (87). The answer to the first is that the Levites themselves are fugitives from human ties, and also, as in the story of Exodus xxxii., the slayers of their kinsfolk, interpreted as the body, the unreasoning nature, and speech (88-93). To the second and the third questions the answer is that, of the six potencies of God where the guiltless may take refuge, three stand far above humanity, while three are closer to our nature (95-105). To answer the fourth point, which he thinks can hardly be understood literally without absurdity, Philo identifies the High Priest with the Logos and points out various analogies between the two. He thus explains the ordinance as meaning that, while this High Priest lives in the soul, the sins which have been banished cannot return (106-118).

The second part of the treatise (119-175) is concerned with finding, which naturally calls up the idea of seeking. We have four variants of this : not seeking and not finding, seeking and finding, not seeking and finding, seeking and not finding (119-120). The first of these is dismissed very rapidly with one or two illustrations of which Pharaoh's obstinacy is the chief (121-125). Seeking and finding is shewn in the case of Joseph who, prompted by a "man," that is the inward monitor, "found" his

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING

brethren in Dothan, the place of those who have abandoned delusion (126-131); of Isaac who asked "where is the victim?" and "found" that God would provide it (132-135); of the Israelites who asked about the manna, and "found" that it was the Word of God (137-139); of Moses who, when questioning his mission, "found" the answer in "I will be with you" (140-142). For seeking and not finding we have the examples of Laban seeking the images, the Sodomites seeking the door, Korah seeking the priesthood, and Pharaoh seeking Moses to kill him (143-148). Then follows a more elaborate allegorizing of the story of Judah's intercourse with Tamar into a picture of the earnest soul wooing piety, to which he first gives as pledges the ring of trustworthiness, the chain of consistency, and the staff of discipline, and afterwards, to test her fidelity, sends the kid which represents the good things of secular life. The connexion of this story with the subject lies in the phrase "the messenger did not 'find' her" (149-156). Then, after a shorter spiritualizing of the incident of the goat of the sin-offering in Leviticus x. (157-160),<sup>a</sup> the story of the Burning Bush is interpreted as the fruitless desire of the soul to know the causes of phenomena which are ever perishing and yet are ever renewed (161-165).

The fourth head of finding without seeking suggests many points which have been noted elsewhere; primarily, of course, the self-taught nature, Isaac, and then the delivery of the Hebrew women before the midwives come, the speed with which Jacob found the meat which God delivered into his hand, and the automatic growth on the fallow land in the

<sup>a</sup> See note *ad loc.*

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Sabbatical year (166-172). This last naturally leads to some thought on the Sabbatical gift of peace (173-174), but to Philo's mind the best example is the promise to the Israelites in Deuteronomy of cities, houses, cisterns, vineyards, oliveyards, for which they have not laboured, all of them really types of spiritual blessings (175-176).

The next phrase in the text which calls for discussion is "spring of water." "Spring" is used as the symbol for five different things: first for the mind, which in the Creation story is described as the spring which waters the whole face of the earth, *i.e.* of the body (177-182); secondly it is used for education, and thus the twelve springs of Elim or "gateway" signify the Encyclia, the gateway to knowledge; and, since beside these springs there grew up seventy palm-trees, we have a short digression on the virtues of the two numbers (183-187). Thirdly there are the springs of folly, and this is illustrated by the phrase "uncovering the fount of the woman," where the woman is sense and her husband mind, and uncovering the fount comes when the sleeping mind allows each of the senses to have free play (188-193). Fourthly there are the springs of wisdom, from which Rebecca drew (194-196); and fifthly God Himself, Who is called by Jeremiah the fountain of life. And since Jeremiah adds that the wicked dig for themselves broken cisterns which hold no water, we see the contrast with the wise who, like Abraham and Isaac, dig real wells (197-201).

The fountain by which Hagar was found was the fountain of wisdom, but hers was not yet a soul which could draw from it (202). The treatise concludes with shorter notes on a few other phrases

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in the passage. When the angel asked, "Whence comest thou, and whither goest thou?" it was not because he did not know the answer, since his omniscience is shewn by his knowing that the child would be a boy. The first part of the question was a rebuke for her flight, the second an indication of the uncertainty of the future (205-206). Something is added about the description given in the angel's words of the Ishmael or sophist nature (207-211). And finally we note that Hagar acknowledges the angel as God, for to one in her lower stage of servitude God's servants are as God Himself (211-end).

## ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΕΣΕΩΣ

[546]  
<sup>1</sup> I. | “Καὶ ἐκάκωσεν αὐτὴν Σάρα, καὶ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῆς. εὗρε δὲ αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Σούρ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· παιδίσκη Σάρας, πόθεν ἔρχῃ, καὶ ποῦ πορεύῃ; καὶ εἶπεν· ἀπὸ προσώπου Σάρας τῆς κυρίας μου ἐγὼ ἀποδιδράσκω. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· ἀποστράφηθι πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν σου καὶ ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· <ἰδοὺ> σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχεις, καὶ τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, ὅτι ἐπήκουσε κύριος τῇ ταπεινώσει σου. οὗτος ἔσται ἀγροῖκος ἄνθρωπος· αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ αἱ χεῖρες πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτόν.”

2 εἰρηκότες ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τὰ πρέποντα περὶ τῶν προπαιδευμάτων καὶ περὶ κακώσεως, ἐξῆς τὸν περὶ φυγάδων ἀναγράψομεν τόπον. μέμνηται γὰρ πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν φάσκων ἐπὶ τῆς “Ἀγαρ, ὅτι κακωθεῖσα “ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς κυρίας.”

3 Αἰτίας οὖν ἔγωγε τρεῖς εἶναι νομίζω φυγῆς, μῖσος, φόβον, αἰδῶ. μίσει μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκες

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I. " And Sarai evil-entreated her, and she fled <sup>1</sup> from her face. And an angel of the Lord found her at the fountain of water in the wilderness, at the fountain in the way to Shur. And the angel of the Lord said unto her, ' Handmaid of Sarai, whence comest thou ? and whither goest thou ? ' And she said, ' From the face of Sarai my mistress I am fleeing. ' And the angel of the Lord said unto her, ' Return to thy mistress, and humble thyself under her hands ' (Gen. xvi. 6-9). And the angel of the Lord said unto her, ' Behold, thou art with child, and shalt bear a son ; and thou shalt call his name Ishmael, because the Lord hath hearkened to thy humiliation. He shall be a dweller in the fields ; his hands shall be against all men, and all men's hands shall be against him ' " (*ibid.* 11, 12).

Having in the <sup>2</sup> preceding treatise said what was fitting about the courses of preliminary training and about evil-entreatment, we will next proceed to set forth the subject of fugitives. For the Lawgiver has in several places made mention of those who run away, as he does here, saying of Hagar that upon being evil-entreated " she ran away from the face of her mistress."

There are, I think, three motives for flight : hatred, <sup>3</sup> fear, and shame. From hatred wives leave husbands

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ἄνδρας καὶ ἄνδρες γυναῖκας ἀπολείπουσιν, φόβῳ δὲ  
 τοὺς γονεῖς παῖδες καὶ δεσπότης οἰκέται, αἰδοῖ δὲ  
 τοὺς ἐταίρους, ὅποτε μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν τι πράξειαν  
 αὐτοῖς, οἱ φίλοι· ἤδη δὲ καὶ πατέρας οἶδα διὰ τὸ  
 ἀβροδίατον αὐστηρὸν καὶ φιλόσοφον βίον παίδων  
 ἐκτραπομένους<sup>1</sup> καὶ δι' αἰδῶ τὸν ἀγρὸν πρὸ τῆς  
 4 πόλεως οἰκεῖν ἐλομένους. τῶν τριῶν τούτων αἰτιῶν  
 ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς ὑπομνήματα.  
 ὁ γοῦν ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ μίσει μὲν τὸν πενθερὸν  
 [547] Λάβαν, φόβῳ δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡσαῦ | ἀποδιδράσκει,  
 5 ὡς αὐτίκα παραστήσομεν.<sup>2</sup> ἡ δ' Ἀγαρ ἀπαλλάτ-  
 τεται δι' αἰδῶ· σημεῖον δὲ τὸ ὑπαντᾶν  
 αὐτῇ ἄγγελον, θεῖον λόγον, ᾧ χρή παραινέσοντα  
 καὶ ὑψηγησόμενον ἐπανόδου τῆς εἰς τὸν δεσποίνης  
 οἶκον, ὃς καὶ θαρσύνων φησὶν· “ἐπήκουσε κύριος  
 τῇ ταπεινώσει σου,” ἣν οὔτε διὰ φόβον ἔσχες οὔτε  
 διὰ μῖσος—τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγεννοῦς, τὸ δὲ φιλαπεχθή-  
 μονος πάθος ψυχῆς,—ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ σωφροσύνης  
 6 ἀπεικονίσματος, αἰδοῦς. εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν, εἰ διὰ  
 φόβον ἀπεδίδρασκε, τῇ τὸν φόβον ἐπανατειναμένη  
 παρηγορησαί πρᾶσπαθεῖν· τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἀσφαλές  
 ἦν ἐπανερχεσθαι τῇ φυγούσῃ, πρότερον δ' οὔ.  
 ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν οὐδεὶς προεντυγχάνει ἅτε ἐξευμενι-  
 σθείσῃ δι' ἑαυτῆς, τὴν δὲ ὁ δι' εὐνοίαν φίλος ὁμοῦ  
 καὶ σύμβουλος ἑλεγχος διδάσκει μὴ αἰδέσθαι μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐτολμία χρῆσθαι· ἥμισυ γὰρ ἀρετῆς εἶναι  
 τὴν δίχα τοῦ θαρρεῖν αἰδῶ.

7 II. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀκριβεστέρους χαρακτηῖρας ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἐντραπομένους (W.H.D.R.), a frequent synonym  
 for αἰδεῖσθαι. <sup>2</sup> MSS. παραστήσομαι.

<sup>a</sup> Or “by conviction” (personified). See note on *Quod Deus* 125.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 3-7

and husbands wives ; from fear children leave their parents and servants their masters ; from shame friends leave their fellows when something they have done displeases them. I know fathers whose effeminacy has made them unwilling to face the strict and philosophic life of their sons, and who out of shame have chosen to live in the country instead of in the city. Instances of the working of these 4 three motives are to be found in the sacred writings. Jacob, the Practiser, as we shall presently shew, flies from his father-in-law Laban out of hatred, from his brother Esau out of fear. Hagar's motive 5 for departing is shame. A sign of this is the fact that an angel, a Divine Word, meets her to advise the right course, and to suggest return to the house of her mistress. This angel addresses her in the encouraging words, "The Lord hath hearkened to thy humiliation" (Gen. xvi. 11), a humiliation prompted neither by fear nor by hatred, the one the feeling of an ignoble, the other of a quarrelsome soul, but by shame, the outward expression of inward modesty. Had she run away 6 owing to fear, the angel would probably have moved her who had inspired the fear to a gentler frame of mind ; for then, and not till then, would it have been safe for the fugitive to go back. But no angel first approached Sarai, seeing that she is favourably disposed of her own accord. But it is Hagar who is taught by the angel monitor,<sup>a</sup> whose goodwill to her makes him at once her friend and counsellor, not to feel only shame, but to be of good courage as well ; pointing out that shame apart from confidence is but a half virtue.

II. The ensuing argument will bring to light the 7



- ἐξῆς μηνύσει λόγος. ἐπανιτέον δ' ἐπὶ τὰ προταθέντα<sup>1</sup> κεφάλαια καὶ ἀρκτέον ἀπὸ τῶν μίσους χάριν ἀποδιδρασκόντων. “ἐκρυψε” γάρ φησιν “Ἰακώβ Λάβαν τὸν Σύρον, τοῦ μὴ ἀπαγγεῖλαι αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀποδιδράσκει, καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ  
 8 πάντα.” τίς οὖν αἰτία τοῦ μίσους; ποθεῖς γὰρ ἴσως δὴ τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> μαθεῖν. εἰσὶ τινες οἱ τὴν ἄποιον καὶ ἀνείδεον καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον οὐσίαν θεοπλαστοῦντες, τὸ κινεῖν αἴτιον οὔτε εἰδότες οὔτε παρὰ τῶν εἰδόντων μαθεῖν σπουδάσαντες, ἀγνοία δὲ καὶ ἀμαθία κεχρημένοι τοῦ καλλίστου μαθήματος, οὗ πρῶτου καὶ μόνου τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκπονεῖν ἦν  
 9 ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ Λάβαν τοῦ γένους ἐστὶ τούτου· τὴν γὰρ ἄσημον αὐτῷ ποίμνην οἱ<sup>3</sup> χρησιμοὶ προσνέμουσιν· ἄσημος δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις ἢ ἄποιος ὕλη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἢ ἀμαθὴς ψυχὴ καὶ ἀπαιδ-  
 10 αγωγῆτος. ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος μοίρας, οἱ νοῦν ἔφασαν ἐλθόντα πάντα διακοσμήσαι, τὴν ἐξ ὀχλοκρατίας ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀταξίαν εἰς ἀρχῆς νομίμου, βασιλείας, τάξιν ἀγαγόντα. τοῦ θιάσου τούτου χορευτὴς Ἰακώβ ἐστίν, ὃς ἐπιστατεῖ τῆς ἐπισήμου ποικίλης ἀγέλης· ἐπίσημον δὲ πάλιν καὶ ποικίλον ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις τὸ εἶδος, ἐν δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἢ εὐπαίδευτος καὶ φιλομαθὴς διάνοια.  
 11 πολλοῦ δὴ τοῦ φύσει κοινωνικοῦ σπάσας ὁ ἐπίσημος καὶ μοναρχίας ἀληθοῦς ἐταῖρος ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν ἄσημον, ὑλικὰς μὲν, ὡς εἶπον ἤδη, θεοπλαστοῦντα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προτεθέντα.<sup>2</sup> MSS. τι τοῦ.<sup>3</sup> MSS. οἱ.

<sup>a</sup> The allusion to Anaxagoras in § 10 perhaps suggests that some definite persons or school is meant, possibly his predecessors the Ionic philosophers. See App. p. 581.

<sup>b</sup> See Diog. Laert. ii. 6 (the opening words of Anaxagoras's

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 7-11

more subtle traits of shame. I must now go back to the heads suggested, and must begin with those who run away because of hatred. We are told that "Jacob kept Laban the Syrian in the dark, so as not to tell him that he is fleeing, and he fled, himself and all that belonged to him" (Gen. xxxi. 20 f.). What, 8 then, was the cause of the hatred? You would like perhaps to be told this. There are people who fashion their God out of substance devoid of quality or form or shape<sup>a</sup>; but the moving Cause they neither know, nor have taken any trouble to learn from those who do know Him. They have neither mastered nor do they study the fairest subject of all, the first, nay the only one, whose knowledge it was a vital matter for them to acquire. Laban is of this class; for the 9 sacred oracles assign to him the flock that is without mark (Gen. xxx. 42); and in the universe it is the matter devoid of quality and in men the ignorant and untutored soul that is without mark. Others there 10 are of the better part, who said that Mind came and ordered all things,<sup>b</sup> bringing the disorder that prevailed in existing things as the result of mob-rule into the order of regular government under a king. Of this company Jacob is a votary, who is in charge of the variegated flock, marked and distinguished; and in the universe it is form that has variety and distinction, while among men it is the understanding, well-trained and loving to learn.

The man of mark, associate of true monarchy, has 11 imbibed in full measure the inbred spirit of fellowship, and comes to the man of no mark, when he fashions, as I said before, material sovereignties as

treatise), πάντα χρήματα ἦν οὐμοῦ· εἶτα νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε.

- ἡγεμονίας, ἔξω δὲ τούτων δραστήριον μηδεμίαν  
 12 νομίζοντα, διδάξων ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθογνωμονεῖ. γέγονέ  
 τε γὰρ ὁ κόσμος καὶ πάντως ὑπ' αἰτίου τινὸς  
 γέγονεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ποιοῦντος λόγος αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ  
 σφραγίς, ἥ τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον μεμόρφωται· παρὸ  
 [548] καὶ τέλειον | τοῖς γινομένοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρακο-  
 λουθεῖ τὸ εἶδος, ἅτε ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ εἰκὼν τελείου  
 13 λόγου. τὸ γὰρ γενόμενον ζῶον ἀτελὲς μὲν ἐστι  
 τῷ ποσῷ—μάρτυρες δὲ αἱ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκάστην  
 παραυξήσεις,—τέλειον δὲ τῷ ποιῷ· μένει γὰρ ἡ  
 αὐτὴ ποιότης ἅτε ἀπὸ μένοντος ἐκμαγεῖσα καὶ  
 14 μηδαμῇ τρεπομένου θείου λόγου. III.  
 ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι πρὸς μάθησιν καὶ νόμιμον<sup>1</sup> ἐπιστάσιαν  
 κεκώφωται, δρασμὸν εἰκότως βουλεύεται· δέδιδε  
 γάρ, μὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἰσχυσαί ὀνῆσαι ἔτι καὶ  
 ζημιωθῇ. βλαβεραὶ γὰρ αἱ μετὰ ἀνοήτων συνουσίαι,  
 καὶ ἄκουσα πολλάκις ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς ἐκείνων φρενο-  
 βλαβείας ἀπομάττεται τὰ εἶδωλα· καὶ ὄντως ἐστὶν  
 ἐχθρὸν φύσει παιδεία ἀπαιδευσία καὶ φιλοπονία  
 15 ἀμελετησία. παρὸ καὶ φωνὴν αἱ ἀσκη-  
 τικαὶ δυνάμεις ἀφείσαι κεκράγασι τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ  
 μίσους παραδιηγούμεναι· “ μὴ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἔτι μερὶς  
 ἢ κληρονομία ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν; οὐχ  
 ὡς ἀλλότριαι λελογίσμεθα αὐτῷ; πέπρακε γὰρ  
 ἡμᾶς καὶ κατέφαγε καταβρώσει τὸ ἀργύριον ἡμῶν.  
 πᾶς ὁ πλοῦτος καὶ ἡ δόξα, ἣν ἀφείλετο ὁ θεὸς τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν ἔσται καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν.”  
 16 ἐλεύθεραι γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμῆ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *μόνιμον*.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 581.

<sup>b</sup> Or “giving in addition.”

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 11-16

Divine, and holds no sovereignty outside of these to be efficient,—comes to him to teach him that he is mistaken. For the world has come into being, and 12 assuredly it has done so under the hand of some Cause ; and the Word of Him who makes it is Himself the seal, by which each thing that exists has received its shape. Accordingly from the outset form in perfection accompanies the things that come into being, for it is an impress and image of the perfect Word. For the living creature that has come 13 into being is imperfect in quantity, as is shewn by its constant growth as its age advances, but perfect in quality ; for the same quality continues, inasmuch as it is the impress of a Divine Word ever continuing and free from every kind of change.<sup>a</sup> III. 14

Jacob, seeing that Laban has grown deaf to instruction or lawful authority, naturally plans to run away, fearing lest, besides being unable to help, he should suffer harm at his hands. For association with men devoid of sense is hurtful, and the soul often involuntarily takes the impressions of their mad folly ; and in the nature of things culture feels a repugnance towards lack of culture, and painstaking towards carelessness.

And so the faculties of the 15 Practiser lift their voice aloud, proclaiming<sup>b</sup> their grounds for hatred : “ Is there yet any portion or inheritance for us in our father’s house ? Are we not counted of him strangers ? For he hath sold us, and hath also quite devoured our money. All the riches and the glory, which God took away from our father, shall be for us and for our children ” (Gen. xxxi. 14-16). For being free both in names<sup>c</sup> and in senti- 16

<sup>a</sup> I can give no satisfactory explanation of “ names.” See App. pp. 581 f.

- μασιν οὐδένα τῶν ἀφρόνων νομίζουσι πλούσιον ἢ ἔνδοξον εἶναι, πάντας δ', ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀδόξους καὶ πένητας, κἂν βασιλέων πολυχρύσων τύχας ὑπερβάλλωσιν. οὐ γάρ φασι τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀφαιρεθέντα πλοῦτον, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐκείνου δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ δόξαν
- 17 σχήσειν. ἐστέρηται δ' ὁ φαῦλος τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἀψευδοῦς εὐδοξίας· τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ ταῦτα φρόνησις καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς περιποιούσι διαθέσεις, ὧν αἱ φιλάρετοι ψυχαὶ κληρο-
- 18 νομοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν οὐ τὰ προσόντα τῷ μοχθηρῷ, τὰ δ' ὧν ἐκείνος ἐστέρηται περιουσία καὶ εὐκλεία τοῖς ἀστείοις ἐστίν· ἐστέρηται δὲ ἀρετῶν, αἱ δὴ κτήματα τῶνδε γεγόνασιν, ἵνα καὶ τὸ ἐτέρωθι λεχθὲν συνάδῃ· “ τὰ βδελύγματα Αἰγύπτου θύσομεν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ”· τέλεια γὰρ καὶ ἄμωμα ἱερεῖα αἱ ἀρεταὶ καὶ αἱ κατὰ ἀρετὰς πράξεις, ἃς τὸ φιλο-
- 19 παθὲς Αἰγύπτιον βδελύττεται σῶμα. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα φυσικῶς τὰ βέβηλα παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἱερὰ παρὰ τοῖς ὀξὺ καθορώσι λέγεται καὶ πάντα θύεται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὧν ἐστέρηται καὶ ἀφήρηται πᾶς ἄφρων, τούτων κληρονόμος ἔσται ὁ καλο-
- [549] κάγαθίας ἐταῖρος· ταῦτα | δέ ἐστι δόξα ἀληθοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἀδιαφοροῦσα καὶ πλοῦτος οὐχ ὁ τυφλός, ἀλλ' ὁ τῶν ὄντων ὀξυδερκέστατος, ὃς οὐδὲν παραδέχεται νόμισμα κίβδηλον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄψυχον τὸ παράπαν, εἰ καὶ δόκιμον εἴη.

<sup>a</sup> The meaning seems to be that while the three Aristotelian ἀγαθὰ, viz. τὰ περὶ ψυχὴν, τὰ περὶ σῶμα and τὰ ἐκτός may be δόκιμα in a sense, for even the Stoics admitted “preferable indifferents” among the two latter, only the first is acceptable to the true Practiser. See *Quod Det.* 7 and note, also *De Gig.* 38.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 16-19

ments, they deem no senseless man to be rich or glorious, but all such, speaking broadly, to be poor and inglorious, even if they surpass in fortune wealthy kings. For they do not say that they will have their father's wealth, but that which was taken away from their father, nor his glory, but the glory that was taken away from him. The worthless man is destitute 17 of the real riches and the true gloriousness ; for these good things are won by sound sense and self-mastery and the dispositions akin to these, which are the inheritance of virtue-loving souls. Accordingly it is not 18 the things that pertain to the good-for-nothing man, but those of which he has been stripped, that are affluence and renown to the worthy. Virtues are what has been stripped from him, and has become the property of the worthy, thus bringing into harmony what is said elsewhere : " we will sacrifice the abominations of Egypt to the Lord our God " (Exod. viii. 26) ; for victims perfect and free from blemish are the virtues and virtuous conduct, and these the Egyptian body, in its devotion to the passions, abominates. For even as in this passage, understood in 19 accordance with reality, things which Egyptians reckon profane are called sacred in the estimation of the keen-sighted, and are all offered in sacrifice ; exactly in the same way, the things of which every foolish man has been deprived and stripped, these the comrade of nobility of character will inherit. And these are real glory, indistinguishable from knowledge, and wealth, not the blind wealth, but that which has the keenest sight for the things that actually are, which accepts no counterfeit coinage, nay nothing whatever that is soulless, even though it be approved coin.<sup>a</sup>

- 20 Προσηκόντως οὖν ἀποδράσεται τὸν τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἀμέτοχον, ὃς καὶ ἐν οἷς ἕτερον αἰτιᾶται διαβάλλων ἑαυτὸν λέληθεν, ἐπειδὰν φῇ· “εἰ ἀν- ἡγγειλάς μοι, ἐξαπέστειλα ἄν σε.” αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο φυγῆς ἦν ἄξιον, εἰ μυρίων δεσποτῶν δούλος ὢν, ἐπιμορφάζων ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν, ἐλευθερίαν
- 21 ἄλλοις ἐκήρυττες. ἐγὼ δέ, φησί, τῆς ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ συνεργὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἀλλ’ ὑπήκουσα χρησμῶν θείων κελευόντων ἐνθένδε
- 22 ἀπαίρειν, οἳ καὶ μέχρι νῦν με ποδηγετοῦσι. πῶς δ’ ἂν με ἐξαπέστειλας; ἦ, ὥς σεμνολογούμενος διεξῆεις, μετ’ “εὐφροσύνης” τῆς ἐμοὶ λυπηρᾶς καὶ “μουσικῶν” ἀμουσῶν καὶ “τυμπάνων” [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> κτύπων ἀνάρθρων καὶ ἀλόγων πληγὰς ἐμφορούντων ψυχῇ δι’ ὧτων καὶ μετὰ “κιθάρας,” ἀλύρων καὶ ἀναρμόστων οὐκ ὀργάνων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ταῦτ’ ἐστὶν ὧν ἕνεκα φυγὴν ἐβούλευσα, σὺ δ’, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀντισπάσμάτα μου τῆς φυγῆς ἐπενόεις, ἵνα παλινδρομήσω διὰ τὸ ἀπα- τηλὸν καὶ εὐπαράγωγον φύσει τῶν αἰσθήσεων, αἷς μόλις ἴσχυσα ἐπιβῆναι.
- 23 IV. Μῖσος μὲν δὴ τοῦ λεχθέντος δρασμοῦ γέγονεν αἷτιον, φόβος δὲ τοῦ λεχθησομένου. “εἶπε” γάρ φησι “Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς Ἰακώβ· ἰδοὺ, Ἥσαυ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ (σοι) ἀποκτεῖναί σε. νῦν οὖν, τέκνον, ἄκουσόν μου τῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου εἰς Χαρρὰν καὶ οἴκησον μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς, ἕως τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> I have bracketed καὶ as disturbing the symmetry of the sentence. The LXX has μετ’ εὐφροσύνης καὶ μετὰ μουσικῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ κιθάρας. Each of the four terms receives in turn its negative qualification.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 20-23

Right fitly, therefore, will Jacob run away from the 20  
man who has no part in the good things of God, the  
man who, even in finding fault with another, impugns  
himself without knowing it when he says, " If thou  
hadst told me, I would have sent thee forth " (Gen.  
xxxi. 27). For this alone would have been a sufficient  
ground for flight, if, when you were the slave of ten  
thousand masters, you assumed the style of dominion  
and lordship and proclaimed liberty to others. I how- 21  
ever, says Jacob, took no man to help me to find the  
way that leads to virtue, but paid heed to Divine  
oracles bidding me depart hence, and to this moment  
they guide my steps. And how wouldst thou have 22  
sent me forth? Would it have been, as thou didst  
grandiloquently recount, " with merriment " that  
caused me pain, and " music " all unmusical, and  
" drums " noises inarticulate and meaningless, in-  
flicting blows on the soul through the ears, " and with  
cithara " (*ibid.*), not instruments but modes of conduct  
void of melody or harmony? Nay, these are the very  
things that made me plan flight; but you, it seems,  
devised them as means of diverting me back from  
flight, to induce me to retrace my steps for the sake  
of the power to cheat and mislead inbred in those  
senses which I had with difficulty gained strength to  
tread underfoot.

IV. Hatred, then, was the cause of the flight that 23  
has been spoken of, but fear of that of which I am  
about to speak. For we read as follows: " Rebecca  
said to Jacob, ' Lo, Esau thy brother threatens to  
kill thee. Now therefore, child, listen to my voice  
and arise and flee to Laban my brother to Haran,  
and live with him for some days, until the wrath and



## PHILO

ἀποστρέψαι τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, καὶ ἐπιλάβηται ἃ πεποίηκας αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀπο-  
 24 στείλασα μεταπέμψομαί σε ἐκεῖθεν.” ἄξιον γὰρ δεδιέναι, μὴ τὸ χεῖρον τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἐξ ἐνέδρας λοχῆσαν ἢ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ κονισάμενον ἀνα-  
 τρέψῃ καὶ καταβάλῃ τὸ κρεῖττον. συμβουλὴ δ’ ἀρίστη τῆς ὀρθογνώμονος ἐπιμονῆς, ‘Ρεβέκκας ἦδε·  
 25 ἐπειδὴν ἰδῆς, φησί, τὸν φαῦλον πολὺ(ν) ῥέοντα κατὰ ἀρετῆς καὶ ὧν ἀλογεῖν προσῆκε πολὺν λόγον ἔχοντα, πλούτου, δόξης, ἡδονῆς, καὶ τὰδικεῖν ἐπαινοῦντα ὡς αἴτιον ἐκάστου τῶν εἰρημένων—πολυαργύρους γὰρ καὶ πολυχρύσους καὶ ἐνδόξους τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μάλιστα γίνεσθαι,—μὴ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν τραπό-  
 μενος εὐθὺς ἀχρηματίαν καὶ ἀτυφίαν αὐστηρόν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ἐπιτηδεύσης· ἀνереθίσεις γὰρ τὸν ἀντίπαλον καὶ βαρύτερον ἐχθρὸν ἀλείψεις κατὰ  
 26 σεαυτοῦ. τί ἂν οὖν ἐργασάμενος ἐκφύγῃς τὰ παλαίσματ’ αὐτοῦ, σκόπει. συνεχέχθητι τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπιτηδεύμασι λέγω, τοῖς δὲ τῶν εἰρη-  
 μένων ποιητικοῖς, τιμαῖς, ἀρχαῖς, ἀργύρῳ, χρυσῷ,  
 [550] | κτήμασι, χρώμασι, σχήμασι διαφόροις, κάλλεσι, καὶ ὅταν ἐντύχῃς, οἷα δημιουργὸς ἀγαθὸς εἶδος ἄριστον ταῖς ὑλिकाῖς οὐσίαις ἐγγάραξον καὶ ἐπαι-  
 27 νετὸν ἀποτέλεσον ἔργον. ἢ οὐκ οἶδας, ὅτι ναῦν ἰδιώτης μὲν παραλαβὼν σώζεσθαι δυναμένην ἀνα-  
 τρέπει, κυβερνητικὸς δὲ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὴν ἀπολλυμένην

<sup>a</sup> For a comparison of this interpretation of fleeing from Esau's wrath with that given in *De Mig.* 210, 211 see App. p. 582.

<sup>b</sup> Or “prepare,” “give strength to,” a definite reference to the gymnastic school. So below *παλαίσματα* = wrestling-grips.

anger of thy brother turn away, and he forget the things which thou hast done to him : and I will send and fetch thee thence ' ' (Gen. xxvii. 42-45). For 24 there is reason to fear lest the worse part of the soul set an ambush and lie in wait, or even openly arm, and then overthrow and cast down the better part. And this is excellent advice given by Rebecca, that is, by judicious Patience.<sup>a</sup> Whenever, she says, you 25 see the base one flowing in full current against virtue, and taking much account of things which it ought to disregard, of wealth, fame, pleasure, when he extols injustice as the author of each of these, and points out that it is mostly wrongdoers who attain to fame and to abundance of gold and silver, do not take at once the opposite direction, and practise penury and humility and a strict and unsocial mode of life ; for in this way you will rouse your adversary's spirit and stimulate<sup>b</sup> a more dangerous foe to the contest against you. Consider, 26 then, by what course of action you are to escape his machinations. Adapt yourself, not to his pursuits and practices, but to the objects which serve to create them<sup>c</sup>—honours, offices, silver, gold, possessions, different forms and colours, beautiful objects. And whenever you meet with these, do as a good artist does, and engrave upon the material substances a form as good as possible, and thus accomplish a work which may win men's praise. You know well how, when 27 an unskilled man takes charge of a vessel that is quite capable of making a safe voyage, he upsets it, whereas a skilled helmsman often saves one which

<sup>a</sup> Or τῶν εἰρημένων may refer to wealth, fame, and pleasure, § 25. See App. pp. 582 f.

## PHILO

πολλάκις ἔσωσε, καὶ τῶν καμνόντων οἱ μὲν ἀπειρία  
 τῶν θεραπευόντων χρησάμενοι σφαλερῶς τὰ σώ-  
 ματα ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ ἐμπειρία καὶ τὰς σφαλερὰς  
 νόσους ἀπέφυγον; καὶ τί δεῖ μηκύνειν; αἰεὶ γὰρ  
 τὰ μετὰ τέχνης ἔλεγχός ἐστι τῶν σὺν ἀτεχνία  
 γινομένων, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀληθὴς ἔπαινος ἀψευδὴς  
 28 ἐκείνων ἐστὶ κατηγορία. V. εἰς οὖν  
 θέλῃς διελέγξαι τὸν πολυχρήματον φαῦλον, μὴ  
 ἀποστραφῇς τὴν ἐν χρήμασι περιουσίαν. ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ ἢ ἀνελεύθερος καὶ δουλοπρεπὴς ὀβολοστάτης  
 καὶ τοκογλύφος, βαρυδαίμων ἀνὴρ, ἀναφανεῖται ἢ  
 ἔμπαλιν ἄσωτος πεφορημένος, λαφύττειν καὶ σπα-  
 θᾶν ἐτοιμότητος, ἑταιρῶν καὶ πορνοτρόφων καὶ  
 μαστροπῶν καὶ παντὸς ἀκολάστου θιάσου χορηγὸς  
 29 φιλοτιμότητος. σὺ δὲ ἔρανον παρέξεις πένησι  
 φίλων, χαριεῖ<sup>1</sup> δωρεὰς τῇ πατρίδι, συνεκδώσεις  
 θυγατέρας ἀπόροις γονεῦσιν αὐταρκεστάτην προῖκα  
 ἐπιδούς, μονονοῦκ εἰς μέσον προθεῖς τὰ ἴδια  
 καλέσεις ἐπὶ μετουσίαν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀξίους χάρι-  
 30 τος. τὸν αὐτὸν μέντοι τρόπον καὶ δοξο-  
 μανοῦντα καὶ ἐπικομπάζοντα βουλευθεῖς ὀνειδίσαι  
 μοχθηρόν, δυνηθεῖς ἔντιμος εἶναι μὴ ἀποστραφῇς  
 τὸν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔπαινον· οὕτως γὰρ τὸν  
 μακρὰ βαίνοντα καὶ φρυαττόμενον ἄθλιον ὑπο-  
 σκελιεῖς. ὁ μὲν γε τῷ ἐπιφανεῖ καταχρήσεται  
 πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ ἀτιμίαν ἀμεινόνων ἐτέρων, αὔξων  
 τοὺς χείρους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· σὺ δὲ ἔμπαλιν τοῖς ἀξίοις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. χάριτο(α)ς.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 27-30

is sinking ; and how sick folk, under the care of inexperienced attendants, fall into a dangerous condition of body, while those who meet with experienced attendants recover even from dangerous diseases. I need not labour the point. It is invariably the case that what is done with skill shews up and convicts what is done without it, and true praise accorded to the one is sure condemnation of the other.

V. If, then, you desire <sup>28</sup> thoroughly to expose the worthless man of wealth, do not refuse abundance of wealth. He, miserable creature, will be seen in his true colours, either with the instincts of a slave rather than a gentleman, a skinflint and a splitpenny ; or on the other hand as living in a whirl of prodigality, ever ready to fling away money and to guzzle—an ever-active patron of courtesans, pimps, panders, and every licentious crew. You will contribute freely to needy friends, <sup>29</sup> will make bountiful gifts to serve your country's wants, you will help parents without means to marry their daughters, and provide them with an ample dowry ; you will all but throw your private property into the common stock and invite all deserving of kindness to take a share.

In exactly the <sup>30</sup> same way, when someone is crazy after fame and full of boastfulness, if you wish to cast reproach on the sorry fellow, do not turn your back upon popular applause if you have an opportunity of winning honour, and then, while the poor braggart strides conceitedly along, you will send him tumbling. While he will misuse his distinguished position to insult and disgrace others better than himself, and will exalt worse men above them, you on the other hand will make all worthy men sharers in the ad-

## PHILO

- ἅπασι μεταδώσεις τῆς εὐκλείας, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν περιποιῶν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, βελτιῶν δὲ τοὺς χείρους
- 31 νουθεσίᾳ. κἂν ἐπ' ἄκρατον μέντοι καὶ πολυτελεῖς τραπέζας ἔῃς, θαρρῶν ἴθι· τὸν γὰρ ἀκράτορα αἰσχυνεῖς διὰ τῆς σεαυτοῦ δεξιότητος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πεσὼν ἐπὶ γαστέρα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τὰς ἀπλήστους διοίξας ἐπιθυμίας ἀκόσμως ἐμφορήσεται καὶ τὰ τοῦ πλησίον ἐπισπάσεται καὶ πάντ' ἐπιλιχμώμενος οὐκ ἐρυθριάσει· καὶ διακορῆς ἔδωδῆς ἐπειδὰν γένηται, χανδόν, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, "πίνων" γέλωτα καὶ χλεύην παρέξει τοῖς ὀρώσι.
- 32 σὺ δ' ἄνευ μὲν ἀνάγκης χρῆσθαι τοῖς μετρίοις, ἐὰν δέ που βιασθῇς εἰς πλειόνων ἀπόλαυσιν ἐλθεῖν, λογισμὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐπιστήσας ἡγεμόνα τὴν ἡδονὴν εἰς ἀηδίαν οὐδέποτε ἐκτρέψεις, ἀλλ', εἰ χρή τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν τοῦτον, νηφάλια μεθυσθήσῃ.
- 33 VI. μέμψαιτ' ἂν οὖν δεόντως ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῖς ἀν-  
[551] εξετάστως ἀπολείπουναι τὰς ἐν τῷ | πολιτικῷ βίῳ πραγματείας καὶ πορισμοὺς καὶ δόξης καὶ ἡδονῆς καταπεφρονηκέναι λέγουσιν. ἀλαζονεύονται γάρ, οὐ καταφρονοῦσι, τὸ ῥυπᾶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζειν αὐστηρῶς τε καὶ αὐχμηρῶς ἀποζῆν δελέατα προτιθέντες, ὡς δὴ κοσμιότητος καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ
- 34 καρτερίας ἐρασταί. τοὺς δ' ἀκριβεστεροὺς ἀπατᾶν οὐ δύνανται διακύπτοντας εἶσω καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐν ἐμφανεί παραγομένους. ταῦτα γὰρ προκαλύμματα

<sup>a</sup> Or "good behaviour." See App. p. 583.

<sup>b</sup> *Odyssey* xxi. 294:

οἶνός σε τρώει μελιτῆρός, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους  
βλάπτει, ὅς ἂν μιν χανδὸν ἔλῃ μὴδ' αἵσιμα πίνῃ.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 30-34

vantages of your good name, securing the position of the better kind, and improving the worse by your counsel.

Again, if you go to a luxurious 31  
repat where the wine flows freely, go without  
hesitation ; for you will put the intemperate man  
to shame by having yourself well in hand.<sup>a</sup> He will  
fall upon his belly and open his insatiable appetites  
before he opens his mouth, cram himself in unseemly  
fashion, grab at his next neighbour's food, and gobble  
up everything without a blush ; and when he is  
thoroughly sated with eating, he will as the poets  
say " drink with a yawning maw,"<sup>b</sup> and incur the  
mocking and ridicule of all who see him. But you, 32  
when there is no compulsion, will drink in modera-  
tion ; and should you be forced in any case to indulge  
more freely, you will place the compulsion under the  
charge of reason, and never debase pleasure to the  
displeasure of others, but, if we may so speak, get  
soberly drunken.<sup>c</sup>

VI. Truth would there- 33  
fore rightly find fault with those who without full  
consideration give up the business and financial side  
of a citizen's life, and say that they have conceived  
a contempt for fame and pleasure. For they do not  
despise these things, they are practising an imposture.  
Their dirty bodies and gloomy faces, the rigour and  
squalour of their pinched life, are so many baits to  
lead others to regard them as lovers of orderliness  
and temperance and endurance. But they are 34  
unable to deceive the more sharp-sighted, who peer  
inside and refuse to be taken in by what meets the  
eye. For they thrust this back as mere screening

<sup>a</sup> For the milder sense carried by *μεθύειν* see Introduction to *De Plant.* Vol. III. p. 209, where St. John ii. 10 *δραν μεθυσθῶσι* (R.V. " have drunk freely ") was quoted.

## PHILO

- ὄντα ἐτέρων ἀναστείλαντες, τὰ ἐναποκείμενα ἔνδον, ὅποια ἅττα τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν, ἐθεάσαντο καί, εἰ μὲν εἷη καλὰ, ἐθαύμασαν, εἰ δὲ αἰσχρά, ἐχλεύασαν καὶ
- 35 τῆς ὑποκρίσεως ἐμίσησαν. λέγωμεν οὖν τοῖς τοιούτοις· τὸν ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινωνήτον μονότροπόν τε καὶ μονωτικὸν βίον ζηλοῦτε; τί γὰρ τῶν ἐν κοινωνίᾳ καλῶν προεπεδείξασθε; ἀργυρισμὸν ἀποστρέφεσθε; γενόμενοι γὰρ χρηματισταὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἠθελήσατε; τῶν γαστροῦ καὶ μετὰ γαστέρα ἡδονῶν ἐπιμορφάζοντες ἀλογεῖν, ἡνίκα τὰς εἰς ταῦτα ἀφθόρους ὕλας εἵχετε, ἐμετριάσατε; δόξης καταφρονεῖτε; γενόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τιμαῖς ἀτυφίαν ἡσκήσατε; πολιτείαν ἐγελάσατε ὑμεῖς, ἴσως ὥς χρήσιμόν ἐστι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐ κατανοή-
- 36 σαντες. πρότερον οὖν ἐγγυμνάσασθε καὶ προεμμελετήσατε τοῖς τοῦ βίου πράγμασιν ἰδίους τε καὶ κοινοῖς καὶ γενόμενοι πολιτικοὶ τε καὶ οἰκονομικοὶ δι' ἀδελφῶν ἀρετῶν, οἰκονομικῆς τε καὶ πολιτικῆς, κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν τὴν εἰς ἕτερον καὶ ἀμείνω βίον ἀποικίαν στείλασθε· τὸν γὰρ πρακτικὸν τοῦ θεωρητικοῦ βίου, προάγωνά τινα ἀγῶνος τελειοτέρου, καλὸν πρότερον διαθλῆσαι. οὕτως τὴν ὁκνου καὶ ἀργίας κατηγορίαν ἀποδρά-
- 37 σεσθε. οὕτως καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις τὰ μὲν ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἄχρι πεντηκονταετίας διείρηται, ἀπαλλαγείσι δὲ τῆς πρακτικῆς ὑπηρεσίας σκοπεῖν

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 34-37

of quite different things, and get a view of the true nature of the things concealed within, which, if they are beautiful, they admire, but if ugly, ridicule and loathe them for their hypocrisy. To such 35

men, then, let us say : Do you affect the life that eschews social intercourse with others, and courts solitary loneliness ? Well, what proof did you ever give before this of noble social qualities ? Do you renounce money-making ? When engaged in business, were you determined to be just in your dealings ? Would you make a show of paying no regard to the pleasures of the belly and the parts below it—say, when you had abundant material for indulging in these, did you exercise moderation ? Do you despise popular esteem ? Well, when you held posts of honour, did you practise simplicity ? State business is an object of ridicule to you people. Perhaps you have never discovered how serviceable a thing it is.

Begin, then, by getting some exercise 36  
and practice in the business of life both private and public ; and when by means of the sister virtues, household-management and statesmanship, you have become masters in each domain, enter now, as more than qualified to do so, on your migration to a different and more excellent way of life. For the practical comes before the contemplative life ; it is a sort of prelude to a more advanced contest ; and it is well to have fought it out first. By taking this course you will avoid the imputation of shrinking from it through sheer laziness.

It was 37  
on this principle too that the Levites were charged to perform their active service until the age of fifty (Numb. iv. 3 ff.), but, when released from their practical ministry, to make everything an object of



ἕκαστα καὶ θεωρεῖν, τῆς ἐν τῷ πρακτικῷ βίῳ  
κατορθώσεως γέρας λαβόντας ἕτερον βίον, ὃς  
ἐπιστήμη καὶ θεωρία μόνῃ χαίρει.

38 καὶ ἄλλως ἀναγκαῖον, τοὺς τῶν θείων ἀξιοῦντας  
μεταποιεῖσθαι δικαίων τὰ ἀνθρώπεια πρότερον  
ἐκπληρῶσαι· πολλὴ γὰρ εὐήθεια τῶν μειζόνων ὑπο-  
λαμβάνειν ἐφίξεσθαι ἀδυνατοῦντας τῶν ἐλαττόνων  
περιγίνεσθαι. γνωρίσθητε οὖν πρότερον τῇ κατ'  
ἀνθρώπους ἀρετῇ, ἵνα καὶ τῇ πρὸς θεὸν συσταθῇτε.

39 VII. Τοιαῦτα ὑφηγεῖται τῷ ἀσκητικῷ ἢ ὑπομονῇ,  
τὰς δὲ λέξεις ἀκριβωτέον. “ἴδου” φησὶν “Ἡσαῦ  
ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀπειλεῖ σοι”—ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁ δρύινος  
καὶ ὑπ’ ἀμαθίας ἀπειθῆς τρόπος, ὄνομα Ἡσαῦ,  
ἐγκότως ἔχει καὶ τὰ τῆς θνητῆς ζωῆς προ-  
τείνων ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ δελέατα, χρήματα, δόξαν,  
ἡδονάς, τὰ συγγενῇ τούτοις, κατὰ σοῦ φονῆ;—“σὺ  
δέ, ὦ τέκνον, ἀπόδραθι τὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀγῶνα·

[552] οὐπω γὰρ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς | ἐπιδέδωκέ σοι τὰ τῆς  
ρώμης, ἀλλ’ ἔτι οἶα παιδὸς<sup>1</sup> οἱ ψυχικοὶ τόνοι μαλ-

40 θακώτεροι.” διὸ καὶ τέκνον αὐτὸν προσεῖπε, τὸ δ’  
ἐστὶν εὐνοίας καὶ ἡλικίας ὄνομα ἐν ταύτῳ· τὸν γὰρ  
ἀσκητικὸν τρόπον καὶ νέον παρὰ τὸν τέλειον καὶ  
φιλίας ἄξιον εἶναι τίθεμεν. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἱκανὸς  
μέν ἐστι τὰ προτιθέμενα παισὶν<sup>1</sup> ἄθλα ἄρασθαι, τὰ  
δὲ ἀνδράσιν οὐδέπω δυνατός· ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἄριστον

41 ἄθλον ἢ θεοῦ μόνου θεραπεία. τοιγαροῦν ἐπειδὰν  
μήπω τελείως καθαρθέντες, δόξαντες δὲ αὐτὸ<sup>2</sup> μόνον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. φησιν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τοῦτο.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 37-41

observation and contemplation ; receiving as a prize for duty well done in the active life a quite different way of life whose delight is in knowledge and study of principles alone. And apart from this, 38 it is a vital matter that those who venture to make the claims of God their aim and study should first have fully met those of men ; for it is sheer folly to suppose that you will reach the greater while you are incapable of mastering the lesser. Therefore first make yourselves familiar with virtue as exercised in our dealings with men, to the end that you may be introduced to that also which has to do with our relation to God.

VII. Such is the substance of the advice which 39 Patience gives to the Man of Practice, but the actual words need detailed treatment. "Behold," she says, "Esau thy brother is threatening thee." Is it not the case that the character which is hard and wooden, whose ignorance makes it disobedient, the character called "Esau," nurses a grudge, and, offering the baits of this mortal life to destroy thee, money, fame, pleasures, and the like, is bent on killing thee ? "But do thou, my child, flee from the present contest : for not yet has thy strength reached its full development, but, as is natural in a boy, the sinews of thy soul lack firmness." This is why she addressed 40 him as "child," a title at the same time expressive of kindly feeling and suited to a tender age ; for we regard the character of the Practiser both as young compared with the fully developed and as lovable. Such a one is quite capable of winning the prizes that are offered to boys, but is not as yet able to carry off those offered to men ; and the best prize that men can obtain, is to minister to the only God. So, when 41 we present ourselves at the courts in which we are

ἐκνύφασθαι τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα ἡμῶν τὸν βίον, ἐπ' αὐλὰς τῆς θεραπείας ἀφικώμεθα, θάττον ἢ προσελθεῖν ἀπεπηδήσαμεν, τὴν αὐστηρὰν δίαιταν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἄνπνον θρησκείαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸν συνεχῆ καὶ  
 42 ἀκάματον πόνον οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες. ἀποφεύγετε οὖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὸ κάκιστον καὶ τὸ ἄριστον, κάκιστον μὲν τὸ μυθικὸν πλάσμα, τὸ ἄμετρον καὶ ἐκμελὲς ποίημα, τὸ ὑπ' ἀμαθίας σκληρὸν καὶ δρύινον ὄντως νόημα καὶ πείσμα, ὧν Ἡσαῦ ἐπώνυμος, ἄριστον δὲ τὸ ἀνάθημα· τὸ γὰρ θεραπευτικὸν γένος ἀνάθημά ἐστι θεοῦ, ἱερώμενον  
 43 τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχιερωσύνην αὐτῷ μόνῳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ συνδιατρίβειν κακῷ βλαβερώτατον, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθῷ τελείῳ σφαλερώτατον. ὁ γοῦν Ἰακώβ καὶ τὸν Ἡσαῦ ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ τῶν γονέων διοικίζεται· ἀσκητικὸς γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἔτι διαθλῶν φεύγει μὲν κακίαν, ἀρετῇ δὲ τελείᾳ καὶ αὐτομαθεῖ συζῇ  
 44 ἀδυνατεῖ. VIII. διόπερ ἀποδημήσει πρὸς Λάβαν, οὐ τὸν Σύρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς μητρός, τὸ δ' ἐστὶν εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας ἀφίξεται· λευκὸς γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται Λάβαν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ οὐχ ὑψαυχενήσει, φυσώμενος ταῖς τυχηραῖς εὐπραγίαις· μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ ὁ Σύρος ἐστὶ μετέωρος. νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ Σύρου Λάβαν οὐχὶ μέμνηται, τοῦ δὲ  
 45 Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφοῦ. αἱ γὰρ κατὰ τὸν βίον ὕλαι φαύλῳ μὲν παραδοθεῖσαι μετέωρον ἐξαίρουσι τὸν κενὸν φρονήσεως νοῦν, ὅστις ὠνόμασται Σύρος, ἐραστῇ δὲ παιδείας ἐπιμένοντι τοῖς καλοκάγαθις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀρέσκειαν.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Cong.* 61, 62 and note.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 41-45

to minister not yet thoroughly purified, but having just washed off, as we think, the spots which smirch our life, we hurry away from that ministry more quickly than we came to it, not brooking its severe way of living, and the unsleeping observance and the continuous and unflagging toil which it demands.

Flee, then, at present both that which <sup>42</sup> is worst, and that which is best. Worst is the fabulous fiction,<sup>a</sup> the poem without metre or melody, the conception and persuasion <sup>b</sup> which ignorance has rendered hard and wooden in very deed. From this Esau derives his name. Best is the dedicated offering ; for the ministering kind is a sacred offering to God, consecrated for the great high priesthood to Him alone. To spend one's days with evil is most hurtful : <sup>43</sup> to do so with perfect goodness most dangerous. So Jacob both flees from Esau and moves away from his parents ; for being bent on practice and still engaged in a contest, he flies from evil, but is incapable of sharing the life of perfect virtue that learns untaught. VIII. Consequently he will go abroad to Laban, not <sup>44</sup> the Syrian, but his mother's brother. This means that he will arrive amid the splendours of life, for "Laban" signifies "bright." And when he has arrived, he will not be elated by his good fortune and have a lofty mien ; for, though "aloft" is the translation of "Syrian," there is no mention here of the Syrian Laban, but only of the brother of Rebecca. For the <sup>45</sup> ways and means of life placed at the disposal of a worthless man carry his mind up into the height, empty as it is of sound sense, and such a mind is called "Syrian," but for the man enamoured of discipline, steadfastly and firmly persisting in the prin-

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "confidence." See App. p. 583.

σταθερῶς καὶ παγίως δόγμασιν \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφός, τῆς ἐπιμονῆς· οἰκεῖ δὲ τὴν Χαρράν, ἣ μεταληφθεῖσά εἰσι τρώγλαι, σύμβολον τῶν αἰσθήσεων<sup>2</sup>. ὁ γὰρ ἔτι χορεύων ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ χρεῖος τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὀργάνων ἐστίν.

- 46 “οἴκησον” οὖν φησὶν “ὦ τέκνον, μετ’ αὐτοῦ”  
μὴ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα, ἀλλ’ “ἡμέρας τινάς,” τοῦτο  
[553] δ’ ἐστὶ τὴν τῶν αἰσθήσεων | χώραν κατάμαθε,  
γνώθι σαυτὸν καὶ τὰ σαυτοῦ μέρη, τί τε ἕκαστον  
καὶ πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ πῶς ἐνεργεῖν πέφυκε καὶ  
τίς ὁ τὰ θαύματα κινῶν καὶ νευροσπαστῶν ἀόρατος  
ἀοράτως εἶτε ὁ ἐν σοὶ νοῦς εἶτε ὁ τῶν συμπάντων.  
47 ἔπειδ’ ἀν δὲ σαυτὸν ἐξετάσης, καὶ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ Λάβαν  
ἀκρίβωσον, τὰς τῆς κενῆς δόξης λαμπρὰς νομιζο-  
μένας εὐπραγίας, ὑφ’ ὧν μηδεμιᾶς ἀλῶς, πάσας  
δ’ οἷα ἀγαθὸς δημιουργὸς τεχνικῶς ταῖς οἰκείαις  
ἐφάρμοσον χρεῖαις. ἐὰν γὰρ ἐπιδείξῃ γενόμενος  
ἐν τῷ πολιτικῷ καὶ πεφυρμένῳ τούτῳ βίῳ σταθερὸν  
καὶ εὐπαίδευτον ἦθος, μεταπέμψομαί σε ἐκεῖθεν,  
ἵνα τύχῃς οὐπὲρ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ἄθλου· τὸ δ’  
ἄθλον ἐστὶν ἡ ἀκλινὴς καὶ ἀνένδοτος<sup>3</sup> τοῦ μόνου  
θεραπεία σοφοῦ.  
48 IX. Τὰ δ’ ὅμοια καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑφηγεῖται, μικρὰ  
προσθεῖς· λέγει γάρ· “ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι εἰς τὴν  
Μεσοποταμίαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Βαθουήλ, τοῦ πατρὸς  
τῆς μητρὸς σου, καὶ λάβε ἐκεῖθεν σαυτῷ γυναῖκα  
ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Λάβαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς  
49 σου.” πάλιν καὶ οὗτος οὐ Σύρον εἶπε τὸν Λάβαν,  
ἀλλὰ Ῥεβέκκας ἀδελφόν, μέλλοντα κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν

<sup>1</sup> For the lacuna real or supposed see App. p. 583.

<sup>2</sup> Mangey τῶν <ὁπῶν τῶν> αἰσθήσεων; cf. *De Mig.* 188.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀνενδο(ύ)αστος.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 45-49

ciples of nobility of character . . . this is the brother of Rebecca, or "Persistence"; and he dwells in "Haran," which in our language is "cavities," a symbol of the senses; for the man who is still moving upon the stage of this mortal life cannot dispense with the organs of sense. This mother therefore says, "child, make thine abode with him," not for ever, but "for a few days" (Gen. xxvii. 44). This means "Learn well the country of the senses; know thyself, and the parts of which thou dost consist, what each is, and for what it was made, and how it is meant to work, and who it is that, all invisible, invisibly sets the puppets<sup>a</sup> in motion and pulls their strings, whether it be the Mind that is in thee or the Mind of the Universe. And when thou hast examined thyself, make too a precise scrutiny of all that is peculiar to Laban, even the triumphs of vainglory which are accounted so brilliant. Be not caught by any of these, but, like a good craftsman, skilfully adapt them all to thine own requirements. For if, when placed in this turbid scene of state and city life, thou shalt have displayed a steadfast and well-disciplined character, I will fetch thee thence (Gen. xxvii. 45), that thou mayest obtain the very prize obtained by thy parents: and the prize is the unfaltering and untiring ministry to the only wise Being."

IX. Similar instructions are given him by his father, with slight additions; for he says, "Rise up and flee away into Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel thy mother's father, and take to thee thence a wife from the daughters of Laban thy mother's brother" (Gen. xxviii. 2). Notice here again how he too, when speaking of Laban as intended to become a con-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Op.* 117.

## PHILO

- τῷ ἀσκητῇ κῆδος συνάπτειν. “ ἀπόδραθι οὖν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν,” τουτέστιν εἰς μέσον τὸν χειμάρρουν ποταμὸν τοῦ βίου, καὶ μὴ ἐπικλυσθεῖς ἐγκαταποθῆς, στηριχθεὶς δὲ βαιοτάτην<sup>1</sup> ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐπικυματίζουσιν φορὰν
- 50 τῶν πραγμάτων σθεναρῶς ἀπώθει. τὸν γὰρ σοφίας οἶκον εὐδιον καὶ γαληνὸν λιμένα εὐρήσεις, ὃς ἐνορμιζόμενόν σε ῥαδίως ὑποδέξεται· σοφίας δὲ ὄνομα Βαθουήλ ἐν χρησιμοῖς ἄδεται, τοῦτο δὲ μεταληφθὲν θυγάτηρ θεοῦ προσαγορεύεται, καὶ γνησία γε θυγάτηρ καὶ ἀειπάρθενος, ἀψαύστου καὶ ἀμιάντου φύσεως ἐπιλαχοῦσα διὰ τε τὴν ἑαυτῆς κοσμιότητα καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ γεννή-
- 51 σαντος. πατέρα δὲ τῆς Ῥεβέκκας Βαθουήλ εἶπε. καὶ πῶς ἦ γε θυγάτηρ τοῦ θεοῦ, σοφία, λέγοιτ’ ἂν ἐνδίκως εἶναι πατήρ; ἦ διότι ὄνομα μὲν θῆλυ σοφίας ἐστίν, ἄρρεν δὲ ἡ φύσις; καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἀρεταὶ πᾶσαι προσήσεις μὲν ἔχουσι γυναικῶν, δυνάμεις δὲ καὶ πράξεις ἀνδρῶν τελειοτάτων· ἐπειδὴ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θεόν, κἂν εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πρεσβύτατον εἴη, δευτέραν ἔχον<sup>2</sup> χώραν θῆλυ ὡς ἂν παρὰ ἄρρεν τὸ τὰ ὅλα ποιοῦν ἐλέχθη κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τᾶλλα ὁμοιότητα· αἰ γὰρ προνομίαν τοῦ ἄρρενος ἔχοντος ἐνδεῖ καὶ ὑστερίζει τὸ θῆλυ.
- 52 λέγωμεν οὖν μηδὲν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι διαφορᾶς φροντίσαντες τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ θεοῦ σοφίαν ἄρρενά τε καὶ πατέρα εἶναι, σπείροντα καὶ γεννῶντα ἐν ψυχαῖς μάθησιν, παιδεῖαν, ἐπιστήμην, φρόνησιν,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βεβαιοτάτην.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔχεις or ἔχει.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 49-52

nexion by marriage with the Practiser, called him not "Syrian" but "brother of Rebecca." "Flee away," he says, "into Mesopotamia," into the midst, that is, of the torrent of life's river, and take care that thou be not overwhelmed by it and drowned, but set thyself firmly, and beat back with vigour the current of affairs as it comes dashing upon thee with utmost violence, from above and from either side and from all directions. For thou shalt find 50 the house of wisdom a calm and fair haven, which will welcome thee kindly as thou comest to thy moorings in it; and it is wisdom's name that the holy oracles proclaim by "Bethuel," a name meaning in our speech "Daughter of God"; yea, a true-born and ever-virgin daughter, who, by reason alike of her own modesty and of the glory of Him that begot her, hath obtained a nature free from every defiling touch.

He called Bethuel Rebecca's father. 51 How, pray, can Wisdom, the daughter of God, be rightly spoken of as a father? Is it because, while Wisdom's name is feminine, her nature is manly? As indeed all the virtues have women's titles, but powers and activities of consummate men. For that which comes after God, even though it were chiefest of all other things, occupies a second place, and therefore was termed feminine to express its contrast with the Maker of the Universe who is masculine, and its affinity to everything else. For pre-eminence always pertains to the masculine, and the feminine always comes short of and is lesser than it.

Let us, then, pay no heed to the discrepancy in the 52 gender of the words, and say that the daughter of God, even Wisdom, is not only masculine but father, sowing and begetting in souls aptness to learn, dis-



καλὰς καὶ ἐπαινετὰς πράξεις. ἐνθένδε ὁ ἀσκητῆς  
[554] Ἰακώβ μνᾶται γάμον ἑαυτῷ· πόθεν γὰρ | ἄλλοθεν  
ἢ ἐκ τοῦ σοφίας οἴκου κοινωνὸν εὐρήσει γνῶμην  
ἀνεπίληπτον, ἥ πάντα συνδιατρίβει τὸν αἰῶνα;

53 X. Λελάληκε δ' ἀκριβέστερον περὶ φυγῆς, ἥνικα  
τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνους ἐτίθει νόμον, ἐν ᾧ πάντ'  
ἐπεξήλθε τὰ εἶδη, τὸ ἐκουσίου φόνου, τὸ ἀκουσίου,  
τὸ ἐπιθέσεως τε καὶ<sup>1</sup> βουλεύσεως. λέγε τὸν νόμον·  
“ἐὰν πατάξῃ τις τινα καὶ ἀποθάνῃ, θανάτῳ θανα-  
τούσθω· ὁ δὲ οὐχ ἑκὼν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν  
αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, δώσω σοι τόπον, οὗ  
φεύξεται ὁ φονεύσας. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπιθῇται τῷ  
πλησίον ἀποκτείνει αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ,  
ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λήψῃ αὐτὸν θανατώσαι.”

54 . σαφῶς εἰδώς, ὅτι περιττὸν ὄνομα οὐδὲν  
τίθησιν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πραγματολογεῖν ἀμυθήτου  
φορᾶς, ἡπόρουν κατ' ἑμαυτόν, διὰ τί τὸν ἐκουσίως  
κτείναντα οὐκ εἶπε θανατοῦσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ

55 θανατοῦσθαι· τίνα γὰρ ἄλλῳ ὁ ἀποθνήσκων ἢ θα-  
νάτῳ τελευτᾷ; φοιτήσας οὖν παρὰ γυναῖκα σοφὴν,  
ἥ σκέψις ὄνομα, τοῦ ζητεῖν ἀπηλλάγην· ἐδίδαξε  
γάρ με, ὅτι καὶ ζῶντες ἔνιοι τεθνήκασιν καὶ τεθνη-  
κότες ζῶσι. τοὺς μὲν γε φαύλους ἄχρι γήρως  
ὑστάτου παρατείνοντας νεκροὺς ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸν  
μετ' ἀρετῆς βίον ἀφηρημένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀστείους,  
καὶ τῆς πρὸς σῶμα κοινωνίας διαζευχθῶσι, ζῆν  
εἰσαεῖ, ἀθανάτου μοίρας ἐπιλαχόντας.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸ ἐπιθέσεως, τὸ βουλήσεως, but see § 78, where assault and premeditation form a single head.

<sup>a</sup> So Mangey; Wendland places the comma before ὑπό, perhaps taking it “through my perpetual tendency to argue I began” etc. See on *De Som.* i. 230.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 52-56

cipline, knowledge, sound sense, good and laudable actions. It is from this household that Jacob the Practiser seeks to win a bride. To what other place than to the house of wisdom shall he go to find a partner, a faultless judgement, with whom to spend his days for ever ?

X. The lawgiver has spoken in greater detail on 53 the subject of flight when laying down the law respecting manslaughter, in which he goes into all the different forms, that of intentional slaying, that of unintentional, that of deliberate assault. Read the Law : " If a man smite another and he die, let him die the death. But he that did not intend it, but God delivered him into his hands, I will give thee a place to which the slayer shall flee. And if a man attack his neighbour to slay him by guile and he take refuge, from the altar shalt thou take him to put him to death " (Exod. xxi. 12-14).

Well 54 knowing that he never puts in a superfluous word, so vast is his <sup>a</sup> desire to speak plainly and clearly, I began debating with myself why he said that the intentional slayer is not to be put to death only but " by death to be put to death." " In what other 55 way," I asked myself, " does a man who dies come to his end save by death ? " So I attended the lectures of a wise woman, whose name is " Consideration," and was rid of my questioning ; for she taught me that some people are dead while living, and some alive while dead. She told me that bad people, prolonging their days to extreme old age, are dead men, deprived of the life in association with virtue, while good people, even if cut off from their partnership with the body, live for ever, and are granted immortality.

XI. She confirmed what 56

56 XI. ἐπιστοῦτο μέντοι καὶ χρησιμοῖς τὸν ἑαυτῆς λόγον, ἐνὶ μὲν τοιῷδε· “οἱ προσκείμενοι κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ, ζῆτε πάντες ἐν τῇ σήμερον”· τοὺς γὰρ πρόσφυγας καὶ ἱκέτας τοῦ θεοῦ μόνους ζῶντας οἶδε, νεκροὺς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους· ἐκείνοις δ’, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν μαρτυρεῖ διὰ τοῦ προσθεῖναι “ζῆτε ἐν

57 τῇ σήμερον.” σήμερον δ’ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπέρατος<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀδιεξίτητος αἰὼν· μηνῶν γὰρ καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ συνόλως χρόνων περίοδοι δόγματα ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸν ἐκτετιμηκότων· τὸ δ’ ἄψευδές ὄνομα αἰῶνος ἡ σήμερον. ἥλιος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλαττόμενος ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν αἰεὶ, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ποτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν ἰών, παρ’ ὃν ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ, τὰ αἰῶνος μέτρα, διεκρί-

58 θησαν· ἐτέρῳ δ’ ἐπιστοῦτο τοιῷδε χρησμῷ· “ἰδοὺ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν”—οὐκοῦν, ὦ πάνσοφε, τὸ μὲν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ, τὸ δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἡ κακία ὁ θάνατος· καὶ ἐν ἐτέροις· “αὕτη ἡ ζωὴ σου καὶ ἡ μακρότης τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἀγαπᾶν κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.” ὅρος ἀθανάτου βίου κάλλιστος οὗτος, ἔρωτι καὶ φιλίᾳ θεοῦ ἀσάρκῳ καὶ ἀσωμάτῳ κατεσχῆσθαι.

59  
[555] Οὕτως | οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς Ναδαβ καὶ Ἀβιουδ, ἵνα

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἀπέραντος. See note on *Quis Rerum* 212.

<sup>a</sup> Or “eternity,” but there is not here that opposition between time and eternity which we sometimes have in Philo, e.g. *Quod Deus* 32. Perhaps “the ages” is the best English equivalent.

<sup>b</sup> The thought is not very clear. Perhaps “the sun measures time by its presence and absence. Thus it is always some day and therefore at each moment ‘to-day.’”

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 56-59

she said by holy oracles also, one of them to this effect: "Ye that did cleave unto the Lord your God are alive all of you at this day" (Deut. iv. 4). For only those who have taken refuge in God and become His supplicants does Moses recognize as living, accounting the rest to be dead men. Indeed he evidently ascribes immortality to the former by adding "ye are alive 'to-day.'" Now "to-day" <sup>57</sup> is the limitless age that never comes to an end; for periods of months and years, and of lengths of time generally, are notions of men arising from the high importance which they have attached to number. But the absolutely correct name for "endless age" <sup>a</sup> is "to-day." For the sun never changes, but is always the same, going now above, now below, the earth; and through it day and night, the measures of endless age, are distinguished.<sup>b</sup> Another <sup>58</sup> oracle by which she verified her statement was this: "Behold, I have given before thy face life and death, good and evil" (Deut. xxx. 15). Accordingly, thou wisest of teachers, goodness and virtue is life, evil and wickedness is death. Again, elsewhere: "This is thy life and length of days, to love the Lord thy God" (Deut. xxx. 20). This is a most noble definition of deathless life, to be possessed by a love of God and a friendship for God with which flesh and body have no concern.

It is thus that the priests Nadab and Abihu <sup>c</sup> die <sup>59</sup>

It might be given more clearly by translating in a different order; "For the sun, though its course is sometimes above sometimes below the earth, and thus creates the distinction between daytime and night-time, which serves as a measure of the ages, is always the same sun." Perhaps read  $\pi\alpha\rho' \delta$  for  $\pi\alpha\rho' \delta\nu$ . The same thought appears in *Leg. All.* iii. 25.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 58, *Quis Rerum* 309.

ζήσωσιν, ἀποθνήσκουσιν θνητῆς ζωῆς ἄφθαρτον ἀντικαταλλαττόμενοι βίον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον μετανιστάμενοι· ἐφ' ὧν<sup>1</sup> τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἄδεται, ὅτι<sup>2</sup> ἐτελεύτησαν ἐνώπιον κυρίου, τουτέστιν ἔζησαν· νεκρὸν γὰρ οὐ θέμις εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ πάλιν “ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ εἶπε κύριος· ‘ ἐν τοῖς ἐγγιζουσὶ μοι ἁγιασθήσομαι,’ ” “ νεκροὶ δ’,” ὡς καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις λέγεται, “ οὐκ αἰνέσουσι κύριον ”· ζώντων γὰρ τὸ ἔργον.

- 60 Κάιν δ' ὁ ἐναγῆς καὶ ἀδελφοκτόνος οὐδαμοῦ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀποθνήσκων εὐρίσκεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγιόν ἐστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χρησθὲν τοιοῦτον· “ ἔθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Κάιν σημεῖον, τοῦ μὴ  
61 ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν πάντα τὸν εὐρίσκοντα.” διὰ τί; ὅτι, οἶμαι, ἡ ἀσέβεια κακὸν ἐστὶν ἀτελεύτητον, ἐξαπτόμενον καὶ μηδέποτε<sup>3</sup> σβεσθῆναι δυνάμενον, ὡς τὸ ποιητικὸν ἀρμόττειν ἐπὶ κακίας εἰπεῖν·

- ἡ δέ τοι οὐ θνητή, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατον κακὸν ἐστίν, ἀθάνατον δ' ἐν τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν βίῳ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τὴν ἐν θεῷ ζωὴν ἄψυχον καὶ νεκρὸν καὶ “ κοπρίων,”  
62 ὡς ἔφη τις, “ ἐκβλητότερον.” XII. ἀλλ' ἔδει γε πάντως χώρας ἀπονεμηθῆναι διαφερούσας πράγμασι διαφέρουσιν, οὐρανὸν μὲν ἀγαθῷ, τὰ δὲ περιγεια κακῷ. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἀνώφοιτόν ἐστι,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ᾧ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὅτε (τότε).

<sup>3</sup> MSS. μηδέπω.

<sup>a</sup> In E.V. Ps. cxv. 17.

<sup>b</sup> The real meaning of the text no doubt is “ He set a sign upon Cain, in order that no one should kill him.” But the fuller discussion of the text in *Quod Det.* 177 shows that Philo, with little respect for grammar, takes it as in the translation, viz. that the distinctive mark of the Cain-soul is that it can never be killed.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 59-62

in order that they may live, receiving an incorruptible life in exchange for mortal existence, and being translated from the created to the uncreate. Over them a proclamation is uttered betokening immortality, "They died before the Lord" (Lev. x. 2), that is "They came to life," for a corpse may not come into God's presence. And again, "This is that which the Lord hath said, 'I will be sanctified in them that draw nigh unto me'" (Lev. x. 3), "But dead men," as we hear in the Psalms, "shall not praise the Lord" (Psalm cxiii. 25)<sup>a</sup>: for that is the work of living men. On the other hand, 60 of Cain the accursed fratricide's death no mention is found anywhere in the Books of the Law—nay, there is an oracle uttered concerning him which says, "The Lord God set a sign on Cain, even this, that no man that found him should kill him" (Gen. iv. 15).<sup>b</sup> Why so? Because, I suppose, impiety is 61 an evil that cannot come to an end, being ever set alight and never able to be quenched, so that we may fitly apply to wickedness the poet's words:

No mortal is she, but a deathless ill.<sup>c</sup>

It is in life as we know it that it is "deathless," for in relation to the LIFE in God it is a lifeless corpse, "more utter refuse than dung," as one has said.<sup>d</sup> XII. Now, it was quite fitting that different regions 62 should be allotted to different things, heaven to a good thing, the earthly parts to an evil thing. That which is good is a thing upward-soaring; and should

<sup>c</sup> *Odyssey* xii. 118.

<sup>d</sup> Heraclitus. The phrase νέκυες κοπρίων ἐκβλητότεροι is quoted as from him by several writers. See Bywater, *Heracliti Ephesii reliquiae* 85.

- καὶν εἴ ποτε ἔλθοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς—φιλόδωρος γὰρ ὁ  
 πατὴρ αὐτοῦ,—σπουδάζει παλινδρομῆσαι δικαίως·  
 τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἐνταυθοῖ καταμένει, πορρωτάτῳ θείου  
 χοροῦ διωκισμένον, περιπολοῦν τὸν θνητὸν βίον  
 καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους  
 63 ἀποθανεῖν. τοῦτό τις καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σοφία θαυμα-  
 σθέντων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος ἐφώνησε μεγαλειότερον ἐν  
 Θεαιτήτῳ φάσκων· “ ἄλλ’ οὐτ’ ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ  
 δυνατόν—ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ εἶναι  
 ἀνάγκη—οὔτε ἐν θεοῖς<sup>2</sup> αὐτὰ ἰδρῦσθαι, τὴν δὲ  
 θνητὴν φύσιν καὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον περιπολεῖ<sup>3</sup>. διὸ  
 καὶ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἐνθένθε ἐκείσε φεύγειν ὅτι  
 τάχιστα. φυγὴ δὲ ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν·  
 ὁμοίωσις δὲ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον μετὰ φρονήσεως  
 64 γενέσθαι.” εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Κάϊν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖται,  
 τὸ κακίας σύμβολον, ἣν αἰεὶ δεῖ ζῆν ἐν τῷ θνητῷ  
 γένει παρ’ ἀνθρώποις. ὥστ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ  
 σκοποῦ τὸ “ θανάτῳ θανατοῦσθαι ” λέλεκται τὸν  
 ἀνδροφόνον διὰ τὰς δεδηλωμένας αἰτίας.  
 65 XIII. Τὸ δὲ “ οὐχ ἐκὼν, ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς παρέδωκεν ”  
 ἐπὶ τῶν τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρῶντων πάνυ καλῶς  
 εἴρηται. δοκεῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια γνώμης  
 τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔργα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια θεοῦ·  
 λέγω δὲ οὐ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, ἀλλὰ τὸνναντίον ὅσα

<sup>1</sup> So Plato: mss. γὰρ τῷ θεῷ.

<sup>2</sup> So Plato: mss. θεοῖς, which Wendland retains. Philo may have deliberately wished to avoid the thought of “gods.”

<sup>3</sup> So Plato: mss. περιπολεῖν, which Wendland retains.

<sup>4</sup> Wendland puts a colon before ὥστε. But the following clause does not belong to the Cain meditation, which is a digression, but refers to the whole argument begun in § 54 and broken off in § 60.

<sup>a</sup> See App. pp. 583 f.

it ever come to us, in the bounty of its Father, it hastens, as is meet and right, to retrace its steps; but that which is evil stays here, removed as far as possible from the Divine Company,<sup>a</sup> making our mortal life its haunt, and incapable of quitting the human race by dying. This truth found noble 63 utterance in the *Theaetetus*, where a man highly esteemed, one of those admired for their wisdom, says: "Evils can never pass away; for there must always remain something which is antagonistic to good. Having no place among the gods in heaven, of necessity they hover around the mortal nature and this earthly sphere. Wherefore we ought to fly away from earth to heaven as quickly as we can; and to fly away is to become like God, as far as this is possible; and to become like Him is to become holy, just, and wise."<sup>b</sup> Naturally, therefore, Cain will 64 not die, being the symbol of wickedness, which must of necessity ever live among men in the race that is mortal. There is, then, for the reasons that have been pointed out, definite point in the direction that the manslayer "be put by death to death."

XIII. The words, "not intentionally, but God 65 delivered him into his hands," are admirably employed of those who commit an unintentional homicide. The writer feels that intentional acts are acts of our own determination, and that unintentional acts are God's acts: I mean not the sins, but, on the contrary, all acts that are a punishment for sins.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *Theaetetus* 176 A, B (Jowett's translation).

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* Philo distinguishes between the ordinary sense of ἀκούσια meaning our involuntary and unavoidable slips and that in which it indicates the acts in which we are unconsciously God's ministers. In § 76 he seems to drop this distinction.



- 66  
[556] ἁμαρτημάτων ἐστὶ κόλασις. | ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ θεῷ  
τὸ κολάζειν ἅτε πρῶτῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ νομοθέτῃ,  
κολάζει<sup>1</sup> δὲ <δι> ὑπηρετούντων ἐτέρων, οὐ δι'  
ἑαυτοῦ. τὰς μὲν γὰρ χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς καὶ  
εὐεργεσίας αὐτὸν ἀρμόττει προτείνειν ἅτε ἀγαθὸν  
καὶ φιλόδωρον ὄντα φύσει, τὰς δὲ τιμωρίας οὐκ  
ἄνευ μὲν ἐπικελεύσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέως ἅτε  
υἱάρχοντος, δι' ἄλλων δέ, οἱ πρὸς τοιαύτας χρείας  
67 εὐτρεπεῖς εἰσι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ  
λόγῳ ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐν οἷς φησιν· “ὁ θεὸς ὁ τρέφων  
με ἐκ νεότητος, ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ ῥυόμενός με ἐκ πάντων  
τῶν κακῶν.” τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτερα ἀγαθὰ, οἷς  
ἡ ψυχὴ τρέφεται, ἀνέθηκε θεῷ, τὰ δὲ νεώτερα, ὅσα  
ἐκ φυγῆς ἁμαρτημάτων περιγίνεται, θεράποντι  
68 θεοῦ. διὰ τοῦτ', οἶμαι, καὶ ἡνίκα τὰ τῆς  
κοσμοποιίας ἐφιλοσόφει, πάντα τᾶλλα εἰπὼν ὑπὸ  
θεοῦ γενέσθαι μόνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς ἂν μετὰ  
συνεργῶν ἐτέρων ἐδήλωσε διαπλασθέντα. “εἶπε”  
γάρ φησιν “ὁ θεός· ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ'  
εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν,” πλήθους διὰ τοῦ “ποιήσωμεν”  
69 ἐμφαινομένου. διαλέγεται μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν ὄλων  
πατὴρ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεσιν, αἷς τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν  
τῆς ψυχῆς μέρος ἔδωκε διαπλάττειν μιμουμέναις  
τὴν αὐτοῦ τέχνην, ἡνίκα τὸ λογικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν  
ἐμόρφον, δικαίων ὑπὸ μὲν ἡγεμόνος τὸ ἡγεμονεῦον  
ἐν ψυχῇ, τὸ δ' ὑπήκοον πρὸς ὑπηκόων δημιουργ-  
70 γεῖσθαι. κατεχρήσατο <δὲ> καὶ ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ  
δυνάμεσιν οὐ διὰ τὸ λεχθὲν μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἔμελλεν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κολάζειν, which perhaps might be retained. To understand ἐμπρεπὲς from ἀπρεπὲς might be paralleled in Philo.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 66-70

For it is unbecoming to God to punish, seeing that 66  
He is the original and perfect Lawgiver : He punishes  
not by His own hands but by those of others who  
act as His ministers. Boons, gifts, benefits it is  
fitting that He should extend, since He is by nature  
good and bountiful, but punishments by the agency  
of others who are ready to perform such services,  
though not without his command given in virtue of  
his sovereignty.

The Practiser testifies 67  
to what I say in the words, " God who nourishes me  
from youth, the Angel who delivers me out of all  
my evils " (Gen. xlviii. 15 f.). He ascribes to God  
the more important good things, by which the soul  
is nourished, and the less important, which come  
about by escape from sins, to God's minister.<sup>a</sup>

It is for this reason, I imagine, that Moses, when 68  
treating in his lessons of wisdom of the Creation of  
the world, after having said of all other things that  
they were made by God, described man alone as  
having been fashioned with the co-operation of  
others. His words are : " God said, let us make  
man after our image " (Gen. i. 26), " let us make "   
indicating more than one.<sup>b</sup> So the Father of all things 69  
is holding parley with His powers, whom He allowed  
to fashion the mortal portion of our soul by imitating  
the skill shewn by Him when He was forming that  
in us which is rational, since He deemed it right that  
by the Sovereign should be wrought the sovereign  
faculty in the soul, the subject part being wrought  
by subjects. And He employed the powers that 70  
are associated with Him not only for the reason  
mentioned, but because, alone among created

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 177, *De Conf.* 181.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Conf.* 169.

ἡ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ μόνη κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐννοίας λαμβάνειν καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἐτέραις, εἰ μὴ δυνατόν ἀμφοτέραις. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἡγήσατο τὴν κακῶν γένεσιν ἐτέροις ἀπονεῖμαι δημιουργοῖς, τὴν δὲ

71 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ. XIV. διό

καὶ λεχθέντος πρότερον “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον” ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ πλήθους, ἐπιφέρεται τὸ ὥς ἂν ἐφ’ ἐνός· “ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.” τοῦ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀνθρώπου, ὃς δὴ νοῦς ἐστὶ καθαρώτατος, εἰς ὃ μόνος θεὸς δημιουργός, τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου καὶ κεκραμένου μετ’ αἰσθήσεως τὸ πλήθος.

72 οὗ χάριν ὁ μὲν κατ’ ἐξοχὴν ἄνθρωπος σὺν τῷ ἄρθρῳ μεμῆνυται—λέγεται γάρ· “ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τὸν αἰδιῇ καὶ ἄκρατον ἐκείνον λογισμόν,—ὃ δὲ ἄνευ τῆς τοῦδε προσθήκης· τὸ γὰρ “ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον” ἐμφαίνει τὸν ἐξ ἀλόγου καὶ λογικῆς συνυφανθέντα φύσεως.

73 ἐπόμενος τούτοις τό τε εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τὸ καταρᾶσθαι τοῖς ὑπαιτίοις ἀνέθηκεν οὐχὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς, καίτοι γε ἀμφοτέρων ἐχόντων ἔπαινον, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ἀξίους ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει τὴν ἐν ἐγκωμίοις, τὸ δ’ ἄρα τοῖς φαύλοις τίθεσθαι δευτέραν τάξιν, τῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα χειρο-

[557] τονηθέντων—| εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγέται δώδεκα ἀριθμῷ, φυλάρχας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζειν ἔθος—ἐξ μὲν τοὺς ἀμείνους ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς εὐλογίας, Συμεὼν, Λευί, Ἰούδαν, Ἰσάαχαρ, Ἰωσήφ καὶ Βενιαμίν, τοὺς δ’ ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τῆς κατάρας, τὸν τε πρῶτον καὶ τὸν ὕστατον τῶν Λεῖας, Ῥουβὴν καὶ Ζαβουλὼν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν θεραπεινίδων νόθους

<sup>a</sup> Literally, “unless it is possible,” which of course it is not, *ei μή*, as often, indicating a *reductio ad absurdum*.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 70-73

beings, the soul of man was to be susceptible of conceptions of evil things and good things, and to use one sort or the other, since it is impossible for him to use both.<sup>a</sup> Therefore God deemed it necessary to assign the creation of evil things to other makers, reserving that of good things to Himself alone.

XIV. Wherefore also, while in the former 71 case the expression used was "let us make man," as though more than one were to do it, there is used afterwards an expression pointing to One, "God made the man" (Gen. i. 27). For of the real man, who is absolutely pure Mind, One, even the only God, is the Maker; but a plurality of makers produce man so-called, one that has an admixture of sense-perception. That is why he who is man in 72 the special sense is mentioned with the article. The words run "God made the man," that invisible reasoning faculty free from admixture. The other has no article added; for the words "let us make man" point to him in whom an irrational and rational nature are woven together.

In 73 adherence to the same principle he ascribes the blessing of the good and the cursing of the guilty to different persons. Both, it is true, receive praise, but blessing those worthy of blessing enjoys the prerogative which belongs to eulogies, while the laying of curses on the evil occupies but a second place. Therefore of those appointed for this purpose, the chiefs of the race, twelve in number, whom we are accustomed to call tribe-leaders, he set the six best over the blessing, Symeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph and Benjamin; and the other six over the cursing, the first and the last of the sons of Leah, Reuben and Zabulon, and the four bastard-born of

- 74 τέτταρας. τῆς γὰρ βασιλείου καὶ <τῆς> ἱερωμένης φυλῆς οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐν τῇ προτέρα τάξει χορεύουσιν, Ἰούδας τε καὶ Λευί. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄξια θανάτου δρῶντας ἐτέρων χερσὶν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ, βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάσκειν, ὅτι ἡ κακοῦ φύσις μακρὰν ἀπελήλαται χοροῦ θείου, ὁπότε καὶ τὸ μιμηλάζον ἀγαθὸν κακῶ, ἢ τιμωρία, δι' ἐτέρων βεβαιοῦται.
- 75 Τὸ δὲ “ δώσω σοι τόπον, οὗ φεύζεται ὁ φονεύσας ” ἀκουσίως, πάνυ καλῶς εἰρῆσθαί μοι δοκεῖ· τόπον γὰρ καλεῖ νῦν οὐ χώραν ἐκπεπληρωμένην ὑπὸ σώματος, ἀλλὰ δι' ὑπονοιῶν αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν, ἐπειδὴ περιέχων οὐ περιέχεται καὶ ὅτι καταφυγὴ τῶν ὄλων ἐστί. θέμις οὖν τῷ δόξαντι τροπῇ χρῆσασθαι ἀκουσίῳ φάναι κατὰ θεὸν συμβῆναι τὴν τροπὴν, ὅπερ<sup>1</sup> οὐ θέμις τῷ ἐκουσίως ἀμαρτόντι. “ δώσειν ” δέ φησιν οὐ τῷ κτείναντι, ἀλλ' ᾧ διαλέγεται, ὥσθ' ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν οἰκήτορα, ἕτερον δὲ τὸν φεύγοντα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ ὁ θεὸς πατρίδα οἰκεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἂν αὐτόχθονι, δεδώρηται, τῷ δ' ἐν ἀκουσίῳ γενομένῳ σφάλμασι καταφυγὴν, ὡς ὀθνεῖω ξένην, οὐχ ὡς πατρίδα ἀστώ.
- 77 XV. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίῳ φιλοσοφήσας περὶ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως καὶ βουλευσεως ἐξῆς νομοθετεῖ φάσκων· “ εἰ δέ τις ἐπιθῆται τῷ πλησίον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὥσπερ.

<sup>a</sup> The point of the sentence is not quite clear. Perhaps the meaning is that by placing the two clearly superior tribes in the first list, Moses indicates that this list is as a whole superior.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 584.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 74-77

the handmaids (Deut. xxvii. 12 f.). For the leaders 74 of the royal and of the priestly tribe hold a position in the former list, Judah and Levi.<sup>a</sup> Quite naturally, then, does He give up for punishment into the hands of others those who commit acts deserving death. He wishes to teach us that the nature of evil is far removed from the Divine Company, inasmuch as even the good thing which imitates evil, punishment, is ratified by means of others.

The terms in which the announcement "I will 75 give thee a place where the " unintentional " slayer shall take refuge " is made, seem to me to be excellently chosen. For here He uses the word "place," not of a space entirely filled by a body,<sup>b</sup> but symbolically of God Himself, since He contains and is not contained, and because He is the Refuge for the whole universe. It is lawful, therefore, for one 76 who feels that he has fallen into an unintentional offence, to say that the offence came about as God ordained, a statement which the deliberate wrongdoer may not make. Further He says that He "will give " not to the slayer but to him whom He is addressing,<sup>c</sup> which shews that the dweller in the place is a different person from him who escapes thither. For to His Word, as to one indigenous, God has given His knowledge as a fatherland to dwell in, but to one who has fallen into unintentional offences He has given it as a place of refuge, as a strange land to an alien, not as a fatherland to one with a citizen's rights.

XV. After treating in this way of unintentional 77 acts he goes on to legislate concerning assault and premeditation, saying, "If a man set upon his

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Philo takes the "thee" of the text to be the Logos.

ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν δόλῳ καὶ καταφύγῃ<sup>1</sup>” ἐπὶ τὸν  
 θεόν, τὸν προειρημένον συμβολικῶς τόπον, παρ’  
 ὃν ζῆν συμβέβηκε τοῖς πᾶσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτέρωθί  
 78 φησιν· “ὃς ἂν φύγῃ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ζήσεται.” ἀλλ’ οὐ  
 ζωὴ μὲν ἐστὶν αἰώνιος ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὃν καταφυγή,  
 θάνατος δ’ ὁ ἀπὸ τούτου δρασμός; εἰ δέ τις ἐπι-  
 τίθεται, πάντως ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖ, καὶ τὸ σὺν  
 δόλῳ πραττόμενον ἐκουσίως ἔνοχον, ὡς τὸ ἀδόλως  
 79 ἔμπαλιν οὐδ’ ὑπαίτιον. οὐδὲν οὖν τῶν ὑπούλως  
 καὶ δολερῶς καὶ ἐκ προνοίας πραττομένων ἀδι-  
 κημάτων ἄξιον λέγειν γίνεσθαι κατὰ θεόν, ἀλλὰ  
 καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. ἐν ἡμῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἔφην,  
 οἱ τῶν κακῶν<sup>2</sup> εἰσι θησαυροί, παρὰ θεῷ δὲ οἱ μόνων  
 80 ἀγαθῶν. ὃς ἂν οὖν καταφύγῃ, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν ὃς ἂν  
 τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μὴ ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ θεὸν αἰτιᾶται,  
 κολαζέσθω, τῆς μόνοις ἰκέταις πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ  
 ἀσφάλειαν καταφυγῆς, τοῦ βωμοῦ, στερούμενος,  
 καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· ἀμώμων γὰρ ἱερείων, λέγω  
 [558] δὲ ψυχῶν ἀσινῶν καὶ κεκαθαρμένων, τὸ | θυσια-  
 στήριον ἀνάπλεών ἐστι· δυσίατος δὲ ἢ παντελῶς  
 ἀνίατος μῶμος τὸ φάσκειν καὶ κακῶν αἴτιον εἶναι  
 81 τὸ θεῖον. φίλαντοι δὴ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι σπουδά-  
 σαντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι τρόποι πάντες εἶναι βαινέτωσαν  
 ἕξω περιρραντηρίων, ἵν’ ὡς μιαιοὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι  
 μῆδ’ ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὴν ἱερὰν φλόγα τῆς ἀνακαιομένης  
 ἀσβέστου ψυχῆς καὶ θεῷ καθαγνιζομένης ὀλοκλήρῳ  
 82 καὶ παντελεῖ δυνάμει θεάσωνται. παγ-  
 κάλως τις τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν εἰς ταῦτ’ οὗτο συν-

<sup>1</sup> So according to Mangey in the New College ms.: Wend.’s mss. have καταφύγη ποιεῖ, from which Cohn suggests, I think with great probability, καταφύγη· πῶι;

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κακιῶν.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 77-82

neighbour to slay him by guile and flee for refuge " (Exod. xxi. 14) to God, even to Him Who has been already symbolically called a place, Who is the occasion of life to all ; for in another place likewise it says, " Whosoever shall flee there shall live " (Deut. xix. 5). And is it not life eternal to take refuge with Him 78 that is, and death to flee away from Him ? But if a man sets upon another he certainly deliberately commits a wrong, and that which is done intentionally with guile incurs guilt, even as, on the other hand, no blame attaches to the act in which there is no guile. Accordingly it is not right to say that any wrongs 79 committed with secret hostility and with guile and as the result of premeditation are done as God ordains ; they are done as we ordain. For as I have said, the treasures of evil things are in ourselves ; with God are those of good things only. Whosoever, 80 therefore, takes refuge, that is, whosoever blames not himself but God for his sins, let him be punished, by being deprived of the refuge which is a place of deliverance and safety for suppliants only, namely the altar. Is not this meet and right ? For the place of sacrifice is wholly occupied by victims free from blemish, that is by innocent and purified souls ; and it is a blemish that can hardly, if at all, be remedied, to assert that the Deity is the cause of evil things as of all others. All such characters have made self- 81 love their aim rather than love of God. Let them go forth outside the hallowed precincts, that in their foulness and uncleanness they may not behold even from afar the sacred flame of the soul ascending in unquenchable fire, and with power entire and unimpaired being sacrificed to God. In daring 82 and noble language one of the wise men of old has



δραμῶν ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι “ θεὸς οὐδαμῇ οὐ-  
 δαμῶς ἄδικος, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἶόν τε δικαιοτάτος, καὶ  
 οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὁμοιότερον οὐδὲν ἢ ὃς ἂν ἡμῶν αὐ<sup>1</sup>  
 γένηται ὅτι δικαιοτάτος. περὶ τοῦτον<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἡ ὡς  
 ἀληθῶς δεινότης ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐδενία τε καὶ ἀν-  
 ανδρία. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τούτου γνώσις σοφία καὶ ἀρετὴ  
 ἀληθινή, ἡ δὲ ἄγνοια ἀμαθία τε καὶ κακία ἐναργής.  
 αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι δεινότητες δοκοῦσαι καὶ σοφαί ἐν μὲν  
 πολιτικαῖς δυναστείαις γιγνόμεναι φορτικάι, ἐν δὲ  
 83 τέχναις βάνανσοι.” XVI. προστάξας οὖν ἀπ-  
 ἀγεσθαι τὸν ἀνιέρων καὶ κακήγορον τῶν θείων ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἱερωτάτων καὶ ἐκδίδοσθαι ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ φησὶν  
 ἐξῆς· “ ὃς τύπτει πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, τελευτάτω ”  
 καὶ ὁμοίως “ ὁ κακηγορῶν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα  
 84 τελευτάτω.” μονονοῦ γὰρ βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν, ὅτι  
 τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον βλασφημούντων οὐδενὶ συγγνώμης  
 μεταδοτέον. εἰ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς θνητοὺς κακηγορή-  
 σαντες γονεῖς ἀπάγονται τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τίνος  
 ἀξίους χρὴ νομίζειν τιμωρίας τοὺς τὸν τῶν ὄλων  
 πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν βλασφημεῖν ὑπομένοντας; τίς  
 δ’ ἂν γένοιτο αἰσχίων κακηγορία ἢ τὸ φάσκειν μὴ  
 παρ’ ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ θεὸν γένεσιν εἶναι τῶν  
 85 κακῶν; ἐλαύνετε οὖν, ἐλαύνετε, ᾧ μύσται καὶ  
 ἱεροφάνται θείων ὀργίων, τὰς μιγάδας καὶ σύγ-  
 κλυδας καὶ πεφυρμένας, δυσκαθάρτους καὶ δυσεκ-  
 πλύτους ψυχὰς, αἱ ἄκλειστα μὲν ᾧτα, ἄθυρον δὲ  
 γλῶτταν, ὅργανα τῆς ἐαυτῶν βαρυδαιμονίας εὐ-  
 τρεπῇ, περιφέρουσιν, ἵνα καὶ πάντων καὶ ᾧν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> So Plato: mss. εἶ.

<sup>2</sup> Plato τοῦτον (presumably neuter): Wend. does not note this: I retain τοῦτον with doubt.

<sup>a</sup> *Theaetetus* 176 c. See App. p. 584.

brought out the truth which I am enforcing. "In no case and in no way," he says, "is God unrighteous: He is absolute righteousness; and nothing exists more like Him than whoso of us in his turn attains to the greatest possible righteousness. It is by his relation to Him that a man's real attainment is determined, as well as his worthlessness and failure to attain real manhood. For to know Him is true wisdom and virtue, and ignorance of Him is manifest stupidity and wickedness. All other seeming attainments and proofs of wisdom so called, if displayed in gaining political power, are merely vulgar; if in practising handicrafts, merely mechanical." <sup>a</sup> XVI. After 83 directing, then, that the man who is profane and reviles things sacred be led away from the most holy spots and given up to punishment, he goes on to say, "He that smiteth father or mother, let him die," and likewise "he that revileth father or mother, let him die" (Exod. xxi. 15 f.). He as good as proclaims in a loud 84 voice that no pardon must be granted to a blasphemer against God. For if those who have reviled mortal parents are led away for execution, what penalty must we consider that those have merited who take upon them to blaspheme the Father and Maker of the universe? And what more foul reviling could be uttered than the statement, that the origination of evil lies not at our door but at God's? Drive off, 85 then, ye initiates and hierophants of holy mysteries, drive off the motley crowd, flotsam and jetsam, souls hardly capable of cleansing and purifying, carrying about wherever they go ears ever unclosed, and tongue ever unconfined, ready instruments of their miserable condition in their longing to hear all that heaven forbids us to hear, and to tell out such things

θέμις ἀκούωσι καὶ πάντα<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὅσα μὴ χρεὼν ἐκλα-  
 86 λῶσιν. ὅσοι δὲ διαφορὰν ἐκουσίῳν καὶ ἀκουσίῳν  
 ἐπαιδεύθησαν καὶ εὖφημον στόμα ἀντὶ κακηγόρου  
 γλώττης ἔλαχον, κατορθοῦντες μὲν ἐπαινετοί,  
 σφαλλόμενοι δὲ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην οὐ πάνυ ψεκτοί·  
 διὸ καὶ πόλεις αὐτοῖς εἰς καταφυγὴν ἀπεκρίθησαν.

87 XVII. | "Αἷον δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτὰ τὰ  
 [559] ἀναγκαῖα μάλιστα ἀκριβῶσαι. ἔστι δ' ἀριθμῶ τέτ-  
 ταρα· ἓν μὲν, διὰ τί οὐκ ἐξ ὧν αἱ ἄλλαι φυλαὶ  
 πόλεων ἔλαχον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἡ Λευιτικὴ μόνη, φυγάσι  
 πόλεις ἀπεκρίθησαν· δεύτερον δέ, διὰ τί ἐξ ἀριθμῶ  
 καὶ οὔτε πλείους οὔτε ἐλάττους· τρίτον, τί δήποτε  
 τρεῖς μὲν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, αἱ δ' ἑτεραι<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῇ  
 Χαναanaίων γῇ· τέταρτον, διὰ τί προθεσμία τοῖς  
 φυγάσιν ὥρισται τοῦ κατελθεῖν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως  
 88 θάνατος. λεκτέον οὖν περὶ ἐκάστου τὰ  
 ἀρμόττοντα, ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λαβόντας. εἰς  
 τὰς ἀπονεμηθείσας Λευίταις μόνοις πόλεις φεύγειν  
 διείρηται πάνυ προσηκόντως· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λευῖται  
 τρόπον τινὰ φυγάδες εἰσὶν, ἔνεκα ἀρεσκείας θεοῦ  
 γονεῖς καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν  
 89 θνητὴν συγγένειαν ἀπολελοιπότες. ὁ γοῦν ἀρχ-  
 ηγέτης τοῦ θιάσου τούτου λέγων εἰσάγεται τῷ  
 πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ· "οὐχ ἐώρακα ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀδελφοὺς οὐ γινώσκω, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπογινώσκω"

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καὶ πάντων or omit.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τὰς ἐτέρας: perhaps retain and add e.g. λέγει.

<sup>a</sup> Or "achieve (full) righteousness" (in something of the Stoic sense), i.e. are free from the ἀκούσια as well as the ἐκούσια; cf. *De Agr.* 177 ff.

<sup>b</sup> The connexion of thought seems to be as follows: the blasphemer who ascribes ἐκούσια ἀμαρτήματα to God and not only he but all the profane and irreverent must be avoided,

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 86-89

as should never find utterance. But all who have 86  
been trained to discriminate between intentional and  
unintentional actions, and have been given lips that  
can keep a holy silence in place of a reviling tongue,  
are praiseworthy when they go aright,<sup>a</sup> and are not  
much to blame when they fail without meaning it :  
that is why cities of refuge were set apart for them  
(Num. xxxv.).<sup>b</sup>

XVII. It is worth while to treat with particular 87  
detail those aspects of the subject which are of vital  
importance.<sup>c</sup> They are four in number : first, why  
cities set apart for fugitives were chosen, not from the  
cities allotted to the other tribes, but from those  
assigned to the tribe of Levi only ; secondly, for what  
reason they were six in number, and neither more  
nor less ; thirdly, why three were beyond the Jordan,  
and the others in the land of Canaan ; fourthly, why  
the time appointed beforehand for the return of the  
fugitives was the death of the High Priest.

On each of these points we must say what is pertinent, 88  
beginning with the first. The direction to fly to the  
cities allotted to Levites only is wholly appropriate,  
for the Levites too are in a certain sense fugitives,  
having, for the sake of being well-pleasing to God,  
forsaken parents and children and brothers and all  
their mortal kindred. So the original founder of this 89  
company is represented as saying to his father and  
mother, " I have not seen you, my brethren I know  
not, and my sons I know no more " (Deut. xxxiii. 9),

while those who know better than to be guilty of this  
particular blasphemy and of profanity in general will find  
in God a refuge for their unintentional errors.

<sup>c</sup> The translation ignores *αὐτά*. Perhaps it is used like  
the frequent *αὐτὸ μόνον* for "just these," in which case  
*ἀναγκαῖα* may be taken as "absolutely necessary."

- ὑπὲρ τοῦ δίχα μεθολκῆς θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν. ἡ δ' ἀψευδὴς φυγὴ στέρησις τῶν οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλιότητων ἐστίν. φυγάδας οὖν φυγάσι παρακατατίθεται πρὸς τὴν ὦν εἰργάσαντο ἀμνησίαν, δι' ὁμοιότη<sup>90</sup> τα ἔργων. ἄρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτο μόνον ἡ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνο, (ὅτι) ἡ τῶν νεωκόρων Λευιτικὴ φυλὴ τοὺς θεοπλαστήσαντας τὸν χρυσοῦν μόσχον, τὸν Αἰγυπτιακὸν τύφον, ἡβηδὸν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατέκτειναν, ὀργῇ δικαίᾳ σὺν ἐνθουσιασμῷ καὶ τινι κατοκωχῇ θεοφορήτῳ χρυσάμενοι; “καὶ κτείνει ἕκαστος ἀδελφὸν καὶ πλησίον καὶ τὸν ἑγγιστα,” ἀδελφὸν μὲν ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα, τὸ δὲ λογικοῦ πλησίον τὸ ἄλογον, τὸν δὲ ἑγγιστα νοῦ τὸν προ-  
<sup>91</sup> φορικὸν λόγον. οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μόνως θεραπευτικὸν γένοιτο τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἄριστον, πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἀναλυθείη ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν, διαζευχθέντος καὶ διακοπέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτων ἐπιθυμιῶν· εἶτα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβαλούσης, ὡς ἔφην, τὸ πλησίον τοῦ λογικοῦ, τὸ ἄλογον—καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> χεიმάρρου τρόπον πενταχῇ σχιζόμενον διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων οἷα δεξαμενῶν τὴν τῶν παθῶν  
<sup>92</sup> ἀνεγείρει φοράν—· εἴθ' ἐξῆς τοῦ λογισμοῦ διοικίσαντος καὶ διαζεύξαντος τὸν ἐγγυτάτω δοκοῦντα εἶναι, τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον, ἣν ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀπολειφθῇ μόνος, ἔρημος σώματος, ἔρημος αἰσθή-

<sup>1</sup> Unless Philo uses the nominative for the demonstrative, αὐτό seems pointless: perhaps τοῦτο.

<sup>a</sup> So L. & S. render the word; perhaps rather “all those of military age,” = Latin *pubes*.

<sup>b</sup> In the parallel passage *De Ebr.* 69 ff. the “neighbour” is the senses themselves.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 89-92

that I may without distraction minister to Him that is. And a flight that is real exile is loss of our nearest and dearest. It is on the ground, then, of a similarity in their doings that the Lawgiver commits fugitives to the keeping of fugitives, that they may obtain an amnesty for what they had done. Was 90 this, then, the only reason, or was it also because the Tribe of Levi, consisting of those who had the care of the Tabernacle, rushed upon and slew from the young upwards<sup>a</sup> those who fashioned into a god the golden calf, the Egyptian folly? They did this under the impulse of righteous anger accompanied by an inspiration from above and a God-sent possession: "And each man slays brother and neighbour and his nearest" (Exod. xxxii. 27), for the body is "brother" of the soul, the irrational part of us neighbour of the rational, and the word of utterance "next of kin" to mind. For in this way only could 91 that which is best in ourselves become capable of ministering before Him Who is Best of all Existences, if in the first place the man were resolved into soul, his brother body and its interminable cravings being broken off and cut in twain; if in the next place the soul rid itself, as I have said, of that neighbour of our rational element, the irrational,<sup>b</sup> which like a torrent in five divisions pours through the channels of all the senses and rouses the violence of the passions; if in 92 the next place the reasoning faculty sever and banish from itself that which has the appearance of being closest to it, the word of utterance. All this is to the end that the word or thought<sup>c</sup> within the mind may be left behind by itself alone, destitute of body,

<sup>a</sup> With ὁ κατὰ διάνοιαν sc. λόγος = ἐνδιάθετος, the regular antithesis to προφορικός.

σεως, ἔρημος γεγωνοῦ λόγου προφορᾶς· ἀπολειφθεὶς γάρ, τῇ κατὰ τὴν μόνωσιν διαίτῃ χρώμενος, τὸ μόνον <ὄν> καθαρῶς καὶ ἀμεθέλκτως ἀσπάζεταιται. |  
 93 [560] πρὸς γε μὴν τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ κείνο ὑπομνηστέον, ὅτι ἡ Λευιτικὴ φυλὴ νεωκόρων καὶ ἱερέων ἐστίν, οἷς ἡ τῶν ἀγίων ἀνάκειται λειτουργία· λειτουργοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δρῶντες, εἴ γε κατὰ Μωυσῆν “ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσιν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν” τοὺς θανάτου ἄξια εἰργασμένους πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς σεμνύνειν, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ὑπαιτίους κολάζειν.

94 XVIII. Αὐταὶ μὲν εἰσιν αἱ αἰτίαι, ὧν ἔνεκα οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον δράσαντες εἰς μόνους τὰς τῶν νεωκόρων φεύγουσι πόλεις. τίνες δὲ εἰσι καὶ διὰ τί ἀριθμῶ ἕξ, ἐπομένως λεκτέον. μήποτ’ οὖν ἡ μὲν πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἐχυρωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη μητρόπολις, οὐκ αὐτὸ μόνον πόλις, ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ λόγος,  
 95 ἐφ’ ὃν πρῶτον καταφεύγειν ὠφελιμώτατον. αἱ δ’ ἄλλαι πέντε, ὡς ἂν ἀποικίαι, δυνάμεις εἰσὶ τοῦ λέγοντος, ὧν ἄρχει ἡ ποιητικὴ, καθ’ ἣν ὁ ποιῶν λόγῳ τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργησε· δευτέρα δ’ ἡ βασιλική, καθ’ ἣν ὁ πεποιηκὼς ἄρχει τοῦ γενομένου· τρίτη δ’ ἡ ἰλως, δι’ ἣς ὁ τεχνίτης οἰκτεῖρει

<sup>a</sup> Mangey and Wend. suspected τοῦ λέγοντος and suggested *δντος* or *ἡγεμόνος*. But Philo sometimes thinks of the Logos as in the literal sense the “word” which God speaks. It is particularly natural here in connexion with creation, where every creative act is preceded by “God said.” Cf. *De Som.* i. 75.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 92-95

destitute of sense-perception, destitute of utterance in audible speech ; for when it has been thus left, it will live a life in harmony with such solitude, and will render, with nothing to mar or to disturb it, its glad homage to the Sole Existence.

Another point to be called to mind, in addition to 93 those which have been mentioned, is that the Tribe of Levi is that of ministers of the Tabernacle and priests, on whom rests the service of the Sanctuary, and those who commit unintentional homicide are also engaged in a service, since, as Moses tells us, " God delivers into their hands " (Exod. xxi. 13) for destruction those that have done deeds worthy of death. But, while the Levites were appointed for the exaltation of the good, these others were appointed for the chastisement of the guilty.

XVIII. Such are the reasons for the perpetrators 94 of unintentional homicide taking refuge only in the cities of the Tabernacle attendants. We must next say what those cities are, and why they are six in number. It would seem, then, that the chiefest and surest and best mother-city something more than just a city, is the Divine Word, and that to take refuge first in it is supremely advantageous. The other 95 five, colonies as it were, are powers of Him who speaks that Word,<sup>a</sup> their leader being creative power, in the exercise of which the Creator produced the universe by a word<sup>b</sup> ; second in order is the royal power, in virtue of which He that has made it governs that which has come into being ; third stands the gracious power, in the exercise of which the Great Artificer takes pity and compassion on his own work ;

<sup>b</sup> Or " He who created the world through the Word wrought His work," etc.



- καὶ ἐλεεῖ τὸ ἴδιον ἔργον· τετάρτη δ' ἡ \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> νομοθετικῆς μοῖρα, δι' ἧς ἃ μὴ χρή γίνεσθαι ἀπαγορεύει.
- 96 πάγκαλοι δὲ καὶ εὐεργέσταται πόλεις, ἀξίων σώζεσθαι ψυχῶν τὸν αἰῶνα ἄρισταί γε καταφυγαί· χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ἡ διάταξις, ἀλεῖψαι καὶ ῥῶσαι πρὸς εὐελπιστίαν <ικανή· ἧς> τίς ἂν ἐδυνήθη μᾶλλον τοσαύτην τῶν δυναμένων εὐεργετεῖν ἀναδείξαι ἀφθονίαν διὰ τὰς διαφορὰς τῶν ἐν τροπαῖς ἀκουσίοις γενομένων, οἷς οὔτε ἰσχύς
- 97 οὔτε [ἧ] ἀσθένεια ἡ αὐτή; προτρέπει δὴ τὸν μὲν ὠκυδρομεῖν ἱκανὸν συντείνειν ἀπνευστὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀνωτάτω λόγον θεῖον, ὃς σοφίας ἐστὶ πηγὴ, ἵνα ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ νάματος ἀντὶ θανάτου ζῶν αἰδίδιον ἄθλον εὕρηται· τὸν δὲ μὴ οὕτως ταχὺν ἐπὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν καταφεύγειν δύναμιν, ἣν Μωυσῆς ὀνομάζει θεόν, ἐπειδὴ δι' αὐτῆς ἐτέθη καὶ διεκοσμήθη τὰ σύμπαντα—τῷ γὰρ ὅτι γέγονε τὸ πᾶν καταλαβόντι μεγάλου<sup>2</sup> κτῆσις ἀγαθοῦ περιγίνεται, ἡ τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐπιστήμη, ἡ δ' εὐθὺς ἀναπείθει τὸ
- 98 γενόμενον ἐρᾶν τοῦ φυτεύσαντος—· τὸν δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἔτοιμον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικήν—φόβῳ γὰρ ἄρχοντος τὸ ὑπήκοον, εἰ καὶ μὴ εὐνοία πατρὸς τὸ ἔκγονον, ἀνάγκη σωφρονιζούσῃ νουθετεῖται—· τῷ δὲ μὴ φθάνοντι πρὸς τοὺς λεχθέντας ὅρους ὡς μακρὰν διεστῶτας ἀφικνεῖσθαι καμπτήρες εἴσω πεπήγασιν ἕτεροι δυνάμεων ἀναγκαίων, τῆς ἴλεω, τῆς προσταττούσης ἃ δεῖ, τῆς ἀπαγορευούσης ἃ μὴ δεῖ.

<sup>1</sup> Wend. proposes, to fill up the lacuna, νομοθετικῆς, δι' ἧς προστάττει ἃ δεῖ, πέμπτη δ' ἡ. See below, §§ 98, 100, 104.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. μεγάλη.

<sup>a</sup> An allusion as often to the derivation of θεός from τίθημι.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 95-99

fourth <is the legislative power, by which He prescribes duties incumbent on us; and fifth> that division of legislation, by which He prohibits those things which should not be done. Right goodly cities 96 are they, and exceeding strong in their ramparts, noblest refuges for souls meet to be in safety for ever: kind and beneficent is the ordinance, with power to stimulate and brace to hopefulness. What ordinance could better shew the rich abundance of these beneficial powers adapted to the differences in the victims of involuntary lapses, so various both in their strength and in their weakness? The man who is capable of 97 running swiftly it bids stay not to draw breath but pass forward to the supreme Divine Word, Who is the fountain of Wisdom, in order that he may draw from the stream and, released from death, gain life eternal as his prize. One less swift-footed it directs to the power to which Moses gives the name "God," since by it the Universe was established and ordered.<sup>a</sup> It urges him to flee for refuge to the creative power, knowing that to one who has grasped the fact that the whole world was brought into being a vast good accrues, even the knowledge of its Maker, which straightway wins the thing created to love Him to whom it owes its being. One who is less ready it 98 urges to betake himself to the kingly power, for fear of the sovereign has a force of correction to admonish the subject, where a father's kindness has none such for the child. For him who fails to reach the posts just mentioned, because he thinks them too far distant, another set of goals have been set up nearer the starting-point—the gracious power, the power which enjoins duties, and that which forbids offences; those in fact which are indispensable. For he that 99

99 ὃ τε γὰρ προλαβὼν, | ὥς οὐκ ἀπαραίτητον ἀλλ'  
 [561] εὐμενὲς δι' ἡμερότητα φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ θεῖον, κἂν  
 ἀμάρτη πρότερον, αὐθις μετενόησεν ἀμνηστίας  
 ἐλπίδι, ὃ τε ἔννοιαν λαβὼν, ὅτι νομοθέτης ὁ θεός  
 ἐστίν, πειθαρχῶν οἷς ἂν προστάτῃ πᾶσιν εὐδαι-  
 μονήσῃ· ὁ δ' ὕστατος ὑστάτην εὐρήσεται κατα-  
 φυγὴν, ἀποτροπὴν κακῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ μετουσίαν  
 100 προηγουμένων ἀγαθῶν. XIX. αἰδ' εἰσὶν

⟨αἰ⟩ ἕξ πόλεις, ἃς καλεῖ φυγαδευτήρια, ὧν αἱ μὲν  
 πέντε ἀπεικονίσθησαν καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 ἀγίοις τὰ μιμήματα, προστάξεως μὲν καὶ ἀπ-  
 αγορεύσεως οἱ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ νόμοι, τῆς δ' ἰλεω  
 δυνάμεως τὸ ἐπίθημα τῆς κιβωτοῦ—καλεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ  
 ἱλαστήριον,—ποιητικῆς δὲ καὶ βασιλικῆς τὰ ὑπό-  
 101 πτερα καὶ ἐφιδρυμένα Χερουβίμ· ὁ δ' ὑπεράνω  
 τούτων λόγος θεῖος εἰς ὁρατὴν οὐκ ἦλθεν ἰδέαν,  
 ἅτε μηδενὶ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν ἐμπερήσ ὦν, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτὸς εἰκὼν ὑπάρχων θεοῦ, τῶν νοητῶν ἅπαξ ἀπάν-  
 των ὁ πρεσβύτατος, ὁ ἐγγυτάτω, μηδενὸς ὄντος  
 μεθορίου διαστήματος, τοῦ μόνου,<sup>1</sup> ὃ ἔστιν ἀψευδῶς,  
 ἀφιδρυμένος.<sup>2</sup> λέγεται γάρ· “λαλήσω σοι ἄνωθεν  
 τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν θυεῖν Χερουβίμ,”  
 ὥσθ' ἡνίοχον μὲν εἶναι τῶν δυνάμεων τὸν λόγον,  
 ἔποχον δὲ τὸν λαλοῦντα, ἐπικελευόμενον τῷ ἡνιόχῳ  
 102 τὰ πρὸς ὀρθὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἡνιόχῃσιν. ὁ

μὲν οὖν ἄνευ τροπῆς, ἐκουσίῳ μὲν ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τῆς ἀκουσίῳ γεγονώς, αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν κλῆρον  
 ἔχων, ἐν αὐτῷ μόνῳ κατοικήσει· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὸ (τῷ) μόνον.

<sup>2</sup> So MSS.: Wendland ἐφιδρυμένος.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 584.

<sup>b</sup> Philo apparently takes “thee” to be the Logos; cf.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 99-102

has made sure that the Godhead is not inexorable, but kindly, owing to gentleness of nature, even if he have first sinned, afterwards repents in hope of forgiveness ; and he that has taken in the thought that God is Lawgiver, will by obeying all His injunctions attain happiness ; while the last of the three will gain a third and last refuge, the averting of ills, even if he fail to obtain a share of God's principal good gifts.

XIX. Such are the six cities, which 100  
Moses calls "places of refuge" (Num. xxxv. 12), five of which were represented by symbolic figures which are in the sanctuary, the Laws laid up in the ark being symbols of injunction and prohibition ; the lid of the ark, which he calls the Mercy-seat, representing the gracious power ; while the creative and kingly powers are represented by the winged Cherubim that rest upon it. The Divine Word, Who is 101  
high above all these, has not been visibly portrayed, being like to no one of the objects of sense. Nay, He is Himself the Image of God, chiefest of all Beings intellectually perceived, placed nearest, with no intervening distance, to the Alone truly existent One.<sup>a</sup> For we read : " I will talk with thee <sup>b</sup> from above the Mercy-seat, between the two Cherubim " (Ex. xxv. 21), words which shew that while the Word is the charioteer of the Powers, He Who talks is seated in the chariot, giving directions to the charioteer for the right wielding of the reins of the Universe.

He, then, that has shewn himself free from even un- 102  
intentional offence—intentional is not to be thought of—having God Himself as his portion (Deut. x. 9), will have his abode in Him alone ; while those who

§ 76. See also note on § 95, though here the Logos is spoken to, not the word spoken.

προνοίας ἀλλ' ἀβουλήτοις χρησάμενοι σφάλμασι καταφυγὰς ἔξουσιν τὰς εἰρημένας ἀφθόνοους καὶ πλουσίας οὕτως.<sup>1</sup>

- 103 Τῶν δὲ πρὸς καταφυγὴν πόλεων τρεῖς μὲν εἰσι πέραν, αἱ μακρὰν ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους ἀφεστᾶσι. τίνες αὗται; ὁ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος λόγος καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ καὶ βασιλικὴ δύναμις αὐτοῦ· τούτων γὰρ ὁ τε
- 104 οὐρανὸς καὶ σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐπικοινωνεῖ. αἱ δὲ προσεχεῖς<sup>2</sup> ἡμῖν καὶ ἐφαπτόμεναι τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπικήρου γένους, ὧ μόνῳ συμβέβηκε διαμαρτάνειν, αἱ ἐντὸς εἰσι τρεῖς, ἡ ἱλεως, ἡ προστακτικὴ τῶν ποιητέων, ἡ ἀπαγορευτικὴ τῶν μὴ ποιητέων· αὗται
- 105 γὰρ ἤδη ἡμῶν ἐφάπτονται. τίς γὰρ ἀπαγορεύσεως χρεῖα τοῖς μὴ μέλλουσιν ἀδικήσῃν, τίς δὲ προσταξέως τοῖς μὴ πεφυκóσι σφάλλῃσθαι, τίς δὲ τῆς ἱλεω τοῖς μηδ' ὅλως ἀμαρτησομένοις; ἀλλὰ τό γε ἡμέτερον γένος χρεῖον γέγονε τούτων διὰ τὸ πεφυκέναι καὶ ἐπικλινῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τε τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ ἀκούσια ἀμαρτήματα.
- 106 XX. Τέταρτον καὶ λοιπὸν ἦν τῶν προταθέντων ἡ προθεσμία τῆς τῶν πεφευγόντων καθόδου, τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ θάνατος, πολλὴν ἐν τῷ ῥήτῳ μοι παρέχουσα δυσκολίαν. ἄνισος γὰρ ἡ τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ δρασάντων νομοθετεῖται, εἴ γε οἱ
- [562] μὲν | πλείῳ χρόνον ἀποδράσσονται, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττω· μακροβιώτατοι γὰρ <οἱ μὲν>, οἱ δὲ ὀλιγοχροινώ-
- 107 τατοι τῶν ἀρχιερέων εἰοί· καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι, οἱ δὲ πρεσβῦται καθίστανται· καὶ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνῳ οἱ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἱερωσύνης

<sup>1</sup> πόλεις perhaps (as Wendland) is needed. For the strange οὕτως Wendland suggests οὕσας: perhaps rather *ὄντως*.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 102-107

have fallen, not of set purpose but against their will, will have the refuges which have been mentioned, so freely and richly provided.

Now of the cities of refuge three are beyond the 103 River, far removed from our race. Which are these? The Word of the Sovereign Ruler, and His creative and His kingly power: for in fellowship with these are heaven and all the universe. But those which are 104 close to us and in actual contact with perishable mankind, the only race which sin has befallen, are the three within—the gracious power, the power which enjoins things that are to be done, and that which prohibits those which are not to be done; for these touch us closely. For what need is there of 105 prohibition in the case of those who are sure to do no wrong? What need of injunction for those whose nature exempts them from failure? And what need of recourse to the Gracious Power for those who will commit no sin at all? But our race stands in need of these powers by reason of its natural proneness both to intentional and unintentional sins.

XX. The fourth and only remaining point of those 106 proposed for consideration was the time prescribed for the return of the fugitives, namely, that of the death of the High Priest. If taken literally, this point presents, I feel, great difficulty. The penalty inflicted by law on those whose offences are identical is unequal, if some are to be fugitives for a longer, some for a shorter, period; for of the High Priests some are very long-lived, some the reverse; some are 107 appointed in youth, some in old age; and of those guilty of unintentional homicide some went into exile

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐπικοινων(ι)αὶ δὲ προσεχεῖς: Mangey ἐστὶ κοινωναὶ δὲ καὶ προσεχεῖς.

- ἐφυγαδεύθησαν, οἱ δ' ἤδη μέλλοντος τελευτᾶν τοῦ  
 ἱερωμένου, ὥς τοὺς μὲν αἰῶνα μακρόν τινα τῆς  
 πατρίδος ἐστερηῆσθαι, τοὺς δ' αὐτὸ μόνον ἡμέραν,  
 εἰ τύχοι, μεθ' ἣν τὸν αὐχένα ἐπαίροντες καὶ φρυατ-  
 τόμενοι καὶ γελῶντες τοὺς ἄγχιστα γένους τῶν  
 108 ἀνηρημένων ἀφίξονται. τὸ ἄπορον οὖν  
 καὶ δυσαπολόγητον ἀποδρασόμεθα τῆς δι' ὑπονοιῶν  
 φυσικῆς ἀποδόσεως ἐφιέμενοι. λέγομεν γὰρ τὸν  
 ἀρχιερέα οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ λόγον θεῖον εἶναι  
 πάντων οὐχ ἑκουσίῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίῳ  
 109 ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον. οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ πατρί, τῷ  
 νῷ, οὔτε ἐπὶ μητρί, τῇ αἰσθήσει, φησὶν αὐτὸν  
 Μωυσῆς δύνασθαι μιάινεσθαι, διότι, οἶμαι, γονέων  
 ἀφθάρτων καὶ καθαρωτάτων ἔλαχεν, πατρὸς μὲν  
 θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ τῶν συμπάντων ἐστὶ πατήρ, μητρὸς  
 110 δὲ σοφίας, δι' ἣς τὰ ὅλα ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν· καὶ διότι  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν κέχρισται ἐλαίῳ, λέγω δὲ τὸ ἡγεμο-  
 νικὸν φωτὶ αὐγοειδεῖ περιλάμπεται, ὥς ἀξιόχρεως  
 “ ἐνδύσασθαι τὰ ἱμάτια ” νομισθῆναι—ἐνδύεται δ'  
 ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος τοῦ ὄντος λόγος ὥς ἐσθῆτα τὸν  
 κόσμον (γῆν γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ  
 τὰ ἐκ τούτων ἐπαμπίσχεται), ἣ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ψυχῇ  
 τὸ σῶμα, ἣ δὲ τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια τὰς ἀρετάς·  
 111 καὶ ὅτι τὴν κεφαλὴν “ οὐδέποτε ἀπομιτρῶσει,” τὸ

<sup>a</sup> Or “with,” “through,” as Philo understands the preposition. The meaning of the original is that as contact with a corpse entails defilement, the priests are only to touch the bodies of their nearest of kin (Lev. xxi. 2), but the High Priest not even these. Philo's allegory understands it to mean that with the ordinary man both father mind and mother sense may cause defilement, but the Logos is of other parentage.

<sup>b</sup> Or “the soul in the partial sense,” i.e. excluding the

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 107-111

at the outset of the High Priest's priesthood, some when the holder of the sacred office was nearing his end. Thus some have been cut off from their native place for a very long time indeed, others merely for a day, it may be, after which they will arrive with their heads in the air, insolently laughing at the nearest relatives of those whom they have slain.

Let us, then, have recourse to the scientific mode of 108 interpretation which looks for the hidden meaning of the literal words, and we shall escape from the difficulty and be able to give a reasonable account of the matter. We say, then, that the High Priest is not a man, but a Divine Word and immune from all unrighteousness whether intentional or unintentional. For Moses says that he cannot defile himself either 109 for<sup>a</sup> the father, the mind, nor for the mother, sense-perception (Lev. xxi. 11), because, methinks, he is the child of parents incorruptible and wholly free from stain, his father being God, who is likewise Father of all, and his mother Wisdom, through whom the universe came into existence ; because, more- 110 over, his head has been anointed with oil, and by this I mean that his ruling faculty is illumined with a brilliant light, in such wise that he is deemed worthy "to put on the garments." Now the garments which the supreme Word of Him that is puts on as raiment are the world, for He arrays Himself in earth and air and water and fire and all that comes forth from these ; while the body is the clothing of the soul considered as the principle of physical life,<sup>b</sup> and the virtues of the wise man's understanding. Moses 111 also says that "he shall never remove the mitre"

"ruling principle"; cf. *De Op.* 117 τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς τὸ δίχα τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέρος.



## PHILO

βασίλειον οὐκ ἀποθήσεται διάδημα, τὸ σύμβολον  
τῆς οὐκ αὐτοκράτορος μέν, ὑπάρχον δὲ καὶ θαυ-  
μαστῆς ἡγεμονίας, “ οὐδ’ αὖ τὰ ἱμάτια διαρρήξει ”·

112 ὁ τε γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος λόγος δεσμός ὢν τῶν ἀπάντων,  
ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ συνέχει τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ σφίγγει  
κωλύων αὐτὰ διαλύεσθαι καὶ διαρτᾶσθαι· ἢ τ’ ἐπὶ  
μέρους ψυχῇ, καθόσον δυνάμεως μεμοίραται, τῶν  
τοῦ σώματος οὐδὲν ἀποσχίζεσθαι καὶ ἀποτέμνεσθαι  
μερῶν παρὰ φύσιν ἐᾷ, τὸ δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ πάντα ὁλό-  
κληρα ὄντα ἁρμονίαν καὶ ἔνωσιν ἀδιάλυτον ἄγει  
τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα· ὁ τε κεκαθαρμένος τοῦ σοφοῦ  
νοῦς ἀρρήκτους καὶ ἀπήμονας διαφυλάττει τὰς  
ἀρετάς, τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῶν συγγένειάν τε καὶ  
κοινωνίαν ἁρμοσάμενος εὐνοίᾳ παγιωτέρα.

113 XXI. οὗτος “ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν τετελευτηκυῖαν,”  
ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς, “ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται ”· θάνατος δὲ  
[563] ψυχῆς ὁ μετὰ κακίας | ἐστὶ βίος, ὥστε οὐδέ τις  
ἄγους, ὢν προσβάλλειν ἀφροσύνη φιλεῖ, ποτὲ προσ-  
114 ἄψεται. τούτῳ καὶ παρθένος ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γένους  
ἀρμόζεται, καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμίαντος καὶ ἀδιάφθορος  
εἰς αἰὲ γνῶμη· χήρας γὰρ καὶ ἐκβεβλημένης καὶ  
βεβήλου καὶ πόρνης ἀνὴρ οὐδέποτε γίνεται, πόλεμον  
ἄσπονδον καὶ ἀκήρυκτον πρὸς αὐτὰς αἰὲ συγκροτῶν.  
ἐχθρὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ χηρεύειν ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐκβεβλη-  
σθαι καὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι  
ἂν ἦ βέβηλον πῆσμα καὶ ἀνίερρον· τὸ δὲ πολυμιγές

<sup>a</sup> So G.H.W. This translation assumes that προσβάλλειν is used idiomatically, *sc.* ὁσμὴν. See examples in L. & S., *e.g.* κρέα ἰχθύων προσβάλλει, “the flesh smells like fish.” But the

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 111-114

from his head ; he shall not, that is to say, lay aside the kingly diadem, the symbol not of absolute sovereignty, but of an admirable viceroyalty ; “ nor ” again “ shall he rend his clothes ” (Lev. xxi. 10) ; for 112 the Word of Him that is is, as has been stated, the bond of all existence, and holds and knits together all the parts, preventing them from being dissolved and separated ; just as the principle of physical life, in so far as it has been endowed with power, suffers none of the parts of the body to be split or cut off contrary to nature, but, so far as in it lies, all the parts are complete, and maintain unbroken a mutual harmony and oneness ; and, in like manner, the purified mind of the wise man preserves the virtues free from breach or hurt, linking in a yet firmer concord the affinity and fellowship which is theirs by nature.

XXI. The High Priest, so Moses says, 113 “ shall not go in to any dead soul ” (Lev. xxi. 11). Death of soul is a life in the company of vice, so that what is meant is that he is never to come in contact with any polluting object, and of these folly always stinks.<sup>a</sup> To him there is betrothed moreover a maiden 114 of the hallowed people, pure and undefiled and of ever inviolate intention ; for never is he wedded to a widow or one divorced or to a profane woman or to a harlot (*ibid.* 13 f.), but against them he ever wages a truceless and unrelenting warfare. For hateful to him is widowhood from virtue, and the plight of one cast out and driven from her doors, and any conviction that is profane and unholy. But the promiscuous, use of such a phrase here seems to me rather strange, and I should prefer to remove the comma, take  $\omega\nu$  as  $=\tau\omega\nu$  & and translate “ of those which folly is wont to send in its way.” Cf. *Quod Det.* 98. Or perhaps with Mangey read  $\omega$  and translate “ which folly loves to approach.”

- καὶ πολὺάνδρον καὶ πολὺθεον, ἄθεον<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὖν κακόν, πόρνην, οὐδὲ προσιδεῖν ἀξιοῖ, τὴν ἓνα ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα τὸν ἡγεμόνα θεὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένην ἡγα-  
 115 πηκῶς. ὑπερβολὴ τις περὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον τελειότητος ἐνορεῖται. τὸν μὲν γε τὴν μεγάλην εὐξάμενον εὐχὴν οἶδέ που καὶ ἀκουσίως σφαλλόμενον, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ· λέγει γάρ· “ἐὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐξάπινα, παρα-  
 χρήμα μιανθήσεται”. τὰ γὰρ ἀβούλητα<sup>2</sup> ἔξωθεν αἰφνίδιον κατασκήπτοντα παραχρήμα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ πρὸς αἰῶνα μῆκιστον μαιίνει, ἅτε ὄντα ἀκούσια. τούτων δ’ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐκουσίων  
 116 ὑπεράνω στὰς ἀλογεῖ. ταῦτα δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μοι λέλεκται, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ διδάξαι, ὅτι φυσικωτάτῃ προθεσμίᾳ καθόδου φυγάδων ὁ τοῦ  
 117 ἀρχιερέως ἐστὶ θάνατος. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἱερώτατος οὗτος λόγος ζῇ καὶ περίεστιν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἀμήχανον τροπὴν ἀκούσιον εἰς αὐτὴν κατελθεῖν· ἀμέτοχος γὰρ καὶ ἀπαράδεκτος παντὸς εἶναι πέφυκεν ἁμαρτήματος. ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, οὐκ αὐτὸς διαφθαρεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς διαζευχθεῖς, κάθοδος εὐθὺς δίδοται τοῖς ἀκουσίοις<sup>3</sup> σφάλμασιν· εἰ γὰρ μένοντος καὶ ὑγιαίνοντος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐξωκίζετο, μετ-

<sup>1</sup> Mangey and Cohn would omit ἄθεον as inappropriate here, in which case surely καὶ should also be omitted before πολὺθεον or ἄθεον μὲν οὖν entirely (as Cohn). But see App. p. 584.

<sup>2</sup> mss. τὰ (τῶν) γὰρ ἀβουλόων(λή)των: perhaps, as Wendland suggests, τῶν γὰρ ἀβουλήτων <τινά>.

<sup>3</sup> So mss.: Wendland ἐκουσίοις following Ambrose, *De fuga saeculi* 2. 13, who in a paraphrase of the passage has “incipit anima peccatis patere voluntariis.” If this is right, presumably the thought is that while the offences when expelled were involuntary, if they return it will be as voluntary sins. The transition would be less abrupt if καὶ

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 114-117

polyandrous cause of polytheism, or rather atheism, the harlot, he deigns not even to look at, having learned to love her who had adopted, as her one Husband and Father, God the All-sovereign.

In this character we see perfection in something like 115 its highest form. On the other hand, as to the man who has vowed the Great Vow, the lawgiver seems to recognize that he does stumble unintentionally, even if not with deliberate intent; for he says, "If one die by him suddenly, he shall at once be defiled" (Num. vi. 9): for that which suddenly swoops down upon us from without, apart from any wish of our own, defiles the soul at once, though not for an interminable period, owing to its being unintentional.<sup>a</sup> But with such involuntary defilements, even as with those that are voluntary, the High Priest has no concern, but stands far up beyond their reach.

The observations which I have been making are 116 not beside the mark, but are meant to shew that the fixing of the High Priest's death as the term for the return of the exiles is in perfect accordance with the natural fitness of things (Num. xxxv. 25). For so long as this holiest Word is alive and is still 117 present in the soul, it is out of the question that an unintentional offence should come back into it; for this holy Word is by nature incapable of taking part in and of admitting to itself any sin whatever. But if the Word die, not by being itself destroyed, but by being withdrawn out of our soul, the way is at once open for the return of unintentional errors; for if it was abiding within us alive and well when they were

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Deus* 89, *De Agr.* 175 and note.

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was inserted after *δίδοται*, or we might read *ἀκουσίους* <*καὶ ἐκουσίους*>, cf. the end of § 115.

- 118 ανισταμένου πάντως εισοικισθήσεται. γέρας γὰρ ἐξαίρετον ὁ ἀμιάντος ἀρχιερεύς, ἔλεγχος, ἐκ φύσεως κεκάρπωται τὸ μηδέποτ' εἰς αὐτὸν παραδέξασθαι τόπον γνώμης ὀλισθον.<sup>1</sup> διόπερ ἄξιον εὐχεσθαι ζῆν ἐν ψυχῇ τὸν ἀρχιερέα ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλέα, δικαστὴν ἔλεγχον, ὃς ὅλον ἡμῶν τὸ διανοίας ἀποκεκληρωμένος δικαστήριον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀγομένων εἰς κρίσιν δυσωπεῖται.
- 119 XXII. Λελαληκότες οὖν τὰ ἀρμόττοντα περὶ φυγάδων τὴν κατὰ τὸν εἶρμόν ἀκολουθίαν συνυφανοῦμεν. λέγεται γὰρ ἐξῆς<sup>2</sup>. “εὗρεν αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου,” κάθοδον ψηφισάμενος ὑπ' αἰδοῦς  
 [564] κινδυνευσοῦση ψυχῇ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ μονονοῦ | προπομπὸς γινόμενος τῆς εἰς τὴν ἀπλανῆ γνώμην
- 120 ἐπανόδου. χρήσιμον δὲ καὶ  
 τὰ περὶ εὐρέσεως καὶ ζητήσεως φιλοσοφηθέντα τῷ νομοθέτῃ μὴ ἡσυχασθῆναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰσάγει μηδὲν μήτε ζητοῦντας μήτε εὐρίσκοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ κατορθοῦντας, ἐνίους δὲ θάτερον περιπεποιημένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ζητοῦντες οὐχ εὐρίσκουσιν, οἱ δ' εὐρίσκουσιν οὐ ζητήσαντες.
- 121 οἱ μὲν οὖν μήτε εὐρέσεως  
 μήτε ζητήσεως ἐφιέμενοι τὸν λογισμὸν ἀπαιδευσίᾳ καὶ ἀμελετησίᾳ χαλεπῶς ἠκίσαντο καὶ δυνάμενοι ὅξυ καθορᾶν ἐπηρώθησαν. οὕτως φησὶ “τὴν

<sup>1</sup> The text as it stands is untranslatable: Mangey suggests τὸ παράπαν for τόπον: I suggest ὀλισθον, “any room for lapse of purpose,” i.e. for any ἐκούσιον ἀμάρτημα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

<sup>a</sup> The interpretation of §§ 116-118 does not seem to be in keeping with what has gone before. Hitherto it was the

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 117-121

removed, assuredly when it departs and goes elsewhere they will be reinstated. For the Monitor, the 118 undefiled High Priest, enjoys as the fruit of his nature the special prerogative of never admitting into himself any uncertainty of judgement. Wherefore it is meet that we should pray that He who is at once High Priest and King may live in our soul as Monitor on the seat of justice, seeing that he has received for his proper sphere the entire court of our understanding, and faces unabashed all who are brought up for judgement there.<sup>a</sup>

XXII. Having now said all that was called for on 119 the subject of fugitives, we will go on to treat of what comes next in natural sequence. The next words are "An angel of the Lord found her" (Gen. xvi. 7)—the angel who decreed a return home to a soul whose shame was like to lead into wandering, and well-nigh was its escort back to the frame of mind which wanders not.

It will be an advantage 120 that the lawgiver's reflections about finding and seeking should not be passed over. He represents some as neither seeking nor finding anything, others as succeeding in both, some as having mastered one but not the other, either seeking and not finding, or finding without having sought.

Those with 121 no desire either to find or to seek grievously impair their faculty of reason, by refusing to train and exercise it, and, though capable of being keen-sighted, become blind. This is his meaning when he says that

"involuntary offenders" themselves who found a refuge in the Powers of which the Logos himself was the chief. Here the thought is that the *offences* have been *banished* and will not return so long as we retain the Logos. He has in fact passed from the sense of  $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega$  = "to take refuge" to that of  $\phi\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omega$  = "be banished."

- γυναῖκα. Ἄντ στραφεῖσαν εἰς τοῦπίσω γενέσθαι  
στήλην," οὐ μυθοπλαστών, ἀλλὰ πράγματος ἰδιό-  
122 τητα μηνύων. ὃς γὰρ ἂν ὀλιγωρήσας τοῦ διδά-  
σκοντος ὑπὸ ῥαθυμίας ἐμφύτου τε ὁμοῦ καὶ συν-  
ήθους τὰ μὲν πρόσω καταλίπη, δι' ὧν ὁρᾶν καὶ  
ἀκούειν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δυνάμεσιν ἔστι χρῆσθαι  
πρὸς τὴν τῶν φύσεως πραγμάτων ἐπίκρισιν, ἐκτρα-  
χηλίσας δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦπίσω περιαγάγῃ, τὰ τυφλὰ  
τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραγμάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τοῦ  
σώματος μερῶν ἐξηλωκώς, ἀψύχου καὶ κωφῆς  
123 λίθου τρόπον στηλιτεύεται. οὐ γὰρ  
ἔσχον, ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς, οἱ τοιοῦτοι τρόποι " καρ-  
δίαν συνιέναι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς βλέπειν καὶ ὦτα  
ἀκούειν," ἀλλὰ τυφλὸν καὶ κωφὸν καὶ ἀνόητον καὶ  
πάντῃ πηρὸν βίον ἀβίωτον ἑαυτοῖς ἐξεργάσαντο,  
124 οὐδενὶ τῶν δεόντων ἐφιστάντες. XXIII. ἡγεμῶν  
δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ χοροῦ τούτου ὁ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας  
βασιλεύς. "ἐπιστραφεῖς" γὰρ φησι "Φαραὼ  
εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέστησε  
τὸν νοῦν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ," ἴσον τῷ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τὸ  
παράπαν, ἀλλ' εἶασεν αὐτὸν οἷα φυτὸν ἀγεώργητον  
125 ἀφαναίνεσθαι καὶ στερούμενον ἀγωνία χρῆσθαι. οἱ  
μὲν γε βουλευόμενοι καὶ σκοπούμενοι καὶ πάντ'  
ἐπιμελῶς ἐξετάζοντες ἀκονῶσι καὶ παραθήγουσιν  
αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ γυμναζόμενος τοὺς οἰκείους φέρει  
καρπούς, ἀγχινοῖάν τε καὶ σύνεσιν, δι' ὧν τὸ  
ἀφενάκιστον περιγίνεται. ὁ δ' ἀπερίσκεπτος ἀμ-  
βλύνει καὶ περιθραύει τὰς φρονήσεως ἀκμὰς.  
126 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλογον καὶ ἀψυχον ὡς ἀληθῶς τῶν  
τοιούτων θίασον ἐατέον, τὸν<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῶν σκέψει καὶ  
εὐρέσει χρωμένων ἐπικριτέον. αὐτίκα τοίνυν ὁ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῶν.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 121-126

" Lot's wife turned backwards and became a pillar " (Gen. xix. 26), and here he is not inventing a fable but indicating precisely a real fact. For a man who 122 is led by innate and habitual laziness to pay no attention to his teacher neglects what lies in front of him, which would enable him to see and hear and use his other faculties for the observation of nature's facts. Instead he twists <sup>a</sup> his neck and turns his face backwards, and his thoughts are all for the dark and hidden side—of life, that is, not of the body and its parts, and so he turns into a pillar and becomes like a deaf and lifeless stone.

Speaking of 123 such characters as these Moses says that they did not get " a heart to understand, and eyes to see, and ears to hear " (Deut. xxix. 4), but wrought out for themselves a life that was no life, blind and deaf and unintelligent and in every way maimed, setting themselves to nothing that demands their thoughts. XXIII. As leader of this company we see the king of 124 the country which symbolizes the body ; for we read that " Pharaoh turned and went into his house, and did not set his heart even to this " (Ex. vii. 23, R.V. mg.), as much as to say that he set it to nothing at all, but allowed it like an untilld plant to wither away and become barren and bear nothing. It is whetted and 125 made keen by those who consider and observe and examine all things carefully ; and when it is in exercise it bears its proper fruits, shrewdness and insight, which save it from being duped ; but the unobservant man blunts and crushes the edges of intelligence.

We must, then, let alone the irrational and truly 126 lifeless company of such men as these, and scan well that of those who practise looking and finding. Our

<sup>a</sup> Or " (almost) dislocates."



- πολιτικὸς μὲν ἦκιστα δὲ δοξομανὴς τρόπος, ἐφ-  
 ιέμενος τῆς ἀμείνονος γενεᾶς, ἣν ἄρεται κεκλή-  
 ρωνται, ζητῶν τε καὶ ἀνευρίσκων αὐτὴν εἰσάγεται.
- 127 “ εὗρε ” γάρ φησιν “ ἄνθρωπος τὸν Ἰωσήφ πλανώ-  
 μενον ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἠρώτησεν αὐτόν· τί ζητεῖς;  
 ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου ἐγὼ ζητῶ, ἀνάγ-  
 γειλὸν μοι, ποῦ βόσκουσιν. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ ἄν-  
 θρωπος· ἀπήρκασιν ἐντεῦθεν· ἤκουσα γὰρ αὐτῶν  
 λεγόντων· πορευθῶμεν εἰς Δωθαῖν. καὶ ἐπορεύθη  
 [565] Ἰωσήφ κατόπιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ | εὗρεν  
 128 αὐτοὺς ἐν Δωθαῖν.” ἐρμηνεύεται Δωθαῖν ἔκλειψις  
 ἱκανή, σύμβολον ψυχῆς οὐ μέσως ἀλλὰ τελείως  
 ἀποδεδρακυίας τὰς κενὰς δόξας, αἱ γυναικῶν μάλ-  
 λον ἢ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐοίκασι. διὸ πάνυ  
 καλῶς ἡ ἀρετὴ Σάρρα “ τὰ γυναικεῖα ἐκλείπει,”  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ πονοῦμεθα οἱ τὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ θῆλυν ὄντως  
 βίον μεταδιώκοντες. ὁ δὲ σοφὸς καὶ “ ἐκλείπων  
 προστίθεται ” κατὰ Μωυσῆν, φυσικώτατα· τὴν  
 γὰρ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀφαίρεσιν πρόσθεσιν ἀληθείας  
 129 εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. εἰ δὴ τις ἔτ’ ἐν θνητῷ καὶ  
 πολυμιγεί καὶ πολυμόρφῳ βίῳ διατρίβων καὶ  
 κεχρημένος ἀφθόνοις ταῖς πρὸς περιουσίαν ὕλαις  
 σκέπτεται καὶ ζητεῖ περὶ τῆς ἀμείνονος καὶ πρὸς  
 τὸ καλὸν μόνον ἀφορώσης γενεᾶς, ἄξιος ἀποδοχῆς  
 ἐστίν, ἂν μὴ πάλιν τὰ ὀνειράτα καὶ φαντάσματα  
 τῶν νομιζομένων καὶ φαινομένων ἀγαθῶν ὑπανα-  
 130 πλεύσαντα παρενημερήσῃ. μένων γὰρ ἐν ἀκιβδη-  
 λεύτῳ τῇ ψυχικῇ σκέψει, κατ’ ἔχνος τῶν ζητου-

<sup>a</sup> E.V. “gave up the ghost . . . and was gathered (to his people).” Cf. *De Sac.* 5.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. seeking for the goods of the soul, instead of those of the body and outside the body.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 126-130

first example shall be the man who takes part indeed in public life, but is very far from having a mad thirst for fame : his ambition is for that better family, which the virtues have taken as their heritage, and he is represented as both seeking and finding it. For 127 we are told that " a man found Joseph wandering in the plain, and asked him, ' What art thou seeking ? ' and he said ' I am seeking my brethren ; tell me, where are they feeding their flocks ? ' And the man said to him, ' They have departed hence, for I heard them saying, Let us go to Dothan.' And Joseph went his way after his brethren, and found them in Dothan" (Gen. xxxvii. 15-17). Dothan means " a thorough for- 128 saking," and is the symbol of a soul that has in no half measure but completely run away from those empty notions which resemble the practices of women rather than those of men. Accordingly it is finely said that Sarah, who is Virtue, " forsakes the ways of women " (Gen. xviii. 11), those ways on which we toil who follow after the unmanly and really feminine life. But the wise man too " forsaking is added " (Gen. xxv. 8),<sup>a</sup> as Moses says in perfect accord with the nature of things : for the subtraction of vainglory is the addition of reality. If a man, while spending his 129 days in this mortal life full of such diverse elements and assuming so many phases, and while he has at his disposal abundant material for a life of luxury, makes that better family, which has an eye only for what is morally excellent, his study and quest, he is worthy of approbation, if the dreams and phantoms of things that have the name and appearance of good things do not rise to the surface again and get the better of him. For if he continues in that soul<sup>b</sup> 130 inquiry and keeps it free from alloy, he will not give

- μένων βαίνων καὶ ἐπακολουθῶν οὐκ ἀνήσει πρό-  
 131 τερον ἢ τοῖς ποθουμένοις ἐντυχεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐδέν' αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> παρὰ μοχθηροῖς ἀνευρήσει· διὰ τί; “ἀπ-  
 ἤρκασι γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν,” τὰς μὲν ἡμετέρας σπουδὰς ἐκλιπόντες, μετοικισάμενοι δ' εἰς τὸν ἔρημον κακῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον. λέγει δὲ ταῦτα ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς ἔλεγχος, ὃς ἀποροῦσαν καὶ σκεπτομένην καὶ ζητοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἰδὼν εὐλαβεῖται, μὴ πλανηθεῖσα διαμάρτη τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ.
- 132 XXIV. Πάνυ τεθαύμακα κάκείνους, τὸν μὲν φιλοπευστοῦντα περὶ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ἄκρων καὶ λέγοντα· “ἰδοὺ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὰ ξύλα, ποῦ τὸ πρόβατον τὸ εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν,” τὸν δ' ἀποκρινόμενον· “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται ἑαυτῷ πρόβατον εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν, τέκνον” καὶ ὕστερον τὸ ἀντιδοθὲν εὐρίσκοντα· “ἰδοὺ γὰρ κριὸς εἰς κατεχόμενος τῶν κεράτων ἐν  
 133 φυτῷ Σαβέκ.” ἴδωμεν οὖν, τί ὁ μὲν ζητῶν ἀπορεῖ, ὁ δ' ἀποκρινόμενος ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τρίτον τί τὸ εὐρισκόμενον ἦν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πυνθάνεται τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· ἰδοὺ τὸ δρῶν αἴτιον, τὸ πῦρ· ἰδοὺ καὶ τὸ πάσχον, ἡ ὕλη, τὰ ξύλα· ποῦ τὸ τρίτον, τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα; οἷον ἰδοὺ ὁ νοῦς, ἔνθερμον καὶ πεπυρω-  
 134 μένον πνεῦμα· ἰδοὺ καὶ τὰ νοητά, ὥσανεὶ ὕλαι· ποῦ τὸ τρίτον, τὸ νοεῖν; πάλιν ἰδοὺ ἡ ὄρασις, ἰδοὺ τὸ χρῶμα, ποῦ τὸ ὄραν; καὶ συνόλως ἰδοὺ ἡ αἰσθησις, τὸ κριτήριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσθητά, αἱ ὕλαι· τὸ οὖν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὐδενὶ τῶν: Wendland οὐδὲν αὐτῶν.

<sup>a</sup> For this interpretation of the “man” of Gen. xxxvii. 15 cf. *Quod Det.* 23.

<sup>b</sup> E.V. “thicket.” “Sabek” is a translation of the Hebrew word for thicket, which the LXX apparently took for the name of a plant. <sup>c</sup> Or “the thing effected.”

<sup>d</sup> Or “spirit.” See App. pp. 584 f.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 130-134

up walking in the track of the objects of his quest, and following them up until he has reached those for whom he yearns. But none of them will he find 131 among the worthless. Why so? Because "they have departed hence," forsaking all that we care about, and have removed into the abode of the pious where no evil men are found. The speaker is the true "man,"<sup>a</sup> the Monitor, set over the soul, who, seeing its perplexity, its inquiring, its searching, is afraid lest it go astray and miss the right road.

XXIV. Another instance is that of those well- 132 known two whom I hold in great admiration. One is full of curiosity about the middle term between two others, and says, "Lo, the fire and the wood; where is the sheep for a whole burnt-offering?" The other replies, "God will see for Himself a sheep for a whole burnt-offering, Child"; and afterwards finds the substitute provided, for "behold a single ram held by the horns in a Sabek shrub"<sup>b</sup> (Gen. xxii. 7, 8, 13). Let us see, then, what the inquirer's difficulty is, and 133 what the answerer declares; and in the third place what the thing found was. Well, the inquiry he makes is of this kind: "Behold, the efficient cause, the fire; behold also, the passive object, the material, the wood; where is the third term, the finished result?" As though he should say, "Behold the 134 mind, breath<sup>d</sup> all warm and on fire; behold also the objects which the mind perceives, materials, as it were; where is the third term, the mind's perception?" Or once more, "Here is sight; here is colour; where is the seeing?" and, quite generally, "Lo, here is sense-perception, the instrument for forming judgements; yes, and the objects of sense-perception, the material for it to work upon; where,

## PHILO

- 135 αἰσθάνεσθαι ποῦ; ταῦτα πυνθανομένῳ δεόντως ἀποκρίνεται. “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται ἑαυτῷ”· θεοῦ γὰρ ἔργον ἴδιον τὸ τρίτον. ἐπιφροσύνη γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν νοῦς καταλαμβάνει, ἡ δ’ ὄρασις ὁρᾷ καὶ πᾶσα αἰσθησις αἰσθάνεται. “κριὸς δ’ εὐρίσκειται κατεχόμενος,” τουτέστι λόγος ἡσυχάζων
- 136 καὶ ἐπέχων. ἄριστον γὰρ ἱερεῖον ἡσυχία καὶ |  
[566] ἐποχὴ περὶ ὧν πάντως οὐκ εἰσι πίστεις. ῥητὸν γὰρ μόνον τοῦτο “ὁ θεὸς ὄψεται,” ᾧ γνώριμα τὰ πάντα, ὃς λαμπροτάτῳ φωτί, ἑαυτῷ, τὰ ὅλα αὐγάζει· τὰ δ’ ἄλλα οὐ ῥητὰ γενέσει, ἥς πολὺ κατακέχυται τὸ σκότος· ἡρεμία δ’ ἀσφαλὲς ἐν σκότῳ.
- 137 XXV. Ζητήσαντες καὶ τί τὸ τρέφον ἐστὶ τὴν ψυχὴν—“οὐ γὰρ” ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς “ἦδεισαν τί ἦν”—εὗρον μαθόντες ῥῆμα θεοῦ καὶ λόγον θεῖον, ἀφ’ οὗ πᾶσαι παιδεῖαι καὶ σοφαίαι ῥέουσιν ἀένναοι. ἡδ’ ἐστὶν ἡ οὐράνιος τροφή, μηνύεται δ’ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ αἰτίου λέγοντος· “ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὣω ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ”·
- 138 τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὴν αἰθέριον σοφίαν ὁ θεὸς ταῖς εὐφύεσι καὶ φιλοθεάμοσιν ἄνωθεν ἐπιψεκάζει διανοίαις· αἱ δὲ ἰδοῦσαι καὶ γευσάμεναι καὶ σφόδρ’ ἡσθεῖσαι ἔμαθον μὲν ὃ ἔπαθον, τὸ δὲ διαθὲν ἀγνοοῦσι. διὸ πυνθάνονται· “τί ἐστὶ τοῦτο,” ὃ μέλιτος γλυκύτερον, χιόνος δὲ λευκότερον εἶναι πέφυκε; διδαχ-

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 134-138

then, is the act of perceiving ? ” To these inquiries <sup>135</sup> the other gives the only right answer, “ God will see for Himself ” ; for the third term is God’s special work. For it is by His taking thought for them that the mind apprehends, and sight sees, and every sense perceives.

As for the words “ A ram is found held fast,” this is reason keeping quiet and in suspense. For the best offering is quietness and sus- <sup>136</sup> pense of judgement, in matters that absolutely lack proofs. The only word we may say is this, “ God will see.” To Him all things are known ; He sees all things distinctly, by clearest light, even by Himself. No other word can be spoken by created beings on whom the darkness has been shed in full measure ; and in darkness, safety lies in keeping still.

XXV. Another instance. When they sought what <sup>137</sup> it is that nourished the soul (for, as Moses says, “ they knew not what it was ”) (Exod. xvi. 15), they became learners and found it to be a saying of God, that is the Divine Word, from which all kinds of instruction and wisdom flow in perpetual stream. This is the heavenly nourishment, and it is indicated as such in the sacred records, when the First Cause in his own person says, “ Lo, it is I that am raining upon you bread out of the heaven ” (*ibid.* 4) ; for in very deed <sup>138</sup> God drops from above the ethereal wisdom upon minds which are by nature apt and take delight in Contemplation ; and they see it and taste it and are filled with pleasure, being fully aware of what they feel, but wholly ignorant of the cause which produced the feeling. So they inquire “ What is this ” (*ibid.* 15) which has a nature making it sweeter than honey and whiter than snow ? And they will be taught by

- θήσονται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοπρόπου, ὅτι “ οὗτός ἐστιν  
 139 ὁ ἄρτος, ὃν ἔδωκε κύριος αὐτοῖς φαγεῖν.” τίς οὖν  
 ὁ ἄρτος, εἰπέ. “ τοῦτο ” φησί “ τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ συν-  
 ἔταξε κύριος.” ἡ θεία σύνταξις αὕτη τὴν ὁρατικὴν  
 ψυχὴν φωτίζει τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γλυκαίνει, φέγγος μὲν  
 τὸ ἀληθείας ἀπαστράπτουσα, πειθοῖ δέ, ἀρετῇ  
 γλυκεία, τοὺς διψῶντας καὶ πεινῶντας καλοκά-  
 γαθίας ἐφιδύνουσα.
- 140 Ζητήσας καὶ ὁ προφήτης αὐτός, τί τὸ τοῦ κατορ-  
 θοῦν αἴτιον, ἀνεῦρεν ὅτι ἡ θεοῦ μόνου σύνοδος.  
 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡπόρει, τίς εἰμι καὶ τίς ὢν τὸ ὁρατικὸν  
 γένος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύειν δοκοῦντος ἀντιθέου  
 τρόπου ρύσομαι, διδάσκεται χρησμῶ, ὅτι “ ἔσομαι  
 141 μετὰ σοῦ.” ζητήσεις δ’ αἱ τῶν κατὰ μέρος  
 ἔχουσι μὲν γλαφυρὰν θεωρίαν καὶ φιλόσοφον—  
 πῶς γὰρ οὐ;—ἡ δὲ τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου καὶ  
 ἀσυγκρίτου καὶ πάντων αἰτίου θεοῦ ζήτησις  
 εὐφραίνει μὲν εὐθὺς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν, ἀτελής  
 δ’ οὐ γίνεται, προὔπαντῶντος διὰ τὴν ἴλεω φύσιν  
 ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς παρθένοισι χάρισι καὶ ἐπιδεικνυμένου  
 ἑαυτὸν τοῖς γλιχομένοις ἰδεῖν, οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν—  
 ἀμήχανον γάρ, ἐπεὶ καὶ Μωυσῆς “ ἀπέστρεψε τὸ  
 πρόσωπον· εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ κατεμβλέψαι ἐνώπιον  
 τοῦ θεοῦ,”—ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐνεχώρει γεννητὴν φύσιν τῇ  
 142 ἀπερινοήτῳ<sup>1</sup> δυνάμει προσβαλεῖν. ἀναγέγραπται  
 καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς. “ ἐπιστρα-  
 φήσεσθε ” γάρ φησι “ πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περὶ νοητὰ (-ῶ).

<sup>a</sup> These words of course really refer to the orders which follow as to the gathering of the manna. Philo takes them to refer to the preceding verse and thus identifies the manna with the “saying” and therefore also with the Logos. So also *Leg. All.* iii. 173.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 138-142

the seer that "This is the bread, which the Lord hath given them to eat" (*ibid.* 15). Tell me, then, of 139 what kind the bread is. "This saying," he says, "which the Lord ordained" <sup>a</sup> (*ibid.* 16). This Divine ordinance fills the soul that has vision alike with light and sweetness, flashing forth the radiancy of truth, and with the honied grace of persuasion imparting sweetness to those who hunger and thirst after nobility of character.

A seeker also was the prophet himself, to know 140 the cause of successful achievement, and he found that it was the presence with him of the only God. For when he asked in doubt, "Who am I, and what is there in me that I should deliver the race of vision from the character which fancies itself king and sets itself up against God?" he is instructed by a message from God, "I will be with thee" (Exod. iii. 11 f.). It is true, of course, that the seeking of partial and 141 subordinate objects calls out in us the exercise of delicate and profound thought; but the seeking of God, best of all existences, incomparable Cause of all things, gladdens us the moment we begin our search, and never turns out fruitless, since by reason of His gracious nature He comes to meet us with His pure and virgin graces, and shews Himself to those who yearn to see Him, not as He is, which is a thing impossible, since even Moses "turned away his face, for he was afraid to look upon God" (Exod. iii. 6), but so far as it was allowable that created nature should direct its gaze towards the Power that is beyond conception. This promise also is included in 142 the Exhortations,<sup>b</sup> where it is said "Ye shall turn

<sup>b</sup> See note on § 170.



[567] ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐρήσετε αὐτόν, ὅταν | ἐκζητήσητε αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν.”

- 143 XXVI. Ἀποχρώντως λελαληκότες καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐξῆς τρεψώμεθα κεφάλαιον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ μὲν ζητεῖν ἦν, τὸ δ' εὐρίσκειν οὐχ εἶπετο. Λάβαν γοῦν ἀναζητήσας ὅλον τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ τὸν ψυχικὸν οἶκον “οὐχ εὗρεν” ἢ φησι Μωυσῆς “τὰ εἶδωλα”· πλήρης γὰρ πραγμάτων, οὐκ ὀνειράτων
- 144 καὶ κενῶν φαντασμάτων ἦν. οὐδ' οἱ τυφλοὶ διάνοιαν Σοδομίται σπουδάσαντες ἐκθύμως αἰσχῦναι τοὺς ἱεροὺς καὶ ἀμιάντους λόγους εὑρον τὴν εἰς τοῦτ' ἄγουσαν ὁδόν, ἀλλ', ὥς φησι τὸ λόγιον, “παρελύθησαν ζητοῦντες τὴν θύραν,” καίτοι γε ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν περιθέοντες καὶ πάντα κινήσαντες λίθον πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐκφύλου
- 145 καὶ ἀσεβοῦς ἐπιθυμίας. ἤδη τινὲς καὶ ἀντὶ πυλωρῶν βασιλεῖς ἐθελήσαντες γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν βίῳ, τάξιν, καταλῦσαι οὐ μόνον τῆς ἀδίκως ἐλπισθείσης εὐπραγίας ἐσφάλησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἦν ἐν χερσὶν εἶχον ἐκβαλεῖν ἡναγκάσθησαν. ἱερωσύνης γὰρ τοὺς Κορὲ θιασώτας ὀρεχθέντας
- 146 \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> ὁ νόμος διαμαρτεῖν φησιν ἀμφοῖν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ παῖδες καὶ ἄνδρες μανθάνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκατέρᾳ τῶν ἡλικιῶν εἰσιν ἀρμόττουσαι διδασκαλαί, οὕτως πεφύκασιν εἶναί τινες αἰεὶ παιδικαὶ ψυχαὶ καὶ ἐν σώμασι γεγηρακόσι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. proposes to fill up the lacuna: μὴ ἀρκουμένους τῇ νεωκόρων τάξει. Perhaps καίτοι ἤδη . . . ἔχοντας would account better for the loss of the words in the mss.

<sup>a</sup> Or “although” . . . still.” ὥσπερ . . . οὕτως seem here

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 142-146

back to the Lord your God, and shall find Him, when ye shall seek after Him, with all your heart, and with all your soul " (Deut. iv. 29 f.).

XXVI. Having said enough about those who seek 143 and find, let us turn next to our third head, in which there is, we said, seeking, but no finding follows. Laban falls under this head. He searched the whole of the soul-dwelling of the Practiser, and as Moses says " found not the idols " (Gen. xxxi. 33); for it was full of real things, not of dreams and empty phantoms.

The men of Sodom, too, blind 144 in understanding, when madly bent on bringing shame upon the sacred and undefiled Words, did not find the way that leads to this, but, as the sacred passage says, " wearied themselves in seeking the door " (Gen. xix. 11), although they ran all round the house and left no stone unturned to carry out their unnatural and unholy lust.

It has happened before 145 now, that men having conceived the desire to become kings instead of gate-keepers and to overthrow order, the most beautiful thing in human life, have not only failed of the success which they had unjustly hoped for, but have been compelled to part with the advantage which they held in their hands. For the Law tells us that the men of Korah's company, when they aimed at (priesthood and were not satisfied with the post of Tabernacle attendants), failed of both (Num. xvi.). For just as boys and men do not learn the 146 same things, but either age has its appropriate teachings, so <sup>a</sup> it is the nature of some souls to be always childish even in bodies that have grown old, and, on the other hand, to be full grown in bodies just reach-

to be used in this adversative sense, as *ut* and *ita* often are in Latin, but I do not know of any parallel.

ἔμπαλιν τελειόταται ἐν ἄρτι ἀκμάζουσι καὶ ἡβῶσιν. ὄφλοιεν ἂν οὖν εὐήθειαν, ὅσοι μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐρώσιν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐπιτάσσει σφοδρότητος ἀπορρήττεται.

- 147 καὶ Φαραὼ “ζητῶν ἀνελεῖν Μωυσῆν,” τὸ προφητικὸν γένος, οὐδέποτε εὐρήσει, καίτοι χαλεπὸν ἀκηκοὼς κατ’ αὐτοῦ λόγον ὡς ἐπικεχειρηκότος καθελεῖν τὴν σώματος ἅπασαν ἡγεμονίαν δυσὶ  
148 προσβολαῖς· ὧν τὴν μὲν προτέραν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τρόπον, ὃς ἐπετείχιζεν ἡδονὴν ψυχῇ—“πατάξας γὰρ αὐτὸν” οὐσίᾳ σποράδι “κατέχωσεν, ἄμμω,” τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομίσας ἀμφοτέρα εἶναι τὰ δόγματα, καὶ ἡδονὴν ὡς πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀτόμους ὡς τῶν ὅλων ἀρχάς, —τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν πρὸς τὸν κατακερματίζοντα τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τὸ μὲν ψυχῇ, τὸ δὲ σώματι, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀπονέμοντα. ὁλόκληρον γὰρ αὐτὸ βούλεται εἶναι, τῷ ἀρίστῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, διανοία μόνῃ, προσκεκληρωμένον καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἐφαρμόττον.

- 149 XXVII. Οὐδὲ τὴν ἀνίκητον ἀρετὴν καὶ πικραινομένην ἐπὶ ταῖς καταγελάστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπουδαῖς, ὄνομα Θάμαρ, ὃ διαπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν  
[568] ζήτησιν αὐτῆς ἀνευρίσκει, | φυσικώτατα· λέγεται γάρ· “ἀπέστειλε δὲ Ἰούδας τὸν ἔριφον ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ ποιμένου τοῦ Ὀδολλαμίτου κομίσασθαι τὸν ἄρραβῶνα παρὰ τῆς γυναικός· καὶ οὐχ εὗρεν αὐτήν. ἐπηρώτησε δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· ποῦ

\* Philo evidently interprets the two attacks as directed (1) against the Epicureans, (2) against the Peripatetics. The two schools however are not put on the same footing. The Epicurean is an Egyptian, who is smiting the Hebrew Stoic;

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 146-149

ing the prime of youth. All such as are enamoured of things too great for their nature will be convicted of foolishness, since every effort beyond our strength breaks down through over-violent straining.

Pharaoh, again, seeking to destroy Moses (Exod. ii. 147 15), that is, the prophetic nature, will never find him, albeit he has heard a grievous charge against him, namely, that he has attempted to overthrow the entire dominion of the body in two attacks.<sup>a</sup> The first of 148 these he made against the Egyptian character, which was assailing the soul from the vantage-ground of pleasure ; for " after smiting him he covered him with sand " (Exod. ii. 12), a drifting, disconnected substance. He evidently regarded both doctrines as having the same author, the doctrine that pleasure is the prime and greatest good, and the doctrine that atoms are the elementary principles of the universe. Another attack (*ibid.* 13) was directed against him who splits up the nature of good into subdivisions, and assigns one to soul, one to body, one to things outside us. For he would have the good to be a complete whole, apportioned to the best element in us, to understanding alone, and in agreement with nothing lifeless.

XXVII. Again, it is in perfect keeping with the 149 nature of things that invincible Virtue, bitterly vexed at men's absurd aims—Tamar is her name—is not found by the messenger dispatched to seek her ; for it is said, " And Judah sent the kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd the Adullamite, to receive the pledge from the woman's hand : and he found her not. And he asked the men of the place, in the second case the wrongdoer whom Moses rebukes is a Hebrew as well as his opponent.

- ἐστιν ἢ πόρνη ἢ γενομένη ἐν Αἰνὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ;  
καὶ εἶπον· οὐκ ἦν ἐνταῦθα πόρνη. καὶ ἀπεστράφη  
πρὸς Ἰούδαν καὶ εἶπεν· οὐχ εὔρον, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι  
οἱ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ὧδε πόρνην.  
εἶπε δὲ Ἰούδας· ἐχέτω αὐτά, ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε κατα-  
γελασθῶμεν· ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέσταλκα τὸν ἔριφον τοῦ-  
τον, σὺ δὲ οὐχ εὔρηκας.” ὃ θαυμαστῆς δοκιμασίας,  
150 ὃ ἱεροπρεποῦς πείρας. ἄρραβῶνά τις ἔδωκεν  
ὠνητικῶς ἔχουσα διάνοια τοῦ καλλίστου κτήματος,  
θεοσεβείας, διὰ τριῶν ἐνεχύρων ἢ συμβόλων, δακ-  
τυλίου, ὀρμίσκου, ῥάβδου,<sup>1</sup> βεβαιότητα καὶ πίστιν,  
εἰρμὸν καὶ ἀκολουθίαν λόγου πρὸς βίον καὶ βίου  
πρὸς λόγον, ὀρθὴν καὶ ἀκλινῇ παιδείαν, ἣ λυσιτελές  
151 ἐπερείδεσθαι. τὸν ἄρραβῶνα τοῦτον εἰ καλῶς  
ἔδωκε, βασανίζει. τίς οὖν ἢ βάσανος; καθεῖναι  
τι δέλεαρ ὀλκῷ κεχρημένον δυνάμει, δόξαν ἢ  
πλοῦτον ἢ ὑγίαν σώματος ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων,  
καὶ γινῶναι πρὸς πότερα καθάπερ ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος  
ταλαντεύσει· ῥοπή γὰρ εἰ γένοιτο πρὸς τι τούτων,  
ὁ ἄρραβὼν οὐ βέβαιος. ἀπέστειλεν οὖν τὸν ἔριφον  
κομίσασθαι τὸν ἄρραβῶνα παρὰ τῆς γυναικός, οὐ  
τοῦτο προηρημένος πάντως ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλ’ εἴ  
152 ποτε ἀναξία τοῦ κατέχειν ἐκείνη γένοιτο. γενή-  
σεται δὲ πότε; ἥνίκα ἂν τὰ διαφέροντα ἀδιαφόρων  
ἀντικαταλλάξῃται, τῶν γνησίων ἀγαθῶν τὰ νόθα  
προτιμήσασα· γνήσια μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὰ πίστις, εἰρμὸς  
καὶ ἀκολουθία λόγων πρὸς ἔργα, παιδείας κανὼν  
ὀρθῆς, ὡς ἔμπαλιν κακὰ ἀπιστία, τὸ ἀνακόλουθον,  
ἀπαιδευσία, τὰ δὲ νόθα, ὅσα τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς  
153 ἀπηώρηται. ζητῶν οὖν “ οὐκ ἀνεῦρεν

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests the insertion of *δηλοῦσα* before *διὰ*: better, as Cohn, *δοῦσα* after *ῥάβδον*.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 149-153

‘Where is the harlot that was at Enaim by the way-side?’ And they said, ‘There was no harlot here.’ And he returned to Judah and said, ‘I have not found her, and the men of the place say that there is no harlot here.’ And Judah said ‘Let her have them, but let us never be laughed to scorn; I have sent this kid, and thou hast not found her’” (Gen. xxxviii. 20-23). O admirable assay! O sacred test! A mind, 150 bent on purchasing that fairest possession, piety, gave a pledge in the form of three securities or symbols, a signet ring, a cord, a staff (*ibid.* 18): the first, steadfastness and fidelity; the second, sequence and correspondence of word with life and life with word; the third, straight and unbending discipline, on which it is an advantage to lean.<sup>a</sup> The mind is putting 151 to the test whether it did well to give this pledge. What, then, is the test? To drop some bait possessed of attractive power, fame or riches or health of body, or something of this kind, and to ascertain towards which side it sinks as on a pair of scales; for should there be an inclination towards any of these, the pledge is not safe. So he sent the kid thus to recover the pledge from the woman, not with the purpose of getting it back in any case, but only if she should ever prove unworthy to retain it. When 152 will she be proved such? Whenever she exchanges things that matter for things that do not, preferring counterfeits to genuine goods. Now genuine goods are fidelity, sequence and correspondence of words with acts, a standard of right discipline (as on the other hand evils are faithlessness, inconsistency, lack of discipline); while the counterfeits are all things that depend upon irrational impulse. He 153

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 585.

αὐτήν". δυσεύρετον γὰρ ἢ καὶ παντελῶς ἀν-  
εύρετον ἐν πεφυρμένῳ βίῳ τὸ καλόν. καὶ δια-  
πύθεται, εἰ ἔστι περὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦ καλοῦ  
πεπορνευμένη ψυχῇ, ῥητῶς ἀκούσεται, ὅτι οὔτε  
ἔστιν οὔτε ἦν πρότερον· ἀκόλαστος γὰρ ἢ μαχλὰς  
ἢ τριοδίτις σοβὰς ἢ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος ἐπεν-  
ωνίζουσα ἢ καθαρσίῳσι καὶ λουτροῖς τὰ ἐκτὸς φαι-  
δρυννομένη, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ῥυπῶσα, ἢ καθάπερ τὰ  
πινάκια χρώμασι τὴν ὄψιν ὑπογραφομένη χήτει  
φυσικῆς εὐμορφίας ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον πολὺάνδρον  
κακὸν ὡς ἀγαθὸν μεταδιώκουσα ἢ πολυγαμίας  
ἐρώσα ἢ πρὸς μυρία σπειρομένη<sup>1</sup> ἢ ὑπὸ μυρίων  
σωμάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπαιζομένη καὶ  
154 περιωβριζομένη κείθι οὐκ ἔστι. ταῦτα  
ὁ διαπεμψάμενος ἀκούσας, φθόνον ἡλλοτριωκῶς  
ἀφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἴλεως γέγηθεν οὐ μετρίως  
[569] | καὶ φησι· μὴ γὰρ οὐ δι' εὐχῆς ἐστί μοι τὴν  
διάνοιαν ἀστείαν τε καὶ ἀστήν ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι,  
κοσμιότητι καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δια-  
πρέπουσαν ἀρεταῖς, ἐνὶ προσέχουσιν ἀνδρὶ καὶ τὴν  
ἐνὸς οἰκουρίαν ἀγαπῶσαν καὶ μοναρχίᾳ χαίρουσαν.  
εἰ δὴ τοιαύτη τίς ἐστιν, ἐχέτω τὰ δεδομένα, καὶ  
τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὸν εἰρμὸν λόγου πρὸς βίον καὶ  
βίου πρὸς λόγον καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, βεβαιότητα  
155 καὶ πίστιν. ἀλλὰ μὴ ποτε γελασθῶμεν ἀνάξια

<sup>1</sup> A difficult phrase which Mangey regarded as spurious: perhaps read *μυρίων*, "she becomes the seed-plot of thousands."

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 153-155

sought there and "did not find her"; for that which is morally excellent is hard or even impossible to find in a life of turmoil. And if he make careful inquiries whether there be in all the region of that which is morally excellent a soul that has played the harlot, he will be told definitely that there neither is nor was aforetime, for that there is not there any licentious one, or a wanton, or a street-walker, or one prostituting for gain the flower of her youth, or making bright what is outside by baths and cleansings while she is foul within, or in default of natural beauty painting her face as pictures are coloured, or what is called the "many-husband" pest, following after evil as though it were good, or a lover of polygamy, or dispersing herself upon a thousand different objects material and immaterial alike, or mocked and outraged by that multitude. He who had sent the 154 messenger, on hearing this, being one who had put envy far from him and was of a gracious disposition, rejoices greatly and says: "Is it not my heart-felt prayer that my understanding should be a true and high-born lady,<sup>a</sup> eminent for chastity and modesty and all other virtues, devoted to one husband and keeping watch with delight over the home of one, and exulting in a sole ruler? If in truth she is such an one, let her keep the things which have been given her, both discipline and the correspondence of word with life and of life with word, and the most vital of all, steadfastness and fidelity. But let us 155 never be laughed to scorn in the belief that we

<sup>a</sup> The allegory seems to get a little confused at this point. Properly the mind is the purchaser of the lady Virtue or Piety.



- κεχαρίσθαι δόξαντες, καίτοι γ' ὑπολαβόντες ἐπι-  
 τηδειότατα τῇ ψυχῇ δεδωρῆσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ  
 μέν, ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν ἐργάσασθαι τὸν βουλόμενον  
 τρόπον βάσανον καὶ δοκιμασίαν λαβεῖν, πεποίηκα,  
 δέλεαρ καθεὶς καὶ διαπεμψάμενος, ὃ δὲ ἐπεδείξατο  
 156 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν οὐκ εὐάλωτον. ἄδηλον δὲ ἐμοὶ  
 τὸ διὰ τί <τίς><sup>1</sup> οὐκ εὐάλωτος· μυρίους γὰρ εἶδον  
 τῶν ἄγαν φαύλων τὰ αὐτὰ δρῶντας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοῖς  
 λίαν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ διανοίας τῆς αὐτῆς,  
 ἐπειδὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθεια, τοῖς δὲ ὑπόκρισις ἀσκεῖ-  
 ται· χαλεπὴ δ' ἡ διάγνωσις ἀμφοῖν· πολλάκις γὰρ  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρενυμερήθη τὸ εἶναι.
- 157 XXVIII. Καὶ τὸν χίμαρον τὸν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας  
 ὃ φιλάρετος ζητεῖ μέν, οὐχ εὐρίσκει δέ· ἤδη γὰρ,  
 ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ λόγιον, ἐνεπέπρηστο. τί δ' αἰνίτ-  
 τεται, σκεπτέον· τὸ μὲν μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἴδιον θεοῦ,  
 τὸ δὲ μετανοεῖν σοφοῦ· παγχάλεπον δὲ καὶ δυσεύ-  
 158 ρετον τοῦτό γε. φησὶν οὖν ὁ χρησμός, ὅτι “ ζητῶν  
 ἐξεζήτησε Μωυσῆς ” ἐν τῷ θνητῷ βίῳ τὸν περὶ  
 ἁμαρτημάτων μετανοίας λόγον. ἐσπούδαζε γὰρ  
 ἀνευρεῖν ἀπαμπισχομένην τὸ ἀδικεῖν ψυχὴν καὶ  
 ἄνευ αἰσχύνης γυμνὴν προϊοῦσαν ἁμαρτημάτων.  
 ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐχ εὔρε, τῆς φλογός, λέγω δὲ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> *τίς* is my insertion: Wend. prints *δῆλον* for the ms. *ἄδηλον*, but this does not agree with the sequel. The test was necessary, because experience shews that without such a test we may easily be deceived. It would be possible to read *τίς* indefinite instead of *τίς* interrogative; but the double interrogative (what makes who?) is idiomatic Greek. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 296.

“ Or “ of little value.” Philo interprets the *lxx* “ Let her have them (*i.e.* the pledges), but let us never be laughed to scorn ” as meaning that to suppose that the material gift of the kid should be taken in exchange for the spiritual,

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 155-158

thought our gifts unmerited; <sup>a</sup> we did indeed suppose that they were presents perfectly adapted to the soul. But while I, on my part, did what one who wished to test and try a character would naturally do, when I offered a bait, and sent a messenger, that character on its part made it evident that it was by its nature no easy prey. But I could not tell what it is <sup>156</sup> which makes one an easy prey and another not; for I have seen great numbers of the exceedingly wicked sometimes acting exactly like the very good, but not for the same reason, since one set is putting truth into practice, the other set hypocrisy: and it is hard to distinguish these two; for many a time being is outdone by seeming."

XXVIII. Again, the goat of the sin-offering is <sup>157</sup> sought for by the lover of virtue, but he does not find it; for, as the passage of Holy Writ shews, it had already been burnt (Lev. x. 16). We must consider what he means by this figure. To do no sin is peculiar to God; to repent, to the wise man; and this latter is a very difficult thing, and hard to find. So the oracle says that "Moses diligently sought" <sup>158</sup> in this mortal life the secret of repentance for sins; for he was intent on discovering a soul divesting itself of unrighteousness, and going forth without shame, naked of misdeeds. But nevertheless he did not find one, for the flame, in other words the irrational im-

would expose the offerer to the charge that he thought the latter of little value (or perhaps unduly depreciated the soul to which the offer is made). It is not so. The offer is the test which every aspiring soul must put to itself.

It might perhaps be suggested that the scorn is Tamar's, and the gift scorned the kid, and this is supported by the description of her in § 149. But it is difficult to fit this in with the rest of the sentence.

ὀξυκινητοτάτης ὁρμῆς ἀλόγου, καταδραμούσης καὶ  
 159 ὅλην ψυχὴν ἐπιμεμηθείσης. νικᾶται γὰρ τὰ μὲν  
 ἐλάττω πρὸς τῶν πλειόνων, τὰ δὲ βραδύτερα πρὸς  
 τῶν ὠκυδρομωτέρων, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα πρὸς τῶν  
 παρόντων· ἐσταλμένον δὲ καὶ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον ἢ  
 μετάνοια, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ταχὺ καὶ συνεχὲς ἐν τῷ  
 θνητῷ βίῳ τὸ ἀδικεῖν. εἰκότως οὖν ἐν τροπῇ τις  
 γενόμενός φησι μὴ δύνασθαι “ τοῦ περὶ ἁμαρτίας  
 ἐμφαγεῖν ”· μὴ γὰρ ἐπιτρέπειν τὸ συνειδὸς αὐτῷ  
 μετανοίᾳ τραφῆναι· διὸ λέγεται· “ ἤκουσε Μωυσῆς,  
 160 καὶ ἤρεσεν αὐτῷ.” τὰ γὰρ πρὸς γένεσιν τῶν πρὸς  
 θεὸν μακρὰν ἀπέζευκται· τῇ μὲν γὰρ τὰ φανερά  
 μόνα, τῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀφανῆ γινώριμα. παραπαίει  
 δ’, ὅς ἂν τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καταψευδόμενος ἔτ’ ἀδικῶν  
 μετανενοηκέναι φάσκη· ὁμοιον ὡς εἰ καὶ ὁ νοσῶν  
 [570] τὸν | ὑγιαίνοντα καθυποκρίνοιτο· μᾶλλον γάρ, ὡς  
 ἔοικε, νοσήσει μηδὲν τῶν εἰς ὑγίειαν προσφόρων  
 ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀξιῶν.

161 XXIX. Ἐζήτει ποτὲ προαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φιλο-  
 μαθοῦς καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, αἷς τὰναγκαιότατα τῶν ἐν  
 τῷ κόσμῳ πραγμάτων ἐπιτελεῖται· θεώμενος γὰρ  
 ὅσα ἐν γενέσει φθειρόμενα καὶ γεννώμενα, ἀπολ-  
 λύμενά τε αὖ καὶ διαμένοντα, τέθηπε καὶ κατα-  
 πέπληκται καὶ ἐκβοᾷ φάσκων· “ τί, ὅτι ὁ βᾶτος

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<sup>a</sup> The main point of the story of Lev. x. 16-20, some of the details of which seem to be difficult, is that the goat should have been eaten by the priests instead of being burnt. Aaron pleaded in defence “there have befallen me such things as these,” i.e. the death of his sons Nadab and Abihu. “In spite of the sacrifice offered on behalf of Aaron and his house, two of his sons have perished; with such a

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 158-161

pulse exceeding swift in its movements, had overrun and devoured the whole soul. For the fewer are over- 159  
powered by the more numerous, and the slower by the more fleet, and things that tarry by things that are present ; and repentance is a restricted and slow and tarrying thing, whereas wrongdoing is copious and swift and constantly present in this mortal life. Naturally, then, one who has come into a state of lapse from virtue says that he is " unable to eat of the sin-offering," since his inward feeling does not permit him to be fed by repentance, wherefore it is said " Moses heard it, and it pleased him " (Lev. x. 19 f.). For our 160  
relation to other created beings is a very different thing from our relation to God ; for to creation only things manifest are known, but to God hidden things also. The man who, lying against the truth, maintains while still doing wrong that he has repented, is a madman. It is just as if the sick man were to act the part of the healthy man : he will clearly get worse through declining to have recourse to any means conducive to health.<sup>a</sup>

XXIX. Again, on one occasion the prophet, led on 161  
by his love of acquiring knowledge, was seeking after the causes by which the most essential occurrences in the universe are brought about ; for observing all created things wasting away and coming to the birth, perishing and yet remaining, he is smitten with amazement and cries out saying, " Why is it that the bush

token of the divine displeasure resting upon him could he, immediately afterwards, feel himself entitled to eat the sacrifice?" (Driver). Philo interprets the goat as Repentance, which is consumed by the fire of unreasoning appetite, and therefore " not found "; and to eat of it and thus to assume a repentance which is not sincere will make the sinner's condition worse.

- 162 καίεται καὶ οὐ κατακαίεται". τὸν γὰρ ἄβατον [οὐ]<sup>1</sup>  
 πολυπραγμονεῖ χῶρον, θείων ἐνδιαίτημα φύσεων,  
 ἀλλ' ἤδη μέλλων ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀτελῇ πόνον διαθλεῖν  
 ἐπικουφίζεται ἐλέω καὶ προμηθείᾳ τοῦ πάντων  
 σωτῆρος θεοῦ, ὃς ἔχρησεν ἐκ τῶν ἀδύτων. "μὴ  
 ἐγγίσης ᾧδε," ἴσον τῷ μὴ πρόσιθι τοιαύτη δια-  
 σκέψει· περιεργίας γὰρ καὶ φιλοπραγμοσύνης μεί-  
 ζονος ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην δύναμιν τὸ ἔργον· ἀλλὰ  
 τὰ μὲν γεγονότα θαύμαζε, τὰς δὲ αἰτίας, δι' αἷς ἢ  
 163 γέγονεν ἢ φθείρεται, μὴ πολυπραγμόνει. "ὁ γὰρ  
 τόπος ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἔστηκας" φησί "γῆ ἁγία ἐστί."  
 ποῖος τόπος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ὁ αἰτιολογικός, ὃν  
 μόνον ταῖς θείαις ἀνῆψε φύσειςιν, ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα  
 νομίσας ἱκανὸν εἶναι αἰτιολογίας ἐφάψασθαι;  
 164 ὁ δ' ἄρα διὰ πόθον ἐπιστήμης ὑπερ-  
 κύψας ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον ζητεῖ περὶ τοῦ κοσμο-  
 ποιοῦ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ δυσόρατος οὗτος καὶ δυστόπαστος,  
 σῶμα ἢ ἀσώματος ἢ ὑπεράνω τι τούτων ἢ φύσις  
 ἀπλῆ, οἷα μονάς, ἢ σύγκριμα ἢ τί τῶν ὄντων.  
 καὶ τοῦθ' ὁρῶν ὡς ἔστι δυσθήρατον καὶ δυσπερι-  
 νόητον, εὐχεται παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ, τίς  
 ἐστιν ὁ θεός· οὐ γὰρ ἤλπισε δυνήσεσθαι γινῶναι  
 165 παρ' ἐτέρου τινὸς τῶν μετ' αὐτόν. ἀλλ' ὅμως  
 ἴσχυσε<sup>2</sup> μηδὲν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντος ἐρευνᾶν οὐσίας·

<sup>1</sup> [οὐ]: so Mangey: Wend., who retains it, may have thought that the *βάτος* represented the laws of causation in the visible world while the *ἄβατος χῶρος* was the supernatural sphere; but this is impossible in view of τὰς δὲ αἰτίας . . . μὴ πολυπραγμόνει below. Wend. probably also did not realize that *βάτος* was supposed by Greek philologists to be derived from *ἄβατος*. It would however be possible to retain οὐ if a question-mark is placed after φύσεων ("are not his thoughts busy?").

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is burning and not being consumed ? ” (Exod. iii. 2 f.), for his thoughts are busy over the untrodden place, 162 familiar only to Divine natures. But when now on the point of engaging in an endless and futile labour, he is relieved of it by the kindness and providence of God the Saviour of all men, who from out of the hallowed spot warned him “ Draw not nigh hither ” (*ibid.* 5), as much as to say “ Enter not on such an inquiry ”; for the task argues a busy, restless curiosity too great for human ability : marvel at all that has come into being, but as for the reasons for which they have either come into being or are decaying, cease to busy thyself with them. For “ the place on which 163 thou standest is holy ground,” it says (*ibid.* 5). What kind of place or topic is meant ? Evidently that of causation, a subject which He has assigned to Divine natures only, deeming no human being capable of dealing with the study of causation.

But the prophet owing to desire of knowledge lifts 164 his eyes above the whole universe and becomes a seeker regarding its Creator, asking of what sort this Being is so difficult to see, so difficult to conjecture. Is He a body or incorporeal, or something exalted above these ? Is He a single Nature, a Monad as it were ? Or a composite Being ? What among all that exists ? And seeing that this is a problem hard to pursue, hard to take in by thought, he prays that he may learn from God Himself what God is : for he had no hope of being able to ascertain this from another, from one of those that are inferior to Him. Nevertheless he did not succeed in finding anything 165 by search respecting the essence of Him that is. For

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἡκουσε.

“ τὰ γὰρ ὀπίσω μου ” φησὶν “ ὄψει, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον οὐ μὴ ἴδῃς.” αὐταρκες γάρ ἐστι σοφῶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἐπόμενα καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν γνῶναι, τὴν δ’ ἡγεμονικὴν οὐσίαν ὁ βουλόμενος καταθεάσασθαι τῷ περιαιυγεί τῶν ἀκτίνων πρὶν ἰδεῖν πηρὸς ἔσται.

166 XXX. Τοσαῦτα καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίτου διειλεγμένοι κεφαλαίου μέτιμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τέταρτον καὶ τε-  
[571] λευταῖον | τῶν προταθέντων, καθ’ ὃ μὴ γενομένης ζητήσεως φιλεῖ προαπαντᾶν εὗρεσις. ἐν τούτῳ τάττεται πᾶς αὐτομαθῆς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος σοφός· οὐ γὰρ σκέψει καὶ μελέταις καὶ πόνοις ἐβελτιώθη, γενόμενος δ’ εὐθὺς εὐτρεπισμένην εὔρε σοφίαν ἄνωθεν ὀμβρηθεῖσαν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ, ἥς ἀκράτου σπάσας εἰστιάθη καὶ διετέλεσε μεθύνων τὴν μετ’

167 ὀρθότητος λόγου νήφουσιν μέθην. οὗτός ἐστιν ὃν Ἰσαὰκ ὠνόμασαν οἱ χρησμοί, ὃν οὐχ ἑτέρῳ μὲν χρόνῳ συνέλαβεν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ ἔτεκεν ἢ ψυχῇ· “ συλλαβοῦσα ” γάρ φησιν “ ἔτεκεν ” ὥς ἂν ἀχρόνως. οὐ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ὁ γεννώμενος, ἀλλὰ νόημα καθαρώτατον, φύσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσει καλόν· οὐ χάριν καὶ ἢ τίκτουσα αὐτὸ λέγεται “ τὰ γυναικεῖα ἐκλιπεῖν,” τὰ συνήθη καὶ εὐλογα καὶ ἀνθρώ-

168 πινα. καινὸν γὰρ καὶ κρεῖττον λόγου καὶ θεῖον ὄντως τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναις ἐπινοίαις, ἀλλ’ ἐνθέῳ μανίᾳ συνιστάμενον. ἢ ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι οὐ δέονται πρὸς τὸν τόκον μαιῶν Ἑβραῖαι, “ τίκτουσι ” δ’, ὥς φησι Μωυσῆς, “ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν

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he is told "What is behind Me thou shalt see, but My face thou shalt by no means see" (Exod. xxxiii. 23). For it amply suffices the wise man to come to a knowledge of all that follows on after God and in His wake, but the man that wishes to set his gaze upon the Supreme Essence, before he sees Him will be blinded by the rays that beam forth all around Him.

XXX. Having said thus much about the third 166 head also, we will go on to the fourth and last of those proposed for consideration, in which there has been no "seeking," and yet "finding" meets us unbidden. Under this head is ranged every wise man who learns directly from no teacher but himself; for he does not by searchings and practisings and toilings gain improvement, but as soon as he comes into existence he finds wisdom placed ready to his hand, shed from heaven above, and of this he drinks undiluted draughts, and sits feasting, and ceases not to be drunken with the sober drunkenness which right reason brings. This is he whom Holy Writ 167 calls "Isaac," whom the soul did not conceive at one time and give birth to at another, for it says "she conceived and gave birth" (Gen. xxi. 2) as though timelessly. For he that was thus born was not a man, but a most pure thought, beautiful not by practice but by nature. And for this reason she that gave birth to it is said "to have forsaken the ways of women" (Gen. xviii. 11), those human ways of custom and mere reasoning. For the nature of 168 the self-taught is new and higher than our reasoning, and in very deed Divine, arising by no human will or purpose but by a God-inspired ecstasy. Do you not know that Hebrew mothers need no midwives for their delivery, but as Moses says "before the mid-



τὰς μαίας,” λέγω δὲ μεθόδους, τέχνας, ἐπιστήμας,  
 φύσει μόνῃ χρώμεναι συνεργῶ; παγ-  
 κάλους δὲ καὶ προσφυστάτους ὄρους ἀποδίδωσι  
 τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς, ἓνα μὲν τοιοῦτον, τὸ ταχὺ εὐρίσκό-  
 169 μενον, ἕτερον δὲ “ὁ παρέδωκεν ὁ θεός.” τὸ μὲν  
 οὖν διδασκόμενον μακροῦ χρόνου δεῖται, τὸ δὲ  
 φύσει ταχύ τε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἄχρονόν ἐστι·  
 κακῆϊνο μὲν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτο δὲ θεὸν ὑφήγητὴν  
 ἔχει. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρότερον ὅρον κατέταξεν ἐν  
 πεύσει· “τί τοῦτο ὁ ταχὺ εὔρες, ὦ τέκνον,” τὸν  
 δὲ ἕτερον ἐν ἀποκρίσει φάσκων· “ὁ παρέδωκε  
 170 κύριος ὁ θεός.” XXXI. ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
 τρίτος ὅρος τοῦ αὐτομαθοῦς, τὸ ἀναβαῖνον αὐτό-  
 ματον. λέγεται γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς· “οὐ  
 σπερεῖτε, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμήσητε τὰ αὐτόματα ἀναβαί-  
 νοντα αὐτῆς”· τέχνης γὰρ οὐδεμιᾶς χρεῖα τὰ φύσει,  
 τοῦ θεοῦ σπεύροντος αὐτὰ καὶ τῇ γεωργικῇ τέχνῃ  
 τελεσφοροῦντος ὡς ἂν αὐτόματα τὰ οὐκ αὐτόματα,  
 πλὴν παρόσον ἐπινοίας ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἐδεήθη  
 171 τὸ παράπαν. οὐ προτρέπει δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμην  
 ἀποφαίνεται· παραινῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἄν· μὴ  
 σπεύρητε, μὴ ἀμήσητε, ἀποφαινόμενος δέ· “οὐ  
 σπερεῖτε, οὐδὲ μὴ ἀμήσητε τὰ αὐτόματα”· οἷς  
 γὰρ ἀπαυτοματίζουσιν ἐκ φύσεως ἐπιτυγχάνομεν,  
 τούτων οὔτε τὰς ἀρχὰς οὔτε τὰ τέλη παρ’ ἑαυτοὺς  
 [572] | ὡς ἂν αἰτίους<sup>1</sup> εὐρίσκομεν. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν ὁ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀναίτιους : Mangey ἀναιτίων.

<sup>a</sup> Since in the other six places where Philo uses the phrase the quotation comes from Deuteronomy, it is perhaps more probable that here also he thinks he is quoting that book.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 168-171

wives " (Exod. i. 19), that is before systems, arts, sciences, come in, they give birth with the co-operation of nature alone? Admirable and most suitable are the marks which the Lawgiver sets forth to define the direct learner : one, " that which is quickly found," another, " that which God delivered." While that which is taught needs a long 169 time, that which comes by nature is rapid, and, we may say, timeless ; and, while the one has man as teacher, the other has God. The former mark he sets down in a question : " What is this which thou didst find quickly, Child ? " the other in a reply, in the words " that which God the Lord delivered " (Gen. xxvii. 20).

XXXI. There is besides 170 a third mark of the direct learner, namely that which comes up of itself. For it is said in the Exhortations<sup>a</sup> : " Ye shall not sow, nor shall ye reap its growths that come up of themselves " (Lev. xxv. 11) : for natural growths require no artificial treatment, since God sows them and by His art of husbandry brings to perfection, as though they were self-grown, plants which are not self-grown, save only so far as they had no need whatever of human attention. His 171 words are not those of exhortation, but of statement<sup>b</sup> : for, in commanding, he would have said " do not sow," " do not reap " ; instead he says in the form of a statement, " Ye shall not sow, nor assuredly shall ye reap that which is self-grown." For when we observe such growths as spring up spontaneously by nature, we find that we are not responsible either for their beginning or their end. Now the seed is

<sup>b</sup> Or, more fully, "statement of what he thinks (will happen)." For this argument from the indicative form of the words cf. *De Ebr.* 138.

- 172 σπόρος, τελευτή δὲ ὁ ἄμητος.<sup>1</sup> ἄμεινον δ' ἐκείνο  
ἐκδέξασθαι· πᾶσα ἀρχὴ καὶ πᾶν τέλος αὐτόματόν  
ἐστιν, ἴσον τῷ φύσεως, οὐχ ἡμέτερον ἔργον· οἷον  
ἀρχὴ τίς τοῦ μανθάνειν; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἡ ἐν τῷ  
διδασκομένῳ φύσις εὐπαράδεκτος οὕσα πρὸς τὰ  
κατὰ μέρος θεωρήματα; τίς δὲ τοῦ τελειοῦσθαι;  
πάλιν, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον εἰπεῖν, ἢ φύσις.  
προκοπὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ ὁ διδάσκων  
ικανός, τὴν δ' ἐπ' ἄκρον τελειότητα ὁ θεὸς μόνος,  
173 ἢ ἀρίστη φύσις. ὁ τούτοις ἐντρεφό-  
μενος τοῖς δόγμασι τὴν αἰδίδιον εἰρήνην ἄγει, πόνων  
ἀφειμένος ἀτρύτων. ἀδιαφορεῖ δ' ἐβδομάδος  
εἰρήνη κατὰ τὸν νομοθέτην· ἐν γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ δοκεῖν  
174 ἐνεργεῖν ἀποτιθεμένη γένεσις ἀναπαύεται. προσ-  
ηκόντως οὖν λέγεται· “καὶ ἔσται τὰ σάββατα τῆς  
γῆς ὑμῖν βρώματα,” δι' ὑπονοιῶν· τρόφιμον γὰρ  
καὶ ἀπολαυστὸν μόνον ἢ ἐν θεῷ ἀνάπαυσις, τὸ  
μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν περιποιούσα, τὴν ἀπόλεμον εἰρή-  
νην. ἢ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ πόλεις ἀνακέκρται ἐμφυλῖω  
πολέμῳ, ἢ δὲ ψυχῆς ἀμιγῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπάσης  
175 ἐστίν. ἐναργέστατα δέ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν  
ἄνευ ζητήσεως εὗρεσιν παριστάνειν διὰ τούτων·  
“ὅταν εἰσαγάγῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου εἰς τὴν γῆν  
ἣν ὤμοσε τοῖς πατράσι σου δοῦναί σοι, πόλεις

<sup>1</sup> Wendland puts a full stop after αὐτόματα, a colon after ἐνρίσκομεν, and a full stop after ἄμητος. The last at any rate seems to me to obscure the connexion of thought. See note <sup>a</sup> below.

<sup>a</sup> The connexion of thought seems to be as follows: to say that we shall not sow or reap (in the sense of bringing to the harvest) self-grown plants is a truism. Sowing must mean “beginning” and reaping “ending” and the text is

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 172-175

the beginning and the reaping the end; and the 172 text is better understood in this way : every beginning and every end is " automatic," in the sense that it is not our doing but that of nature.<sup>a</sup> For instance, what is the beginning of the act of learning? Evidently it is the nature residing in the pupil with its receptivity towards the several subjects of study. What again is the beginning of the completion of learning? Undoubtedly it is nature. It is within the power of the teacher to lead us from one stage of progress to another ; God only, Nature at its best, can produce in us the full completion.

The man that is nurtured on these doctrines enjoys 173 the peace that never ends, released from unabating toils. Peace and Seven are identical according to the Legislator: for on the seventh day<sup>b</sup> creation puts away its seeming activity and takes rest. So, taken 174 in a symbolic sense, the words " And the sabbath of the land shall be food for you " (Lev. xxv. 6) are to the point ; for nothing is nourishing and enjoyable food, save rest in God, securing as it does for us the greatest boon, the peace which is unbroken by war. For the peace which is made by one city with another is mixed with and marred by intestine war; but the peace of the soul has no admixture of discord whatever.

But it is by the following that the 175 Lawgiver seems to me most clearly to supply an example of finding without seeking : " When the Lord thy God shall have led thee into the land which He sware unto thy fathers to give thee, cities great intended to teach us that all our actions begin and end from God.

<sup>b</sup> Or " the seventh (anything)." See note on *De Mut.* 260. Philo clearly has the sabbatical year in mind as well as the sabbath itself.

μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς, ἃς οὐκ ὤκοδόμησας, οἰκίας  
 πλήρεις πάντων ἀγαθῶν, ἃς οὐκ ἐνέπλησας, λάκ-  
 κους λελατομημένους, οὓς οὐκ ἐξελατόμησας, ἀμ-  
 πελῶνας καὶ ἐλαιῶνας, οὓς οὐ κατεφύτευσας.”

176 ὁρᾷς τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν κεχυμένων μεγάλων καὶ  
 ἐτοιμῶν πρὸς κτῆσιν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν;  
 εἰκάζονται δὲ πόλεσι μὲν αἱ γενικαὶ ἀρεταί, διότι  
 ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐρύνονται, οἰκίαις δ’ αἱ ἐν εἵδει—  
 στέλλονται γὰρ εἰς βραχύτερον αὐται κύκλον,—  
 λάκκοις δὲ αἱ εὐφυεῖς ψυχαί, αἱ εὐπαράδεκτοι  
 σοφίας ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ὕδατος, ἀμπελῶσι δὲ καὶ ἐλαιῶ-  
 σιν αἱ προκοπαὶ καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ καρπῶν γενέσεις·  
 καρπὸς δ’ ἐπιστήμης ὁ θεωρητικὸς βίος, ἄκρατον  
 εὐφροσύνην περιποιῶν ὡς ἀπ’ οἴνου καὶ νοητὸν  
 φέγγος ὡς ἀπὸ φλογός, ἧς ἔλαιον τροφή.

177 XXXII. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ εὐρέσεως εἰπόντες μέτ-  
 ιμεν ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῆς ἐφόδου. “εὗρεν”  
 οὖν φησιν “αὐτὴν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς  
 τοῦ ὕδατος.” λέγεται δὲ πολλαχῶς πηγὴ, ἓνα  
 μὲν τρόπον ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς, ἕτερον δὲ ἡ λογικὴ  
 ἕξις καὶ παιδεία, τρίτον δ’ ἡ φαύλη διάθεσις,  
 τέταρτον ἡ σπουδαία καὶ ἐναντία ταύτης, πέμπτον

178 αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων | ποιητὴς καὶ πατήρ. τὰς δὲ  
 [573] τούτων πίστει οἱ ἀναγραφέντες δηλοῦσι χρησμοί·  
 τίνες οὖν εἰσιν, ἐπισκεπτέον. ἄδεταί τις ἐν ἀρχῇ  
 τῆς νομοθεσίας μετὰ τὴν κοσμοποιίαν εὐθὺς  
 τοιόσδε· “πηγὴ δὲ ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ  
 179 ἐπότιζε πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.” οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 ἀλληγορίας καὶ φύσεως τῆς κρύπτεσθαι φιλούσης

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quod Deus* 94 ff.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 585.

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and fair, which thou buildedst not, houses full of all good things, which thou filledst not, cisterns cut out, which thou cuttedst not, vineyards and olive-yards, which thou plantedst not " (Deut. vi. 10 f.). Seest 176 thou the lavish abundance of the good things showered upon them, great and ready for possession and enjoyment? The generic virtues are likened to cities, because they have the greatest expanse; the special virtues to houses, for these are restricted to a narrower compass; souls endowed with good native ability are likened to cisterns, being ready to receive wisdom as these do water; vineyards and olive-yards represent progress and growth and yield of fruits; and the fruit of knowledge is the life of contemplation, winning for us unmixed gladness as from wine, and intellectual light as from a flame which oil feeds.<sup>a</sup>

XXXII. In what preceded we have spoken about 177 finding, having previously dealt with flight. We will now pass on in turn to the points which follow next in our plan of treatment. We read, then, "An angel of the Lord found her at the water-spring" (Gen. xvi. 7). "Spring" is a word used in many senses. In the first place, our mind is so called; secondly, the reasoning habit<sup>b</sup> and education; thirdly, the bad disposition; fourthly, its opposite, the good disposition; fifthly, the Maker and Father of the Universe Himself. The proofs of this statement are 178 supplied by the Oracles of Scripture: let us see what they are. There is one such declaration in the beginning of the Book of the Law, immediately after the record of the Creation of the World, running as follows: "A spring went up out of the earth and watered all the face of the earth" (Gen. ii. 6). Those who are 179 unversed in allegory and the nature-truth which

- ἀμύητοι τὴν εἰρημένην εἰκάζουσι πηγὴν τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ποταμῷ, ὃς κατὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἀναχεόμενος λιμνάζει τὴν πεδιάδα, μονονοῦκ ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ
- 180 δύνανται ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δοκῶν. ὁ γὰρ χειμῶνος ταῖς ἄλλαις χώραις οὐρανός, τοῦτ' Αἰγύπτῳ θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ὁ Νεῖλός ἐστιν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ γῆν τὸν ὑετὸν ἀποστέλλει, ὁ δὲ κάτωθεν ἄνω, τὸ παραδοξότατον, ὕψων ἄρδει τὰς ἀρούρας. ὅθεν ὁρμηθεὶς καὶ Μωυσῆς ἄθεον ἀνέγραψε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τρόπον γῆν οὐρανοῦ προκρίνοντα καὶ τῶν ὀλυμπίων τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα.
- 181 ἀλλὰ μὴν περὶ τούτων καὶ αὐθὶς ποτε ἐνέσται λέγειν, ὅταν ἐπιτρέπωσιν οἱ καιροί· νυνὶ δὲ—στοχαστέον γὰρ τοῦ μὴ μακρηγορεῖν—ἐπανιτέον ἐπὶ τὴν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἀπόδοσιν καὶ λεκτέον τὸ “πηγὴν ἀναβαίνειν καὶ ποτίζειν πᾶν τὸ πρό-
- 182 σωπον τῆς γῆς” τοιοῦτον εἶναι· τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἡμῶν εἰκὸς πηγῇ δυνάμεις πολλὰς οἶα διὰ γῆς φλεβῶν ἀνομβροῦν, τὰς δυνάμεις ταύτας ἄχρι τῶν αἰσθήσεων [ὀργάνων],<sup>1</sup> ὀφθαλμῶν, ὠτων, ῥινῶν, τῶν ἄλλων, ἀποστέλλει· αἱ δ' εἰσὶ παντὸς ζώου περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ πρόσωπον. ποτίζεται οὖν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τοῦ κατὰ ψυχὴν ἡγεμονικοῦ τὸ σώματος ἡγεμονικὸν πρόσωπον, τὸ μὲν ὁρατικὸν πνεῦμα τείνοντος εἰς ὄμματα, τὸ δὲ ἀκουστικὸν εἰς οὖς, εἰς δὲ μυκτῆρας τὸ ὁσφρήσεως, τὸ δ' αὖ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῶν αἰσθήσεως ὀργάνων: I retain Wendland's text with grave doubt. He bases his correction on the feminine *al.* But I see no great difficulty in referring this to the “faculties” which if they spring from the mind exhibit themselves in the face. The phrase αἰσθήσεως ὄργανα as applied to the eyes, etc., is quite common, *e.g.* *De Som.* i. 55, and indeed is more correct than αἰσθήσεις.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 179-182

loves to conceal its meaning compare the spring mentioned with the River of Egypt, which rises in flood yearly and turns the plain into a lake, seeming to exhibit a power well-nigh rivalling the sky. For 180 what the sky is in winter to other countries, this the Nile is to Egypt in the height of summer : the one sends the rain from above upon the earth, the other, strange to say, rains up from below and waters the fields. This afforded Moses ground<sup>a</sup> for branding the Egyptian character as atheistical in its preference for earth above heaven, for the things that live on the ground above those that dwell on high, and the body above the soul.

However, it will 181 be possible to speak of this hereafter, when opportunity permits. At present the need for aiming at brevity compels me to take up the interpretation of the passage allegorically, and to say that "a spring going up and watering all the face of the earth" has the meaning I am about to give. Our dominant 182 faculty resembles a spring : and from it like the spring water through the veins of the earth well up many powers which it sends forth till they reach the senses, eyes, ears, nostrils, and so on. Every animal has those in its head and face. Thus the dominant faculty in the soul waters, as from a spring, the face, which is the dominant part of the body, extending to the eyes the spirit<sup>b</sup> of vision, that of hearing to the ears, to the nostrils that of smelling,

<sup>a</sup> Literally "starting from which," i.e. this is the original cause of the facts which led Moses to brand, etc. Cf. *De Mos.* ii. 193 ff., where the blasphemy of the son of an Egyptian father (Lev. xxiv. 10-15) is ascribed to the atheism of Egypt and this to their deification of a mere river.

<sup>b</sup> Or "current."



γεύσεως εἰς στόμα καὶ τὸ ἀφῆς εἰς σύμπασαν τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

- 183 XXXIII. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς παιδείας πολύτροποι πηγαί, αἷς ὀρθοὶ καὶ τροφιμώτατοι λόγοι, καθάπερ στελέχη φοινίκων, παρανέβλαστον. “ἦλθον” γάρ φησιν “εἰς Αἰλίμ, καὶ ἐν Αἰλίμ ἦσαν δώδεκα πηγαὶ ὑδάτων καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα στελέχη φοινίκων· παρενέβαλον δὲ ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὰ ὕδατα.” Αἰλίμ πυλῶνες ἐρμηνεύονται, εἰσόδου τῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν σύμβολον· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας ἀρχαὶ πυλῶνες, καὶ ἀρετῆς τὰ ἐγκύκλια προπαιδεύματα.
- 184 τέλειος δ’ ἀριθμὸς ὁ δώδεκα, μάρτυς δ’ ὁ ζῳδιακὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ κύκλος, τοσούτοις κατηστερισμένος φωσφόροις ἄστροις· μάρτυς καὶ ἡ ἡλίου περίοδος· μῆσι γὰρ δώδεκα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ περατοῖ κύκλον, ἰσαριθμοὺς τε τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆσι τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ
- 185 νυκτὸς ὥρας ἄγουσιν ἄνθρωποι. Μωυσῆς δ’ οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγοις ὑμνεῖ τὸν ἀριθμόν, δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀναγράφων, ἄρτους δώδεκα τῆς προθέσεως νομοθετῶν, λίθους, ἐν οἷς αἱ γλυφαί, δώδεκα τῇ ἱερᾷ ἐσθῆτι τοῦ ποδῆρους ἐνδύματος ἐπὶ τῷ λογίῳ
- 186 συνυφαίνειν | κελεύων. ὕμνεϊ μέντοι
- [574] καὶ τὴν δεκάδι πολυπλασιαζομένην ἑβδομάδα, νυνὶ μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα φοίνικας παρὰ ταῖς πηγαῖς εἶναι λέγων, ἐν ἑτέροις δὲ πρεσβυτέρους μόνους ἑβδομήκοντα, οἷς τὸ θεῖον ἐπενεμήθη καὶ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ πάλιν ἱερεῖα μόσχων ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν διαιρέσεσι καὶ τάξεσιν ἐναρμονίοις ἑορτῇ τῶν σκηνῶν προσαγομένων· βουθυτοῦνται γὰρ οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἡμέραις ἑπτά, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ τρισκαίδεκα ταύρων γενομένης· οὕτως γὰρ κατὰ

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that of tasting to the mouth, and that of touch to the whole surface.

XXXIII. There are also a variety of springs of 183 education, by the side of which there grow up, like stems of palm-trees, upright forms of reason rich in nourishing food. For we read that "they came to Elim, and in Elim there were twelve springs of water, and seventy stems of palm-trees; and they encamped there by the waters" (Exod. xv. 27). "Elim" means "gateways," a figure of the entrance to virtue; for just as gateways are the beginnings of a house, so are the preliminary exercises of the schools the beginning of virtue.

And 184 twelve is a perfect number. The zodiac circle in the sky is a witness to this, being adorned with that number of luminous constellations: a further instance is the sun's circuit, for it completes its round in twelve months, and men keep the hours of day and night equal in number to the months of the year. And Moses celebrates this number in several places, 185 telling us of twelve tribes in the nation, directing twelve loaves to be set forth on the Table, bidding them weave twelve inscribed stones on the "oracle" in the holy vestment of the high priest's full-length robe (Ex. xxviii. 17 ff.).

He also pro- 186 claims the ten-fold seven, telling in this passage of seventy palm-trees by the springs, and in another of the Divine Spirit of prophecy bestowed on only seventy elders (Num. xi. 16), and again of seventy calves offered as victims at the Feast of Tabernacles arranged in divisions following a regular series: for they are not all sacrificed at once, but on different days, beginning with thirteen bull-calves (Num. xxix. 13 ff.); for in this way, the number being

- τὴν ἐνὸς ὑφαίρεσιν αἰὲ μέχρι τῆς ἐβδόμης ἔμελλεν ὁ  
 τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα συντεθεὶς ἀριθμὸς ἐκπληροῦσθαι.
- 187 παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς τοὺς θυρώνας ἀρετῆς,  
 τὰ προπαιδεύματα, καὶ θεασάμενοι πηγὰς καὶ παρ'  
 αὐταῖς ἔρρη φοινίκων στρατοπεδεύειν οὐ παρὰ  
 τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς ὕδασι λέγονται. διὰ  
 τί; ὅτι φοίνικι μὲν καὶ ταινίαις οἱ παντελοῦς  
 ἀρετῆς ἐπιφερόμενοι τὰ ἄθλα κοσμοῦνται, οἱ δὲ  
 ἔτι (ἐγ)χορεῦντες τοῖς προπαιδεύμασιν ἅτε μα-  
 θήσεως διψῶντες παρὰ ταῖς δυναμέναις ἄρδιν καὶ  
 ποτίζειν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιστήμας ἰδρύνονται.
- 188 XXXIV. Τοιαῦται μὲν εἰσιν αἱ παιδείας τῆς  
 μέσης πηγαί, τὴν δ' ἀφροσύνης ἐπισκεψώμεθα,  
 περὶ ἧς λελάληκεν ὁ νομοθέτης ὧδε· “ὅς ἂν  
 κοιμηθῇ μετὰ γυναικὸς ἀποκαθαρμένης, τὴν πηγὴν  
 αὐτῆς ἀπεκάλυψε, καὶ αὕτη ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν ῥύσιν  
 τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς· ἐξολοθρευθήτωσαν ἀμφότεροι”·  
 γυναιῖκα τὴν αἴσθησιν καλεῖ, νοῦν<sup>1</sup> ἄνδρα αὐτῆς
- 189 ὑποτιθέμενος. ἀποκάθεται δὲ αἴσθησις, ὅπερ ἐστὶν  
 ἀπωτάτω καθεύζεται, ὅταν νοῦν ἀπολιποῦσα, τὸν  
 γνήσιον ἄνδρα, ἐφιδρύηται, τοῖς δελεάζουσι καὶ  
 φθείρουσι αἰσθητοῖς καὶ ἐρωτικῶς ἐκάστοις ἐμ-  
 πλέκεται· τότε οὖν εἰ πρὸς ὕπνον τράποιτο ὁ νοῦς,  
 ἐγρηγορέναι δέον, “τὴν πηγὴν” τῆς αἰσθήσεως  
 “ἀπεκάλυψε” αὐτὸν—αὐτὸς γὰρ ἦν, ὥσπερ  
 ἔφην, ἡ αἰσθήσεως πηγὴ,—τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἄστεγον  
 καὶ ἀτείχιστον καὶ εὐεπιβούλευτον κατεσκεύασεν
- 190 ἑαυτόν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κακείνη “ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν  
 ῥύσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτῆς”· ῥέουσα γὰρ πᾶσα  
 αἴσθησις πρὸς τὸ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητὸν ἐπικαλύπτεται  
 μὲν καὶ στέλλεται διακρατουμένη λογισμῷ, κατα-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὖν.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 186-190

diminished by one every day up to the seventh, the aggregate of seventy would be made up.

When they have arrived at the vestibules of virtue, 187 the subjects of preliminary instruction, and have beheld springs and palms growing by them, they are said to encamp, not by the trees but by the waters. Why is this ? Because palm and fillets are the adornment of those who carry off the prizes of consummate virtue, but those whose sphere is still that of the preliminary studies, athirst as they are for learning, settle down beside the springs of knowledge which are able to water their souls and give them drink.

XXXIV. Such are the springs of the lower educa- 188 tion. Let us now consider the spring of folly, respecting which the Lawgiver has spoken in these terms : " Whosoever shall have slept with a woman in her separation hath unclosed her spring, and she hath unclosed the flow of her blood ; let them both be put to death " (Lev. xx. 18) : he gives to sense-perception the name woman, suggesting Mind as her husband. Sense-perception is " in separation," 189 which is " sitting a long way off," when, having forsaken Mind, her lawful husband, she plants herself on the objects of sense that ensnare and corrupt, and passionately embraces them one after another. At such a time, then, if Mind go to sleep, when he ought to be awake, " he has unclosed the spring " of sense-perception, himself to wit—for, as I have already said, he himself is the spring of sense-perception—that is, he has exposed himself, without covering or wall of defence, to the plots of his enemies. More- 190 over she too " unclosed the flow of her blood " ; for every sense, in its flow towards the external object of sense, is covered over and drawn in when con-

## PHILO

- λείπεται δὲ ἔρημος χηρεύσασα ἡγεμόνος ὀρθοῦ<sup>1</sup>.  
κακὸν δὲ βαρύντατον ὥς πόλει τὸ ἀτείχιστον, καὶ  
191 ψυχῇ τὸ ἀφύλακτον. πότε οὖν ἀφύλακτος γίνεται;  
ἢ ὅταν ἄστεγος μὲν ὄρασις κεχυμένη πρὸς τὰ ὁρατά,  
ἄστεγος δὲ ἀκοή φωναῖς ἀπάσαις ἐπαντλουμένη,  
ἄστεγοι δὲ ὄσμαι καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς δυνάμεις κατα-  
λειφθῶσι,<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν οἱ κατατρέχοντες βούλωνται  
διαθεῖναι παθεῖν ἐτοιμότηται, ἄστεγος δὲ καὶ ὁ  
προφορικὸς λόγος, ὃς μυρία τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ἅτε  
[575] μηδενὸς τὴν | φορὰν ἀνωθοῦντος, ἀκαίρως ἐξ-  
ελάλησε; ῥυεῖς<sup>3</sup> γοῦν ἀκωλύτως μεγάλας βίων ὑπο-  
θέσεις ὀρθὰς οἶα ἐν γαλήνῃ πλεούσας περιέτρεψεν.  
192 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας κατακλυσμός, ἐν  
ᾧ “ ἀνεώχθησαν μὲν οἱ καταρράκται τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,”  
λέγω δὲ τοῦ νοῦ, “ ἀπεκαλύφθησαν δὲ αἱ πηγαὶ  
τῆς ἀβύσσου,” τουτέστι τῆς αἰσθήσεως. μόνως  
γὰρ οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ κατακλύζεται, ἄνωθεν μὲν ὥσπερ  
ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ τοῦ νοῦ καταρραγέντων ἀδικημάτων,  
κάτωθεν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ γῆς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἀνομι-  
193 βρησάντων παθῶν. οὗ χάριν ἀπαγορεύει Μωυσῆς  
“ ἀσχημοσύνην πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἀποκαλύπτειν,”  
εἰδὼς σαφῶς, ἡλίκον ἐστὶ κακὸν τὰ ἀμαρτήματα  
τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῆς αἰσθήσεως μὴ ἐπέχειν καὶ ἐπι-  
κρύπτειν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ κατορθώματα προφέρειν εἰς  
μέσον.
- 194 XXXV. Αἰδ’ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πηγαί,  
τὴν δὲ φρονήσεως ἐρευνητέον. εἰς ταύτην ἡ ὑπο-  
μονὴ κάτεισι, Ῥεβέκκα, καὶ τὸ ψυχῆς ὅλον πληρώ-

<sup>1</sup> Has λόγου fallen out? ὀρθοῦ ἡγεμόνος seems strange.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. καταλείψωσι (-ουσι or -ουσai).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly we should read ῥύσις. See App. p. 585.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 190-194

trolled by reason, but is left destitute when widowed of an upright ruler, and as it is the most grievous evil for a city to be without walls, so is it for a soul to be without a protector. When, then, is it without 191 a protector? Is it not when sight, spread abroad amid objects of sight, is left uncovered; uncovered too the hearing, flooded by every kind of sound; uncovered the powers of smell and others of like kin, full ready for any experience to which marauding foes may wish to subject them; uncovered again the faculty of speech, giving ill-timed utterance to a thousand things that should have been kept quiet, since there is no one to force back the current? In its unhindered flow it has wrecked great life-projects, which were like ships in fair weather sailing on even keel.

This is the great deluge in which 192 "the cataracts of heaven," that is of the mind, "were opened," "and the fountains of the abyss," that is of sense-perception, "were unclosed" (Gen. vii. 11).<sup>a</sup> For only in this way is a deluge brought upon the soul, when as though from heaven, that is the mind, wrongdoings burst upon it as in a cataract; and from sense-perception below, as it were from the earth, passions come welling up. That is why Moses pro- 193 hibits the "disclosing of the shame of father and mother" (Lev. xviii. 7), well knowing how great an evil it is not to keep back and conceal the sins of the mind and of sense-perception, but to make them public as though they were achievements of righteousness.

XXXV. Such are the springs of sinful deeds: let 194 us investigate that of sound sense. To this Patience, called Rebecca, goes down, and, when she has filled

<sup>a</sup> See *De Conf.* 23 and note.

- σασα ἀγγεῖον ἀναβαίνει, τὴν κάθοδον ἄνοδον  
 εἰπόντος τοῦ νομοθέτου φυσικώτατα· πρὸς γὰρ  
 ὕψος ἐξαίρεται τὸ ἀρετῆς, ἥτις ἂν ἀπ' ἀλαζονείας  
 195 τῆς ὑπεραύχου διανοῇται κατέρχεσθαι. λέγει γάρ·  
 “καταβᾶσα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἐπλησε τὴν ὕδριαν,  
 καὶ ἀνέβη.” ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἡ θεία σοφία, ἐξ ἧς αἱ τε  
 κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστῆμαι ποτίζονται καὶ ὅσαι ψυχαὶ  
 φιλοθεάμονες ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀρίστου κατέσχηνται.  
 196 ταύτῃ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τῇ πηγῇ προσφυέστατα  
 ὀνόματα τίθεται, “κρίσιν” αὐτὴν καὶ “ἀγίαν”  
 προσαγορεύων. “ἀναστρέψαντες” γάρ φησιν  
 “ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τῆς κρίσεως, αὕτη ἐστὶ  
 Κάδης”· καλεῖται δὲ Κάδης ἀγία. μονονοῦ βοᾷ  
 καὶ κέκραγεν, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία ἀγία τέ ἐστιν  
 οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένη γήινον καὶ κρίσις τῶν ὅλων, ἥ  
 πᾶσαι αἱ ἐναντιότητες διαζεύγνυνται.  
 197 XXXVI. Λεκτέον δ' ἤδη περὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ  
 ἀρίστης πηγῆς, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ τῶν ὅλων διὰ προφη-  
 τικῶν ἐθέσπισε στομάτων. εἶπε γάρ πού· “ἐμέ  
 ἐγκατέλιπον πηγὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ὥρυξαν ἑαυτοῖς λάκ-  
 198 ὕδωρ.” οὐκοῦν ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη (πηγή),  
 καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως· τὸν γὰρ σύμπαντα τοῦτον  
 κόσμον ὤμβρησε. καταπέπληγμαι δ' ἀκούων, ὅτι  
 ζωῆς ἐστὶν ἡδε ἡ πηγὴ· μόνος γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ψυχῆς  
 καὶ ζωῆς καὶ διαφερόντως λογικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς  
 μετὰ φρονήσεως ζωῆς αἷτιος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὕλη  
 νεκρόν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς πλεον τι ἢ ζωή, πηγὴ τοῦ ζῆν,  
 199 ὡς αὐτὸς εἶπεν, ἀένναος. οἱ δ' ἀσεβεῖς

\* Cf. *De Post.* 136.  
 ° Or “sifting.”

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 194-199

the whole vessel of the soul, goes up ; for the law-giver speaks of the descent as an ascent with perfect truth to the nature of things, for a soul that resolves to come down from over-weening imposture is exalted thereby to virtue's height.<sup>a</sup> For it says: " And having 195 gone down to the spring she filled the water-pot, and came up " (Gen. xxiv. 16). This spring is the Divine Wisdom, from which both the several fields of knowledge are watered, and all contemplation-loving souls which are possessed by a love of that which is best. To this spring the sacred message applies most 196 appropriate names, calling it " judgement " <sup>b</sup> and " holy." For it says : " They returned and came to the Spring of Judgement ; this is Kadesh " (Gen. xiv. 7) ; and " Kadesh " means " holy." One might think that it cries aloud that the wisdom of God is both holy, containing no earthly ingredient, and a sifting of all the universe, whereby all opposites are separated from each other.<sup>c</sup>

XXXVI. And now we have to speak of the supreme 197 and most excellent Spring, which the All-Father declared by the mouth of prophets. For He said in a certain place : " Me they forsook, a spring of Life, and dug for themselves broken cisterns, which shall fail to hold water " (Jer. ii. 13). God, therefore, is the 198 chiefest spring, and well may He be so called, for this whole universe is a rain that fell from Him. But I bow in awe when I hear that this spring is one of Life: for God alone is the Cause of soul and life, and pre-eminently of the rational soul, and of the Life that is united with wisdom. For matter is a dead thing, but God is something more than Life, an ever-flowing Spring of living, as He Himself says. But 199

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quis rerum* 133 f. and 207 f.



ἀποδράντες, ἄγευστοι τοῦ τῆς ἀθανασίας ποτοῦ  
 διατελέσαντες, ὠρυξαν, οἱ φρενοβλαβεῖς, ἑαυτοῖς  
 ἀλλ' οὐ θεῶ τὸ πρῶτον, τὰς ἰδίας πράξεις τῶν |  
 [576] οὐρανίων καὶ ὀλυμπίων προκρίναντες καὶ τὰ ἐκ  
 200 φροντίδος τῶν αὐτομάτων καὶ ἐτοιμῶν. ἔπειτα  
 ὀρύττουσιν οὐχ ὥς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ, οἱ σοφοί,  
 φρέατα, βαθείας ἐπιστήμας ποτίμους λόγους ἀνα-  
 διδούσας, ἀλλὰ λάκκους, ἴδιον οὐδὲν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν  
 ἔχοντας τρόφιμον καλόν, τῆς δ' ἔξωθεν χρήζοντας  
 ἐπιρροῆς, ἣ γένοιτ' ἂν ἐκ διδασκαλίας ἐπαντλούν-  
 των αἰετῶν ὑψηλῶν ἀκοαῖς τῶν μανθανόντων  
 ἀθρόα τὰ ἐπιστήμης δόγματα καὶ θεωρήματα, καὶ  
 φρενὶ κατασχεῖν καὶ μνήμη τὰ παραδοθέντα ταμι-  
 201 εὔεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> νυνὶ δ' εἰσὶν "οἱ λάκκοι συντετριμμένοι,"  
 τουτέστι πᾶσαι τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ψυχῆς αἱ δεξαμεναὶ  
 τεθραυσμέναι καὶ διαρρέουσαι, μὴ δυνάμεναι συ-  
 σχεῖν καὶ φυλάξαι τὴν τῶν οἴων τε ὠφέλειν ἐπιρ-  
 ροήν.

202 XXXVII. "Α μὲν οὖν περὶ πηγῶν καιρὸς ἦν  
 εἰπεῖν λέλεκται. πάνυ δ' ἐξητασμένως τὴν Ἀγαρ  
 εἰσάγουσιν οἱ χρησμοὶ εὕρισκομένην μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς  
 πηγῆς, οὐκ ἀρυτομένην δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς. οὐπω γάρ  
 ἔστιν ἱκανὴ ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα τῷ σοφίας ἀκράτῳ  
 ποτῷ χρῆσθαι, πλησίον δ' οὐ κεκώλυται ποιεῖσθαι  
 203 τὰς διατριβάς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ λεωφόρος  
 πᾶσα ἢ κατὰ παιδείαν ὁδὸς ἐχυρωτάτη καὶ εὐ-  
 εркеστάτη. διὸ φησιν "ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ Σούρ" αὐτὴν  
 εὐρεθῆναι, τεῖχος δὲ ἡ εὐθυνομία ἐρμηνεύεται Σούρ.

<sup>1</sup> Something is wrong with this sentence. The translation follows Cohn's suggestion to insert ὥς after θεωρήματα (Mangey κελυόντων, Wend. παραινούτων with much the same effect). None of these seems to me satisfactory. See App. p. 585.

the impious flee from Him, persist in leaving untasted the water of immortality, and dig in their madness for themselves but not for God, putting their own works above the celestial gifts of heaven, and the results of forethought above those which come spontaneously and ready for their use. That is their first 200 folly. In the next place they dig, not as did the wise, Abraham and Isaac, wells (Gen. xxi. 30, xxvi. 18), deep sources of knowledge from which draughts of reason are drawn, but cisterns, having no excellent thing of their own to afford nourishment, but needing the inflow from without, that must come from teaching, as the instructors keep on pumping in unbroken stream into the ears of their pupils the principles and conclusions which constitute knowledge, that they may both grasp what is imparted to them with their intelligence and treasure it in their memory. As it is 201 the "cisterns" are "broken," that is to say, all the receptacles of the ill-conditioned soul are crushed and leaking, unable to hold in and keep the inflow of what might do them good.

XXXVII. On the subject of springs all that the 202 occasion required has now been said. But it is with a most carefully considered meaning that Hagar is represented by the sacred oracles as found by the spring but not drawing water from it (Gen. xvi. 7). For a soul, while making gradual progress, is not yet capable of availing itself of Wisdom's untempered draught, but such a soul is not prevented from staying hard by her. Now the road of discipline 203 is all a highway, thoroughly safe and well guarded. Wherefore it says that she was found in the way to Shur<sup>a</sup> (*ibid.*), and "Shur" means "wall" or "straighten-

<sup>a</sup> Or "the way (called) Shur."

ἐνλαλῶν οὖν ὁ ἔλεγχος τῇ ψυχῇ φησιν αὐτῇ·  
 “ πόθεν ἔρχῃ, καὶ ποῦ πορεύῃ;” τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ  
 ἐνδοιάζων καὶ οὐ πυνθανόμενος μᾶλλον ἢ δυσωπῶν  
 καὶ ὀνειδίζων προφέρεται· θέμις γὰρ οὐδέν ἀγνοεῖν  
 204 τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀγγέλῳ. σημεῖον δέ· καὶ τὰ κατὰ  
 γαστρός, ἅπερ ἄδηλα γενέσει, σαφῶς οἶδεν ἐν οἷς  
 φησιν· “ ἰδοὺ σὺ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχεις, καὶ τέξῃ παιδίον,  
 καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰσμαήλ.” τὸ γὰρ  
 γνῶναι, ὅτι τὸ κυοφορούμενον ἄρρεν ἐστίν, οὐκ  
 ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν προαίρεσιν  
 ἢ χρήσεται τοῦ βίου ὁ μήπω γεγεννημένος, ὅτι  
 205 ἀγροῖκος, ἀλλ’ οὐ πολιτικὴ καὶ ἡμερος.<sup>1</sup> τὸ  
 “ πόθεν οὖν ἔρχῃ;” πρὸς ἐπίπληξιν<sup>2</sup> λέγεται τῆς  
 ἀποδιδρασκούσης ψυχῆς τὴν ἀμείνω καὶ κυρίαν  
 γνώμην, ἧς θεραπαίνῃς οὐ λεγομένη μᾶλλον ἢ  
 ἔργοις ὑπάρχουσα μέγα κλέος ἔμελλεν [ἐξ]οῖσσεσθαι.  
 “ ποῖ δὲ καὶ πορεύῃ;” τὰ ἄδηλα μετατρέχεις, τὰ  
 206 ὁμολογούμενα ἀπορρίψασα. καλὸν οὖν  
 αὐτὴν ἐπαινεῖσαι χαίρουσαν ἐπὶ νουθεσίᾳ<sup>3</sup>· δείγματα  
 δὲ τοῦ χαίρειν ἐξενήνοχε τό τε μὴ κατηγορῆσαι  
 τῆς δεσποίνης καὶ τὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθεῖναι ἑαυτῇ  
 τοῦ δρασμοῦ καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀποκρίνασθαι πρὸς τὸ δεύ-  
 τερον πύσμα τὸ “ ποῦ πορεύῃ;” ἄδηλον γάρ, περὶ  
 [577] δὲ τῶν ἀδῆλων ἐπέχειν | ἀσφαλές τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον.  
 207 XXXVIII. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τῆς  
 πειθαρχίας αὐτὴν ὁ ἔλεγχος “ ἀποστραφηθὶ πρὸς  
 τὴν κυρίαν σου” φησί· λυσιτελές γὰρ τῇ μαν-  
 θανούσῃ ἢ τῆς διδασκούσης ἐπιστασία καὶ τῇ ἀτελεῖ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγροικον . . . πολιτικὸν . . . ἡμερον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐπιπλήξεως.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. νουθεσίαν.

<sup>a</sup> It is difficult to give any sense to οὖν. Perhaps read γοῦν (transitional).

ing." The inward monitor, then, speaking within the soul, says to it, "Whence comest thou, and whither art thou going?" (*ibid.* 8). In thus addressing her he does not express doubt or inquiry; rather he is reproaching and putting her to shame; for we may not think that an angel is ignorant of anything affecting us. Here is a proof of it: even the secrets of the 204 womb, which are hidden from created beings, the angel knows with certainty, as his words shew: "Lo, thou art with child, and shalt give birth to a boy, and shalt call his name Ishmael" (*ibid.* 11). For it is not in the power of man to know that the embryo is a male, nor to know the principle that is to govern the life of one who is not yet born, that it will be the way of the rude country-side, not the refined one of civic life. So the words "Whence comest thou?" 205 are spoken to rebuke the soul that is running away from the better judgement, "the mistress," a mistress whom to serve as handmaiden could not but win her high renown, if the service be one of deeds rather than of name. And the words "Whither goest thou?" mean "Thou hast cast away acknowledged gains, and art running after uncertainties."

We may well praise her for receiving reproof with 206 gladness.<sup>a</sup> Of her gladness she has given plain evidence by not accusing her mistress, and by laying the blame of her flight upon herself, and by making no answer to the second question "Whither art thou going?" for it was uncertain, and regarding uncertainties suspension of judgement is not only safe but requisite.

XXXVIII. Her monitor, then, 207 pleased with her for her compliance, bids her "Go back to thy mistress"; for the teacher's authority is an advantage to the learner, and bond-service

- ἡ παρὰ φρονήσει δουλεία. ὅταν δ' ὑποστρέψῃς,  
 "ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς" καλὴν  
 ταπείνωσιν φρονήματος ἀλόγου καθαίρεισιν περι-  
 208 ἔχουσιν. οὕτως γὰρ πραϋτόκοις ὠδῶσιν ἄρρενα  
 γενεὰν ἀποκυήσεις, ὄνομα Ἰσμαήλ, ἀκοαῖς θείαις  
 σωφρονισθεῖσα· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Ἰσμαήλ ἀκοή  
 θεοῦ. ἀκοή δ' ὁράσεως τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρεται,  
 ὅρασιν δὲ ὁ γνήσιος υἱὸς καὶ πρωτόγονος Ἰσραὴλ  
 κεκλήρωται· μεταληφθεὶς γάρ ἐστιν ὁρῶν θεόν.  
 ἀκούειν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ψευδῶν ὡς ἀληθῶν ἔνεστιν,  
 ὅτι ἀπατηλὸν ἀκοή, ἀψευδὲς δ' ὅρασις, ἥ τὰ ὄντα  
 ὄντως κατανοεῖται.
- 209 Τὸν δὲ γεννηθέντα τρόπον χαρακτηρίζει διὰ τε  
 τοῦ λέγειν ἀγροῖκον ἔσεσθαι, ὡς ἂν ἀγροϊκόσοφον,  
 μήπω τῆς τιθασοῦ<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολιτικῆς ὄντως μοίρας  
 ἡξιωμένον—αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἀρετή, δι' ἧς πέφυκεν  
 ἡμεροῦσθαι τὸ ἦθος,— καὶ διὰ τοῦ  
 φάσκειν· "αἱ χεῖρες αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πάντας καὶ αἱ  
 χεῖρες πάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν"· σοφιστοῦ γὰρ βούλημα  
 τοῦτο τὸ λίαν σκεπτικὸν ἐπιμορφάζοντος καὶ λόγοις  
 210 χαίροντος ἐριστικοῖς. οὗτος καὶ πάντας βάλλει  
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων, ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ  
 κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἐναντιούμενος, καὶ βάλλεται πρὸς  
 ἀπάντων, εἰκότως ἀμυνομένων ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείων  
 ἐκγόνων ὧν ἔτεκεν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχὴ δογμάτων.
- 211 ἀλλὰ καὶ τρίτον προσυπογράφει χαρα-  
 κτῆρα φάσκων· "κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν κατοικήσει," μονονοῦκ ἄντικρυς ἐπιδεικ-  
 νύμενος τὴν ἀντιπρόσωπον διαμάχην καὶ ἀντί-  
 στασιν αἰώνιον.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. θέλας or θιάσσον.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 207-211

under Good Sense a gain to her that is imperfect. "And when thou hast returned humble thyself under her hands" (*ibid.* 9), with a noble humiliation which carries with it the overthrow of irrational high-mindedness. For so doing thou shalt give birth with 208 easy travail to a male offspring, Ishmael by name (*ibid.* 11), since thou shalt have been chastened by hearkening to words of God ; for "Ishmael" means "hearkening to God." Hearing takes the second place, yielding the first to sight, and sight is the portion of Israel, the son free-born and first-born ; for "seeing God" is the translation of "Israel." It is possible to hear the false and take it for true, because hearing is deceptive, but sight, by which we discern what really is, is devoid of falseness.

The character thus given birth to is described first 209 by the statement that it will be rude, of rude "mother wit" as it were, not yet admitted to the privilege of the refined and truly civilized lot, virtue, that is, the natural refiner and tamer of character ; next by the words "his hands shall be against all men, and all men's hands against him" (*ibid.* 12) ; for this is just the Sophist's way, with his pretence of excessive open-mindedness, and his love of arguing for arguing's sake. This character aims its shafts at 210 all representatives of the sciences, opposing each individually and all in common, and is the target of them all since they naturally shew fight, as in defence of offspring of their own, that is of the doctrines to which their soul has given birth. And he 211 adds a third characteristic in the words "he shall dwell face to face with all his brethren" (*ibid.*), words which are almost a distinct picture of combat face to face and perpetual opposition.

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Ἡ κυοφοροῦσα οὖν τὸν σοφιστὴν λόγον ψυχὴ  
 φησι τῷ λαλοῦντι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλέγχω· “ σὺ θεὸς ὁ  
 ἐπιδὼν με,” ἴσον τῷ σὺ ποιητῆς εἰ τῶν ἐμῶν  
 βουλημάτων καὶ ἐκγόνων,<sup>1</sup> καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως·  
 212 ἐλευθέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀστῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ψυχῶν  
 ὁ ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἐλευθεροποιὸς δημιουργός, δούλων  
 δὲ δοῦλοι· ἄγγελοι δ’ οἰκέται θεοῦ, νομιζόμενοι  
 πρὸς τῶν ἔτ’ ἐν πόνοις καὶ δουλείαις ὑπαρχόντων  
 θεοί.  
 213 τὸ φρέαρ φρέαρ οὗ ἐνώπιον εἶδον.” ἀλλ’ οὐκ  
 ἔμελλες, ὦ ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐγ-  
 κυκλίων ἐπιστήμῃ προπαιδευμάτων ἐμβαθύνουσα,  
 καθάπερ διὰ κατόπτρου τῆς παιδείας τὸν αἴτιον τῆς  
 ἐπιστήμης ἰδεῖν; οἰκειότατος δὲ καὶ  
 ὁ τοῦ τοιούτου φρέατος τόπος “ ἐν μέσῳ Κάδης  
 καὶ Βαράδ ”· ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ Βαράδ μὲν ἐν κακοῖς,  
 Κάδης δὲ ἀγία· μεθόριος γὰρ ἀγίων καὶ βεβήλων  
 ὁ ἐν προκοπαῖς, ἀποδιδράσκων μὲν τὰ φαῦλα,  
 μήπω δ’ ἱκανὸς ὢν τελείοις συμβιοῦν ἀγαθοῖς.

<sup>1</sup> The combination is somewhat strange, and Mangey suggested *ἔργων* for *ἐκγόνων*. I should conjecture as an alternative *κυημάτων* for *βουλημάτων*.

<sup>a</sup> The connexion of thought is obscure. Perhaps: the angel has decreed what the offspring of the Hagar or slave-soul will be. He is therefore its maker, and as making is the attribute of God, she naturally gives that name to God's subordinate minister.

## ON FLIGHT AND FINDING, 211-213

The soul, then, which is pregnant with the sophist-principle says to the monitor who is talking to her : "Thou art God that didst look upon me," which is equivalent to saying "Thou art the Maker of my wishes and offspring" ; and well may she say this, <sup>212</sup> for of free and really high-born souls He who is free and sets free is the Creator, while slaves are makers of slaves : and angels are God's household-servants, and are deemed gods by those whose existence is still one of toil and bondage.<sup>a</sup>

"For this reason," it says, "she called the well 'Well where I saw Him before me' " <sup>b</sup> (*ibid.* 14). Nay, how couldst <sup>213</sup> thou fail, thou soul, who in thy progress art dipping deep into the school-lore knowledge, to see reflected in thy training as in a mirror the Author of that knowledge ?

Most appropriate too is the situation of such a well "between Kadesh and Bered" (*ibid.* 14) : "Bered" means "in evils," and Kadesh "holy," for he that is in gradual progress is on the borderland between the holy and the profane, fleeing from bad things, but not yet competent to share the life of perfect goodness.

<sup>b</sup> E.V. Beer-lahai-roi, explained in the margin as "the well of the living one who seeth me." Whatever the exact meaning of the LXX was, the next sentence shows that Philo interpreted it as in the translation (ἐνώπιον probably taken as an adjective with αὐτόν understood).





ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES  
(DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM)

## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION

THIS treatise is an exposition of various points arising in Gen. xvii. 1-5 and 15-22.

1. Abraham became ninety-nine years old, and the Lord was seen by Abraham <sup>a</sup> and said to him, "I am thy God : be well pleasing before Me and become blameless.

2. And I will set my covenant between Me and between thee. . . ."

3. And Abraham fell upon his face and God spake to him, saying :

4. "And I, behold my covenant is with thee. . . .

5. And thy name shall no longer be called Abram, but thy name shall be Abraham. . . ."

15. And God said to Abraham, "Sarai thy wife, her name shall not be called Sarai. Sarah shall be her name.

16. And I will bless her, and give thee a child from her, and I will bless her, and she shall be for nations, and kings of nations shall be from her. <sup>b</sup>"

17. And Abraham fell on his face and laughed,

<sup>a</sup> Or "Abram," as the LXX has and the course of the story requires. But the mss. quote the text with Ἀβραάμ.

<sup>b</sup> So Philo (as also the Hebrew and E.V.). LXX "I will bless *him* and *he* shall be . . . from *him*."

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES

and he spake in his mind, saying, "Shall a son be born to one of a hundred years, and shall Sarah being ninety years bear a son?"

18. And Abraham said to God, "Let this Ishmael live before thee!"

19. And God said to Abraham, "Yes, behold Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac. . . .

20. But as for Ishmael, behold I have heard thee, and behold I have blessed him, I will increase him, I will multiply him; he shall beget twelve nations.

21. But my covenant I will establish to Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee at this season in the other year."

"Abraham was ninety-nine years old, and the Lord appeared to him and said, 'I am thy God.'" After a passing remark on the significance of ninety-nine as indicating the approach to the sacred hundred (1-2) we go on to "appeared" or "was seen." Now God cannot be seen by the eye, but only by the mind (3-6), and indeed God in His essence cannot be apprehended by mind, any more than mind can apprehend itself. And so Moses was told that he could only see what was behind God, not His face (7-10). It follows that no proper name can be given to the God Who is, and when in Exodus He calls Himself the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob it must be regarded as a *κατάχρησις* or licence of language (11-14). We must infer then that what appeared to Abraham was not God the Existent but His sovereign potency which in Scripture is called the Lord (15-17), and yet this sovereign potency also

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says "I am thy God." Is not God the God of all men? we may ask. No, He is Lord to the bad, God to the earnest striver, God and Lord to the perfect (18-19). Thus He is spoken of as God to Moses, but Lord to Pharaoh and Lord God to Israel (19-23). But not only is God the good man's God, but also the good man is God's man, and we must remember that only by living up to the latter relation can we reach the former (24-26). Now while the Existent is absolute His potencies are relative. Kings, benefactors and makers must rule, benefit and make something (27-28). When God is called man's God, it implies that God has made him, but God did not make the bad at all, and those between good and bad only through His subordinates, as the "Let us make" in Genesis shews (29-31). Therefore to have God for maker in the full sense is the highest honour. Who then are those who can claim this? Philo at first seems to limit the claim to the detached and ascetic kind who have risen entirely above all that is bodily (32-33). But such, he acknowledges, are rare: a thought which he supports with the phrase, "Enoch was not found," and indeed philosophers have laid down rightly or wrongly that the wise man and wisdom do not actually exist (34-38). We must admit therefore the possibility of a more social form of goodness which can claim God for its maker, and this is indicated in the next words, "Be well pleasing before Me," which have a different meaning from "Be well pleasing to Me," for he who serves men is not only well pleasing to God but well pleasing before God (39-42). This double duty to man and God is symbolized by the two robes of the high priest and other duplicates, and the very fact that God

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES

existed before creation and only created out of His beneficence shews that we must combine supreme reverence for Him with due regard for the human nature which He has made (43-46).

The next words, "And become blameless," may indicate that an abstinence from sin is a lower stage than the positive virtue which the Stoics called *κατόρθωμα*. But Philo does not lay stress on this, for he feels that to man subject so constantly to temptation, such abstinence is the most that can be asked (47-51), and indeed it is to the blameless that God promises to set His covenant "between Me and thee," that is, to let nothing but His grace stand between the two (51-53).

When Abraham heard the promise he fell upon his face, where "fell" indicates the acknowledgement that God stands but humanity cannot stand, and "face" means sense, speech and mind, all of which lie prostrate unless God give the power to stand (54-56). Then comes the reassurance, "And I, behold my covenant is with thee," words which to Philo's mind suggest that God is Himself the covenant, and thus some more essentially divine gift is implied than those which God covenants to give to men in general. This special gift is then explained as the bestowal of a new name, and this brings Philo to the subject which occupies the next sixty sections and has somewhat unduly supplied the traditional name of the treatise (57-59).

That the divine blessing should take the form of adding an *alpha* to the name Abram and subsequently of a *rho* to that of his wife has, Philo tells us, attracted the jeers of the profane, and he mentions the miserable end of one such scoffer (60-62).

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As a matter of fact he agrees with the criticism if taken literally, and only differs in the inference he draws. That God should add letters to names, and that this should be held a divine benefaction, is absurd (63-64), but this only points to the conclusion that a change of name stands for a change of nature. Philo repeats the explanation given several times elsewhere that Abram which means "uplifted father" stands for the Chaldean, the astrologer, while Abraham is the "elect father of sound," where father means mind, the father of sound or speech, and the whole therefore stands for the elect or wise mind. The change then is really a moral change from the study of God's works to the study of God Himself, in fact from astrology to piety, and the text may be taken as a divine instruction that studies of the former kind are of no real value (66-67). So too the change of Sarai's name to Sarah, that is from "my sovereignty" to "sovereign," indicates the superiority of generic wisdom to wisdom as shown in the individual (77-80).

From these two cases which belong to the subject of the treatise Philo proceeds to deal with others outside it. Jacob the supplanter or wrestler is naturally renamed as Israel who sees God, because the divine vision is the guerdon which awaits the athlete soul (81-82). But it is a curious fact that while Abraham after the renaming is never called Abram, the names of Jacob and Israel are constantly interchanged in the subsequent narrative. To explain this Philo goes back to the familiar antithesis of Abraham as virtue acquired by teaching and Jacob as virtue acquired by practice. Abraham the scholar who has God Himself as teacher advances to know-

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ledge continuously. The Practiser who has only his own will to urge him has many periods of weariness when he returns to his old nature, and this is supported by the observation that Abraham gets the new name from God, Jacob from the angel (83-87). Again, Isaac has no other name, and this is appropriate to the Self-taught, who by instinct is perfect from the first, and has not, like Abraham, to learn, or Jacob, to practise (88). In Joseph we have a change of another kind. His original name means addition, and describes the superfluities which the conventional mind desires, but Pharaoh renames him Psonthophanech or "mouth which judges in answer," and thus brings out the fact that the man of wealth and prosperity is supposed by the world to be able to pronounce with wisdom on all sorts of questions (89-91). In a somewhat similar way the child who is called by his father Benjamin, "the son of days," or "sunlight," and thus represents the vainglory which seems so brilliant to the world, is recognized by the mother, that is the soul, which dies in giving birth to him, as Benoni, or the son of sorrows (92-96). And here the mention of Joseph and his mother seems to lead Philo into an irrelevant interpolation of the analogy between Reuben and Simeon on the one hand and Ephraim and Manasseh on the other. Ephraim and Manasseh shall be to me, said Jacob, as Reuben and Simeon, which Philo interprets as shewing the similarity of the gifted nature, Reuben, to memory, Ephraim, and again of Simeon, the learner, to Manasseh, recollection (97-102).

We now return to further examples of double names. In Exodus ii. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, appears in one place to be called Raguel.



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Jethro the "superfluous" as in other places is taken as the type of the worldling, and there follows a curiously perverted<sup>a</sup> allusion to the meeting with Moses described in Exodus xviii. in which Jethro is made to advise Moses to leave the teaching of the divine ordinances for that of human convention and unequal justice (103-104). Raguel on the other hand is the "shepherding of God," and indicates the better side of the Jethro nature, when it accepts the authority of the good shepherd, Moses. An elaborate justification of this idea follows. Jethro or Raguel is called the priest of Midian, and while Midian which means "from judgement" sometimes stands for the outcasts excluded by judgement, as it does in the story of the Midianite seduction of Israel and the vindication by Phineas (105-109), it may also stand for the rightly judging nature which is akin to the prophetic. When then we read of the seven daughters who were succoured at the well by Moses, we recognize the seven bodily faculties which after the vain attempt of the enemy to seduce them from their proper office return to their father, the mind. That father is rightly called Raguel, not Jethro, and the welcome which this father proposes in the narrative to extend to Moses indicates the same higher nature (110-120).

The next illustration is the change of Joshua's name from Hoshea, the latter, "he is saved," signifying a particular individual or concrete embodiment of a state, the former "salvation of the Lord," and thus a state or condition, which is permanent, while the individual perishes. Philo brings this into comparison with the statement about Caleb, that there

<sup>a</sup> See note *a* on § 104.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES

was another spirit in him, inferring that though there is no change of name the man himself was wholly changed (121-125). Finally we have the example of the different titles given to Moses himself. First, the name Moses, the "receiving" or "handling," fitly given to him who receives the power of legislation; secondly, the man of God, given to him as blessing the people, and finally god to Pharaoh, this godship being especially shown in his willingness to intercede for the sinner (125-129).

Here we leave the change of names and return to the exposition of the text. But the mention of Sarah's change of name in §§ 77-80 seems to have drawn Philo away from the discussion of the intervening verses 6-14 to those which describe her blessedness. Verse 16 runs, "I will give to thee a son from her" (130). The words "I will give" surely imply that the gift is the giver's own to give, and thus they assert that the Isaac, whose name means "laughter," is the spiritual Isaac, inward laughter or joy, of which God is the true parent (131). This thought of the divine parentage is illustrated by the phrase, "The Lord opened Leah's womb," and by the story of Tamar and Judah, which Philo allegorizes, though in a shorter form, as he does in *De Fuga*, and it is actually asserted by Sarah when she says "The Lord has made laughter (that is Isaac) for me" (132-137). But she also adds, "whoever shall hear (*i.e.* understand it) will rejoice with me," thus suggesting that this truth is one which the pagan mind may easily misunderstand, and therefore must be reserved for the ears of the wise, and Philo accordingly presses into his service the words of Hosea, "Thy fruit is from me, the wise will under-

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stand," bringing out the double truth that all is from God and that the wise alone understand this (138-140).

The words "from her," ἐξ αὐτῆς, have been by some interpreted as "outside her," *i.e.* by divine agency, and also as the single word ἐξ αὐτῆς "immediately," but Philo himself seems to adopt the natural view that, Sarah being assumed to be Virtue or Wisdom, the phrase asserts that none but virtue can be the mother of the good (141-142). And if indeed she has been called barren it is because Virtue is barren of Evil, even as Hannah or Grace was also barren and yet was the mother of the Mystic Seven (143-144). As for "child" the singular brings out that the idea of the good is single in contrast with the many particulars, while the word itself (τέκνον) coming from τίκτω declares the reality of Virtue's motherhood (145-147). "I will bless her and she shall be for nations" tells us that in the manifold classes or nations of things in general Virtue is the one source of well-being (148-150), and in "kings of nations shall be from her" we can trace the Stoic doctrine that the sage alone is king (151-153).

Abraham hearing this falls and laughs. Philo as always refuses to entertain the idea that Abraham and Sarah's laughter is one of incredulity. His falling is, as before, an acknowledgement of unworthiness; the laughter is humble joy (154-156). At this point he raises the question that as Isaac, laughter or joy, is not yet born, how could Abraham laugh? (157). This strange idea, however, gives him an opportunity for a fine disquisition on anticipation. He describes how young animals and young plants show a joyous promise of their future maturity, how the dawning of day smiles in expectation of the sunrise, how hope

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gives joy before the fact, just as fear gives grief, and the senses anticipate the feast before it is realized, and so man could laugh while laughter is yet unborn (158-165). Again, the joyous laughter of both Abraham and Sarah teaches us that joy is only for the good. If the wicked seem to smile it has no reality (166-169), and thus the so-called joy of Egypt at the coming of Jacob and his sons was either assumed or at the most a hope that they might seduce them as they had seduced Joseph (170-171); and this supposition leads him to discuss in detail the seeming-kindly promises made to Jacob by Pharaoh, and pronounce them to be nothing more than the temptations of the bodily element which the mind of the wise rejects (172-174).

Philo now has to deal with the words so difficult on his premises, "He said in his heart, shall this happen to one of a hundred years old, and shall Sarah being ninety years old bear a son?" His first explanation stresses the words "in his heart"; they imply that the doubt, so inconsistent with Abraham's faith, was momentary with all the rapidity of thought, and died without reaching the lips (175-180). And if it is argued that it was unworthy of him to doubt even for a moment this is asking too much. The faith of weak mortals cannot be expected to be as the unswerving faith of God (181-187). But Philo would seem himself to incline to a "more courageous" explanation that the words are really a prayer: "Oh, that this perfect birth may take place under the perfect numbers of ninety and a hundred" (188). There follow several examples of a hundred as a special number, though as for ninety he cannot say anything more than that it is the difference between

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the sacred ten and the more sacred hundred (189-192). This explanation demands that "said in his heart (or mind)" signifies "sincerely," for sincerity is the mark of the virtuous, whereas the wicked do not speak in or according to their minds. Thus when Shechem, the emblem of foolish labour, is said to have spoken "according to the mind" of Dinah, the emblem of justice, we may understand that he spoke contrary to his own mind (193-195). Thus Shechem stands for the insincere who prate of virtue and deceive the multitude, but are ultimately unmasked by the champions of truth, represented by Simeon and Levi in the story of Shechem's punishment (196-200).

Jacob's next words are "Let this Ishmael live before thee," each part of which has to be examined (200-201). First, since Ishmael=hearing God, this seems to distinguish the right hearing from the hearing which hears only to misuse, as did Balaam's (202-205). This is illustrated by other cases, where Philo supposes that the "this" serves to distinguish outwardly similar but different examples (206-209). Again, "live" points to the true life of the soul, and amounts to a prayer of the same nature as Jacob's prayer that Reuben or natural goodness should live and not die (209-216), and when he adds "before God" he prays that this God-hearing may have the inestimable blessing of realizing the divine omnipotence (216-217). But we must not suppose that the prayer for Ishmael shows despair of the birth of Isaac. It is rather the cry of the soul which feels its inadequacy to sustain God's highest gifts (218-219). But this consciousness of our inadequacy must not prevent us from dedicating thankfully such

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gifts as each of us possesses. If we cannot reach the highest that is no reason why we should not cherish the little we can do (220-227), and we have illustrations of this in Abraham's plea for Sodom if only a little goodness could be found in it, and Esau's hope that Isaac might have some blessing yet to give, even if the best was given to Jacob (228-230). Thus the best prayer of the soul is that God should give us what befits our weakness, for "shall not the hand of the Lord suffice" to benefit low as well as high? (231-232).

It is primarily to carry on this thought that Philo here introduces the subject of the three different kinds of sin-offering and purification according to the capacity of the offerer, the sheep, the two birds and the fine flour (233-235). But this soon passes into the very different suggestion that the three are atonements for sins of thought, word and deed, otherwise expressed as mind, mouth and hand. He then goes on to shew that while sins of thought are more venial than sins of speech and these than sins of deeds (and this is recognized in the code of punishments), the first-named are really the most difficult to avoid, for thoughts cannot be controlled as language can (235-244). The appropriateness of the three offerings is explained by saying that the sheep the most useful of animals is suited to our noblest part, the mind, the birds to the winged nature of words, and the fine flour as worked by the hand to deeds which the hand commits (245-251).

To resume the exposition of the text, the divine reply to this prayer for Ishmael is, "Yes, Sarah shall bear thee a son," where the "yes" (*vaí*) marks the divine assent or nod (*νέω*). Thus God

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answers the one request by two gifts (252-255). The greater gift is the self-taught Isaac nature of which, rare as it is in its highest form, we have a foretaste in the fact that our powers of sense and mental processes are acquired without teaching (256-257). Why wonder, then, that the unlaboured virtue symbolized by Isaac should be given direct from heaven, like the manna and the automatic harvest of the sabbatical year? (258-260). Further, this child is free from womanish passion and will be rightly named "laughter," the natural outcry of the glad (261-262). The next words, "I have blessed Ishmael, but my covenant I will stablish with Isaac," shews that, while God gives the stronger the higher wisdom of the self-taught, he also gives the weaker the lower wisdom of the schools.

The next words are, "whom Sarah shall bear at this season and in the other year." By season (*καιρός*) we may understand God Himself, the season or opportunity, which forsakes the wicked but dwells in the good, and by the "other year" is meant eternity, the life of the world of thought which was also meant when Isaac "in that year found the hundredfold crop" (264-269). Finally the words "He completed talking with him and God went up from Abraham" indicate that when we have learnt our lesson we must be left to meditate on and practise it, a truth which every good teacher knows (270).

The ms. authority for this treatise seems to be unusually weak. Wendland found only two mss. of any antiquity (A and B), both of them according to him of the same (and inferior) family. Mangey also

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used two late mss. in the libraries of New College, Oxford, and Trinity, Cambridge. I have collated the latter of these, but without any results to speak of. Perhaps this lack of ms. support may serve me as some apology for having introduced so many conjectural emendations of my own into the text.



## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΕΝΕΚΑ ΜΕΤΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ

[578]

- <sup>1</sup> I. | “Ἐγένετο Ἀβραὰμ ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα, καὶ ὥφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου.” ὁ ἐννέα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνενήκοντα ἀριθμὸς ἑκατοντάδος γείτων ἐστίν, ἥ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς ἐπέλαμψε γένος, Ἰσαάκ, εὐπαθειῶν  
<sup>2</sup> ἀρίστη, χαρά· τῷ γὰρ ἑκατονταετεί γίνεται. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς ἱερεῦσιν ἀπαρχὴ διδομένη· δεκάτας γὰρ λαβόντες, ἀπὸ τούτων ὡς ἂν ἀπ’ οἰκείων καρπῶν ἑτέρας ἀπάρχονται ἑκατοστὸν<sup>1</sup> λόγον περιεχούσας. προκοπῆς μὲν γὰρ δεκάς, ἑκατοντὰς δὲ τελειότητος σύμβολον. σπεύδει δὲ ὁ μέσος αἰὲς πρὸς ἀκρότητα, φύσεως εὐμοιρία χρώμενος· ὧς φησιν ὀφθῆναι τὸν τῶν ὅλων κύριον.  
<sup>3</sup> ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης τοῖς σώματος ὀφθαλμοῖς γίνεσθαι τὴν προσβολήν—οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ αἰσθητὰ μόνα ὁρῶσι, τὰ δ’ αἰσθητὰ σύγκριτα, φθορᾶς ἀνάμιστα, τὸ δὲ θεῖον ἀσύγκριτον, ἄφθαρτον—ἀλλὰ τὸ δεχόμενον τὴν θεῖαν φαντασίαν τὸ  
<sup>4</sup> τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ὄμμα. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως ὅσα μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐκατὸν.

<sup>a</sup> Here used in the strict Stoic sense of reasonable forms of πάθος. See note on *Quod Det.* 120. So also in *De Mig.* 157, *De Cong.* 36, and below, §§ 131, 188.

## ABOUT THOSE WHOSE NAMES ARE CHANGED AND WHY THEY HAVE THEIR NAMES CHANGED

I. "Abraham became ninety-nine years old and the 1  
Lord was seen by Abraham and said to him, 'I am  
thy God'" (Gen. xvii. 1). Nine plus ninety is next  
neighbour to a hundred, the number irradiated by  
the self-taught nature Isaac who is joy, the best of  
the good emotions.<sup>a</sup> For Isaac is born to Abraham  
when a hundred years old. A hundred also repre- 2  
sents the first-fruits given to the priests by the Tribe  
of Levi. For when the Levites receive the tenths  
they offer from them, just as though they were their  
own produce, other tenths in which we find the  
hundred (Num. xviii. 26). For ten is a symbol of  
progress and a hundred of perfection. Now he who  
is in the intermediate stage is always pressing forward  
to the summit, employing the gifts with which nature  
has blessed him, and it is by such a one that Moses  
tells us that the Lord of all was seen. Yet 3  
do not suppose that the vision was presented to the  
eyes of the body. They see only the objects of sense  
and those are composite, brimful of corruptibility,  
while the divine is uncompounded and incorruptible.  
It is the eye of the soul which receives the presenta-  
tion of the divine vision. Moreover what the eyes 4

- [579] οἱ σώματος ὀφθαλμοὶ | θεωροῦσι, συνεργῶ φωτὶ  
 χρώμενοι καταλαμβάνουσιν, ὃ διαφέρει τοῦ θ'  
 ὁρωμένου καὶ τοῦ ὁρῶντος· ὅσα δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ, αὐτὴ  
 δι' ἑαυτῆς ἄνευ τινὸς ἄλλου συμπράξεως· αὐτὰ  
 5 γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἐστὶ φέγγος τὰ νοούμενα. τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας διδασκόμεθα· ὃ γὰρ  
 νοῦς τὸ ἄκλειστον καὶ ἀκοίμητον προσβαλὼν ὄμμα  
 τοῖς δόγμασι καὶ τοῖς θεωρήμασιν εἶδεν αὐτὰ οὐ  
 νόθῳ φωτὶ, γνησίῳ δὲ ὅπερ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐξέλαμψεν.  
 6 ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης ὀφθέντα θεὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, τοῦτο  
 γίνεσθαι νόει χωρὶς φωτὸς αἰσθητοῦ· νοήσει γὰρ  
 τὸ νοητὸν εἰκὸς μόνον καταλαμβάνεσθαι. πηγὴ δὲ  
 τῆς καθαρωτάτης αὐγῆς θεός ἐστιν· ὥσθ' ὅταν  
 ἐπιφαίνεται ψυχῇ, τὰς ἀσκίους καὶ περιφανεστάτας  
 ἀκτῖνας ἀνίσχει.  
 7 II. Μὴ μέντοι νομίσῃς τὸ ὄν, ὃ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλή-  
 θειαν ὄν, ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου τινὸς καταλαμβάνεσθαι.  
 ὄργανον<sup>2</sup> γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχομεν, ᾧ δυνησό-  
 μεθα ἐκεῖνο φαντασιωθῆναι, οὔτ' αἰσθησιν—αἰσθη-  
 τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν—οὔτε νοῦν.<sup>3</sup> Μωυσῆς οὖν ὁ τῆς  
 ἀειδοῦς φύσεως θεατῆς [καὶ θεόπτῃς]<sup>4</sup>—εἰς γὰρ τὸν  
 γνόφον φασὶν αὐτὸν οἱ θεῖοι χρησμοὶ εἰσελθεῖν,  
 τὴν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀσώματον οὐσίαν αἰνιττόμενοι—  
 πάντα διὰ πάντων ἐρευνήσας ἐζήτει τὸν τριπόθητον  
 8 καὶ μόνον ἀγαθὸν τηλαυγῶς ἰδεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *μόνοι*.<sup>2</sup> MSS. *ὁρᾶν*.<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ισχύν*, which Mangey translates by "facultatem." But a better antithesis to *αἰσθησις* seems to be required. Perhaps <νοῦ> *ισχύν*.<sup>4</sup> That *θεόπτῃς* is unknown elsewhere, except in quite late writers, is hardly sufficient reason for expunging it, as Wendland following Cohn does. Philo might easily coin it. But it cannot be taken with *τῆς ἀειδοῦς φύσεως*, and seems

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 4-7

of the body behold they apprehend through the co-operation of light, and light is something different from either the seer or the thing seen, whereas what the soul beholds it beholds by its own agency without the assistance of any other. For the conceptions of the mind are a light to themselves. Our learning 5 of the sciences follows the same rule. The mind applies its eye which never closes or sleeps to the principles and conclusions set before it and sees them by no borrowed but a genuine light which shines forth from itself. And so when you hear that God 6 was seen by man, you must think that this takes place without the light which the senses know, for what belongs to mind can be apprehended only by the mental powers. And God is the fountain of the purest radiance, and so when He reveals Himself to a soul the rays He puts forth are free from all shadow and of intense brightness.

II. Do not however suppose that the Existent 7 which truly exists is apprehended by any man ; for we have in us no organ by which we can envisage it, neither in sense, for it is not perceptible by sense, nor yet in mind. So Moses the explorer of nature which lies beyond our vision, Moses who, as the divine oracles tell us, entered into the darkness<sup>a</sup> (Ex. xx. 21), by which figure they indicate existence invisible and incorporeal, searched everywhere and into everything in his desire to see clearly and plainly Him, the object of our much yearning, Who alone is good.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 586.

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pointless if taken by itself. Wend. himself conjectured *θεοπρόπος*. I should prefer *ἐπόπτης*, a well-known term in the mysteries and differing enough from *θεάτης* to give it some point.

## PHILO

εὑρίσκειν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐμφερῇ τινα ἰδέαν τῷ ἐλπίζο-  
μένῳ, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διδασκαλίαν ἀπογνοὺς  
ἐπ' αὐτὸ καταφεύγει τὸ ζητούμενον καὶ δεῖται  
λέγων· “ ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν, γνωστῶς ἴδω  
σε”· καὶ ὁμῶς ἀμοιρεῖ τῆς προθέσεως, αὐταρ-  
κεστάτης δωρεᾶς τῷ θνητῶν ἀρίστῳ γένει νομι-  
σθείσης τῆς <τῶν> μετὰ τὸ ὄν σωμάτων τε ὁμοῦ  
9 καὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιστήμης. λέγεται γάρ· “ ὄψει  
τὰ ὀπίσω μου, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ὀφθήσεταιί  
σοι,” ὡς τῶν ὅσα μετὰ τὸ ὄν σωμάτων τε ὁμοῦ  
καὶ πραγμάτων εἰς κατάληψιν ἐρχομένων, εἰ καὶ  
μὴ πάντα ἤδη καταλαμβάνεται, μόνου δ' ἐκείνου  
10 μὴ πεφυκότος ὀρᾶσθαι. καὶ τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὸ  
ὄν ἀνθρώποις ἀκατάληπτον, ὅποτε καὶ ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ  
νοῦς ἄγνωστος ἡμῖν; τίς γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐσίαν εἶδεν;  
ἥς ἢ ἀδηλότης μυρίας ἔριδας σοφισταῖς ἐγέννησεν  
ἐναντίας εἰσηγουμένοις γνώμας ἢ καὶ ὅλοις γένεσιν  
11 ἀντιστατούσας. ἦν οὖν ἀκόλουθον τὸ  
μῆδ' ὄνομα κύριον ἐπιφημισθῆναι δύνασθαι τῷ  
ὄντι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὅτι φιλοπευστοῦντι  
[580] τῷ | προφήτῃ, τί τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ  
ζητοῦσιν ἀποκριτέον, φησὶν ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν,”  
12 ἴσον τῷ εἶναι πέφυκα, οὐ λέγεσθαι; τοῦ δὲ μὴ  
παντάπασιν ἀμοιρῆσαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος  
προσρήσεως τοῦ ἀρίστου, δίδωσι καταχρῆσθαι ὡς

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 8-12

And when there was no sign of finding aught, not 8  
even any semblance of what he hoped for, in despair  
of learning from others, he took refuge with the  
Object of his search Itself and prayed in these words :  
“ Reveal Thyself to me that I may see Thee with  
knowledge ” (Ex. xxxiii. 13). And yet he fails to  
gain his object. To know what lies below the Existent,  
things material and immaterial alike, is a most ample  
gift even for the best sort among mortals, as God  
judges, for we read, “ Thou shalt see what is behind 9  
Me, but My face thou shalt not see ” (*ibid.* 23). It  
means that all below the Existent, things material  
and immaterial alike, are available to apprehension  
even if they are not all actually apprehended as yet,  
but He alone by His very nature cannot be seen.  
And why should we wonder that the Existent cannot 10  
be apprehended by men when even the mind in each  
of us is unknown to us ? For who knows the essential  
nature of the soul, that mystery which has bred  
numberless contentions among the sophists who pro-  
pound opinions contrary to each other or even totally  
and generically opposed ? It is a logical 11  
consequence that no personal name even can be  
properly assigned to the truly Existent. Note that  
when the prophet desires to know what he must  
answer to those who ask about His name He says  
“ I am He that is ” (Ex. iii. 14), which is equivalent  
to “ My nature is to be, not to be spoken.” Yet that 12  
the human race should not totally lack a title to give  
to the supreme goodness He allows them to use by  
licence of language, as though it were His proper

## PHILO

- ἂν ὀνόματι κυρίῳ τῷ<sup>1</sup> “ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ” τῶν  
 τριῶν φύσεων, διδασκαλίας, τελειότητος, ἀσκή-  
 σεως, ὧν σύμβολα Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἰακώβ ἀνα-  
 γράφεται. “ τοῦτο γάρ μου ” φησὶν “ ὄνομα  
 αἰώνιον ” ὡς ἂν ἐν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς αἰῶνι ἐξεταζό-  
 μενον, οὐκ ἐν τῷ πρὸ αἰῶνος, “ καὶ μνημόσυνον,”  
 οὐ τὸ πέρα μνήμης καὶ νοήσεως ἱστάμενον, καὶ  
 13 πάλιν “ γενεαῖς,” οὐ φύσεσιν ἀγενήτοις. κατα-  
 χρήσεως γὰρ ὀνόματος θείου δεῖ τοῖς εἰς τὴν θνητὴν  
 γένεσιν ἐλθοῦσιν, ἵν’, εἰ καὶ μὴ πράγματι, ὀνόματι  
 γοῦν προσερχόμενοι ἀρίστῳ κατ’ αὐτὸ κοσμώνται.  
 δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ λόγιον ἐκ προσώπου θεσπισθὲν τοῦ  
 τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμόνος περὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ δεδηλωσθαι  
 ὄνομά τι<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ κύριον. “ ὥφθην ” φησὶ “ πρὸς  
 Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαάκ καὶ Ἰακώβ θεὸς ὧν αὐτῶν,  
 καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου κύριον οὐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς.”  
 τοῦ γὰρ ὑπερβατοῦ μετατεθέντος ἐξῆς ἂν τοιοῦτος  
 εἶη λόγος· “ ὄνομά μου τὸ κύριον οὐκ ἐδήλωσα  
 αὐτοῖς,” ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐν καταχρήσει διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας  
 14 αἰτίας. οὕτω μέντοι τὸ ὄν ἄρρητόν ἐστιν, ὥστ’  
 οὐδὲ αἱ ὑπηρετούμεναι<sup>3</sup> δυνάμεις κύριον ὄνομα ἡμῖν  
 λέγουσι· μετὰ γοῦν τὴν πάλην, ἣν ὑπὲρ κτήσεως

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὡς ἐν ὀνόματι τῷ κυρίῳ: Wend. prints following the text as quoted in the *Parallela* of Joh. Damasc. (D) ὡς ἂν ὁ ὧν ὀνόματι τοιούτῳ. At the same time for ὡς ἂν ὁ ὧν he conjectures ὁ ἀκατονόμαστος ὧν. I do not indeed see how the text of Joh. Dam. can be construed as it stands, and have followed in the main the ms. text, substituting with J. D. ἂν for ἐν and correcting τῷ κυρίῳ to κυρίῳ τῷ, a correction perhaps supported by J. D. τοιούτῳ.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey: mss. ὀνόματι: Wend. τὸ ὄνομα (from Joh. Dam.). See App. p. 586.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, as Wendland conjectures, ὑπηρετοῦσαι. Any use of the middle seems to be later than Philo.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 12-14

name,<sup>a</sup> the title of Lord God of the three natural orders, teaching, perfection, practice,<sup>b</sup> which are symbolized in the records as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. For this He says is "My age-long name," belonging as it were to the age of human existence, not to that when age as yet was not, "a memorial" too, not set, that is, beyond memory or apprehension, and again "to generations" (*ibid.* 15), not to beings that were never generated. For those who are born into 13 mortality must needs have some substitute for the divine name, so that they may approach if not the fact at least the name of supreme excellence and be brought into relation with it. And this is shown by the oracle proclaimed as from the mouth of the Ruler of all in which He says that no proper name of Him has been revealed to any. "I was seen," He says, "of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, being their God, and My name of 'Lord' I did not reveal to them" (Ex. vi. 3). For when the transposition<sup>c</sup> is reset in the proper order it will run thus, "My proper name I did not reveal to thee," but, He implies, only the substitute, and that for reasons already mentioned. So 14 impossible to name indeed is the Existent that not even the Potencies who serve Him tell us a proper name. Thus after the wrestling-bout in which the Man

<sup>a</sup> Philo seems to mix in this passage two somewhat different uses of the grammatical term *κύριον ὄνομα*: (1) a noun used in its literal or strict sense, opposed to metaphorical or loose usage (*ἐν καταχρήσει*, see note on *De Cher.* 121); (2) a proper or personal name.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 586.

<sup>c</sup> Philo seems to mean that while *το ὄνομά μου κύριον* will naturally mean "my name *κύριος*," the text should (or perhaps may also) be regarded as an "hyperbaton" or "unusual order" of *ὄνομά μου τὸ κύριον*, "my proper name" For the technical use of the term see App. pp. 586 f.



ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐπάλαισε, φησὶ τῷ ἀοράτῳ ἐπιστάτῃ· “ἀνάγγελόν μοι τὸ ὄνομά σου,” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “ἵνα τί τοῦτο ἐρωτᾷς τὸ ὄνομά μου;” καὶ οὐ μηνύει τὸ ἴδιον καὶ κύριον. ἀπόχρη γάρ σοι, φησὶν, ὠφελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς εὐφημίας, τὰ δὲ γεννητῶν σύμβολα, ὀνόματα, μὴ ζῆτει παρὰ  
 15 φύσεσιν ἀφθάρτοις· III. μηδ’<sup>1</sup> οὖν διαπόρει, εἰ τὸ τῶν ὄντων πρεσβύτατον ἄρρητον, ὅποτε καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι οὐ ῥητὸς ἡμῖν· καὶ μὴν  
 [581] εἰ ἄρρητον, καὶ | ἀπερινόητον καὶ ἀκατάληπτον· ὥστε τὸ “ὥφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ” λέγεσθαι ὑπονοητέον οὐχ ὡς ἐπιλάμπωντος καὶ ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίου—τίς γὰρ ἀνθρώπιος νοῦς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς φαντασίας ἱκανὸς ἐστὶ χωρῆσαι;—ἀλλ’ ὡς μιᾶς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεων, τῆς βασιλικῆς, προφαινομένης· ἡ γὰρ  
 16 κύριος πρόσρησις ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας ἐστί. νοῦς δὲ ἡμῶν ἡνίκα ἐχαλδαίζε μετεωρολεσχῶν, τῷ κόσμῳ τὰς δραστηρίους ἦν περιέπων<sup>2</sup> δυνάμεις ὡς αἰτίας· γενόμενος δὲ μετανάστης ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλδαϊκοῦ δόγματος ἔγνω ἡνιοχούμενον καὶ κυβερνώμενον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνος, οὗ τῆς ἀρχῆς φαν-  
 17 τασίαν ἔλαβε. διὸ λέγεται “ὥφθη” οὐ τὸ ὄν, ἀλλὰ κύριος· οἶον ἐφάνη ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μῆτ’.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. περιμπεύων. I have left the text as Wend. prints it, but it is not satisfactory: περιέπειν is rather “to honour,” and if it is read we should expect τοῦ κόσμου, or as Mangey τὰ κόσμου governed by μετεωρολεσχῶν. Perhaps περιάπτων, cf. *De Ebr.* 73. But the periphrasis with ἦν is in itself somewhat strange.

<sup>a</sup> I understand ἀοράτῳ, for which Mangey would substitute ἀρρήτῳ, to refer to the wrestling of the story taking

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 14-17

of Practice engaged in his quest of virtue, he says to the unseen master,<sup>a</sup> "Announce to me Thy name," and he said "Why dost thou ask this my name?" (Gen. xxxii. 29), and he refuses to tell his personal and proper name. "It is enough for thee," he means, "to profit through my benediction, but as for names, those symbols which indicate created beings, look not for them in the case of imperishable natures."

III. Think it not then a hard saying that the Highest 15 of all things should be unnamable when His Word has no name of its own which we can speak. And indeed if He is unnamable He is also inconceivable and incomprehensible.

And so the words "The Lord was seen of Abraham" (Gen. xvii. 1) must not be understood in the sense that the Cause of all shone upon him and appeared to him, for what human mind could contain the vastness of that vision? Rather we must think of it as the manifestation of one of the Potencies which attend him, the Potency of kingship, for the title Lord betokens sovereignty and kingship. While our mind pursued 16 the airy speculations of the Chaldeans it ascribed to the world powers of action which it regarded as causes. But when it migrated from the Chaldean creed it recognized that the world had for its charioteer and pilot a Ruler Whose sovereignty was presented to it in vision. And therefore the words are "The 17 Lord (not "The Existent") was seen of him," as though it would say, The king has been manifested, king indeed from the first, but hitherto unrecognized

place at night and stopping at dawn. Wendland suspected *ἐπιστάτη* and proposed *παλαιστῇ*, but Philo conceives of the angel rather as a master of the contest (*ἀγωνοθέτης*) training his pupil by wrestling with him; cf. *De Som.* i. 129.

## PHILO

- ὢν, οὐπω δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ γνωριζόμενος, ἥ καὶ ὀψι-  
 μαθῆς μὲν, οὐ μὴν εἰσάπαν ἀμαθῆς διετέλεσεν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐφαντασιώθη τὴν ἐν τοῖς οὖσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ  
 18 ἡγεμονίαν. φανείς δ' ὁ ἄρχων ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 εὐεργετῇ τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ θεατὴν φάσκων. “ ἐγὼ  
 εἰμι θεὸς σός.” τίνος γάρ, εἵποίμ' (ἄν), οὐ θεὸς  
 ὑπάρχεις τῶνδε ὅσα εἰς γένεσιν ἦλθεν; ἀλλὰ  
 διδάξει με ὁ ὑποφῆτης αὐτοῦ λόγος, ὅτι οὐ περὶ  
 τοῦ κόσμου νῦν λέγει, οὐδ' δημιουργὸς πάντως ἐστὶ  
 καὶ θεός, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν, ἃς οὐ τῆς  
 19 αὐτῆς ἐπιμελείας ἡξιώκε. δικαιοὶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν  
 φαύλων λέγεσθαι κύριος καὶ δεσπότης, τῶν δ' ἐν  
 προκοπαῖς καὶ βελτιώσεσι θεός, τῶν δ' ἀρίστων  
 καὶ τελειοτάτων ἀμφότερον, κύριος ὁμοῦ καὶ θεός.  
 αὐτίκα γέ τοι ἔσχατον ὄρον ἀσεβείας ἰδρυσάμενος  
 τὸν Φαραὼ [κύριον καὶ] θεὸν τούτου οὐδέποτε  
 προσεῖπεν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν σοφὸν Μωυσῆν—  
 λέγει γάρ. “ ἰδοὺ δίδωμί σε θεὸν Φαραώ ”—  
 κύριον δὲ ὠνόμασε πολλαχοῦ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 20 χρησθέντων. ἄδεται δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα. “ τάδε λέγει  
 κύριος,” καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ. “ ἐλάλησε κύριος πρὸς  
 Μωυσῆν λέγων. ἐγὼ κύριος, λάλησον Φαραὼ  
 βασιλεῖ Αἰγύπτου, ὅσα ἐγὼ λαλῶ πρὸς σέ,” καὶ  
 21 Μωυσῆς πρὸς αὐτόν. “ ὅταν ἐξέλθω τὴν πόλιν,  
 ἐκπετάσω τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς κύριον, καὶ αἱ φωναὶ  
 παύσονται, καὶ ἡ χάλαζα καὶ ὁ ὑετὸς οὐκ ἔσται.  
 ἵνα γνῶς, ὅτι κυρίου ἡ γῆ,” οἶονεὶ πᾶσα ἡ σωματικὴ  
 καὶ γεώδης σύστασις, “ καὶ σύ,” ὁ ἀγαλματοφορού-

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. at the beginning of the speech to which the earlier quotation, “Behold I give thee etc.,” belongs. But as

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 17-21

by the soul, which so long unschooled has not remained in ignorance for ever but has received the vision of the Sovereignty which rules over all that is.

But the Sovereign when manifested 18 confers a still higher gift on him who sees and hears him. He says to him, "I am thy God." Which indeed amongst all this multitude of created things does not have Thee for its god? I might ask. But His interpreting word will shew me that He does not here speak of the world of which doubtless He is Creator and God, but of human souls which do not in His eyes deserve to be cared for all alike. His will 19 is to be called the Lord and Master of the bad, the God of those who are on the way to betterment, but of the best and most perfect both at once God and Lord. For instance, when He has set Pharaoh before us as the crowning example of impiety He never calls Himself his God but gives that name to wise Moses, "Behold I give thee as god to Pharaoh" (Ex. vii. 1). But He often names Himself as Lord in the oracles which He gives. We find such utterances as these, "These things saith the Lord" 20 (Ex. vii. 17), and at the beginning of His speech <sup>a</sup> "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, 'I am the Lord, speak unto Pharaoh, the king of Egypt, all that I speak unto thee'" (Ex. vi. 29). And Moses says to Pharaoh, "When I go forth from the city I 21 will spread out my hands to the Lord, and the sounds shall cease and the hail and the rain shall not be, that thou mayest know that to the Lord belongs the earth" (that is all the bodily earth-compounded frame), "and thou" (that is the mind which the body

another quotation has intervened, this is rather forced. I should like to read *ἐν ἀρχῇ, καί, i.e.* "as an opening phrase."

- μενος νοῦς, “καὶ οἱ θεράποντές σου,” οἱ κατὰ μέρος δορυφοροῦντες λογισμοί. “ἐπίσταμαι γάρ, ὅτι οὐδέπω πεφόβησθε τὸν κύριον,” ἴσον τῷ οὐ τὸν λεγόμενον ἄλλως, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὄντως ὄντα
- 22 [582] δεσπότην. κύριος γὰρ γενητὸς πρὸς | ἀλήθειαν οὐδεὶς, κἂν ἀπὸ περάτων ἐπὶ πέρατα εὐρύνας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνάψηται· μόνος δ’ ὁ ἀγένητος ἀψευδῶς ἡγεμῶν, οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δεδιὼς καὶ καταπεπληγμένος ἄθλον ὠφελιμώτατον αἶρεται<sup>1</sup> νουθεσίας, τὸν δὲ ὀλίγωρον ἐκδέχεται πάντως οἰκτρὸς ὄλεθρος.
- 23 οὐκοῦν κύριος ἀφρόνων ἐπιδέδεικται τὸν ἄρχοντος ἐπανατεινόμενος οἰκεῖον φόβον, θεὸς δὲ βελτιουμένων γράφεται, καθὼς καὶ νῦν· “ἐγὼ εἰμι θεὸς σός,” “ἐγὼ (ὁ) θεὸς σου, αὐξάνου καὶ πληθύνου,” τελείων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων, κύριος ὁμοῦ καὶ θεός, ὡς ἐν δέκα λόγοις· “ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός σου” καὶ ἐτέρωθι· “κύριος ὁ θεός τῶν πατέρων
- 24 ὑμῶν.<sup>2</sup>” δικαιοῖ γὰρ τὸν μὲν φαῦλον ὡς ὑπὸ κυρίου δεσπόζεσθαι, ἵν’ εὐλαβούμενος καὶ στένων ἐπικρεμáμενον ἔχη τὸν δεσποτικὸν φόβον, τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ εὐεργετεῖσθαι, ὅπως ταῖς εὐποιαῖς τελειότητος ἐφίκηται, τὸν δὲ τέλειον καὶ ἡγεμονεύεσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ εὐεργετεῖσθαι ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ· διαμένει γὰρ οὕτως<sup>3</sup> εἰσάπαν ἄτρεπτος, ἐκείνως<sup>3</sup> δὲ πάντως ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ.
- 25 δηλοῦται δὲ τοῦτο μάλισθ’ ὡς ἐπὶ Μωυσέως· “αὕτη” γάρ φησιν “ἡ εὐλογία ἣν εὐλόγησε Μωυσῆς, ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ.” ὧ παγκάλῃς καὶ ἱεροπρεποῦς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αἰρεῖται.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἡμῶν.<sup>3</sup> οὕτως and ἐκείνως are my corrections of the οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος of the MSS. and editors. It seems clear to me that

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 21-25

carries with it) "and thy servants" (that is the several thoughts which form its guard), "for I know that ye have not yet feared the Lord" (Ex. ix. 29), meaning that Lord who is not merely so-called but is Lord in very truth. For none that is created is 22 truly a lord, though he be invested with a rule that spreads from pole to pole. Only the Uncreated is truly ruler, and he who lives in fear and awe under that Ruler's government receives a prize of truest value in His reproofs, while he who despises them has before him nothing but to perish miserably.

So then He is shown to be the Lord of the foolish in 23 that He holds over them the terrors that are proper to the sovereign. Of those who are on the way to betterment He is called in scripture God, as in this present passage, "I am thy God," or "I am thy God, increase and multiply" (Gen. xxxv. 11). Of the perfect He is both Lord and God as in the Decalogue "I am thy Lord God" (Ex. xx. 2), and elsewhere "The Lord God of your fathers" (Deut. iv. 1), for it is His will that the wicked man should 24 be under His sway as his Lord, and thus with awe and groaning feel the fear of the Master hanging over him; that the man of progress should be benefited by Him as God and thus through those kindnesses reach perfection; that the perfect should be guided by Him as Lord and benefited by Him as God. For through the one he remains free from lapses, through the other he is most surely God's man.

This is best shown in Moses' case. "This is the 25 blessing," we read, "which Moses gave, the man of God" (Deut. xxxiii. 1). To what a glorious, what a

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the sentence explains *ἡγεμονεύειν* and *εὐεργετεῖν* of the preceding clause and refers to the *τελείος* only.

- ἀντιδόσεως ἀξιωθείς, θείας προνοίας ἀντιδοῦναι  
 26 ἑαυτόν. ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄν-  
 θρωπὸν τε (θεοῦ) γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπου θεόν·  
 ἄνθρωπον μὲν γάρ θεοῦ, ὡς κτῆμα· ἀνθρώπου  
 δὲ θεόν, ὡς αὔχημα καὶ ὠφέλημα.<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὴ βούλει  
 διανοίας κλῆρον τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν, αὐτὸς πρότερον  
 γενοῦ κληρὸς ἀξιόχρεως αὐτοῦ· γενήσῃ δέ, ἂν τοὺς  
 χειροποιήτους καὶ ἐκουσίους ἅπαντας μώμους<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐκφύγῃς.
- 27 IV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο προσῆκεν ἀγνοεῖν,  
 ὅτι τὸ "ἐγὼ εἰμι θεὸς σὸς" λέγεται καταχρη-  
 στικῶς, οὐ κυρίως. τὸ γὰρ ὅν, ἧ ὅν ἐστίν, οὐχὶ τῶν  
 πρὸς τι· αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ πλήρες καὶ αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ  
 ἱκανόν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως καὶ μετὰ  
 28 τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ παντός ἐν ὁμοίῳ. ἄτρεπτον γὰρ  
 καὶ ἀμετάβλητον, χρῆζον ἑτέρου τὸ παράπαν  
 οὐδενός, ὥστε αὐτοῦ μὲν εἶναι τὰ πάντα, μηδενός  
 δὲ κυρίως αὐτό. τῶν δὲ δυνάμεων, ἃς ἔτεινεν εἰς  
 γένεσιν ἐπ' εὐεργεσία τοῦ συσταθέντος, ἐνίας  
 συμβέβηκε λέγεσθαι ὡσανεὶ πρὸς τι, τὴν βασιλικήν,

<sup>1</sup> The mss. and editors have this sentence as follows:  
 ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄνθρωπὸν τε γίνεσθαι καὶ  
 ἄνθρωπον θεοῦ· ἄνθρωπον μὲν γάρ, θεοῦ ὡς κτῆμα· ἄνθρωπον  
 δὲ θεοῦ, ὡς αὔχημα καὶ ὠφέλημα. The changes I have intro-  
 duced, though involving little textual alteration, viz. the  
 insertion of θεοῦ in one place, and the change of ἄνθρωπον  
 θεοῦ twice over to ἀνθρώπου θεόν, make a vital change in the  
 thought. As the text stands in the mss. there is little point  
 in the antithesis between being a man simply and being  
 God's man, and the next sentence does not carry on  
 the antithesis, but indicates one between man being God's  
 and God being man's. Moreover αὔχημα and ὠφέλημα should  
 be genitives in apposition with θεοῦ. The thought in the  
 corrected text is as follows: The phrase "I am thy God"  
 makes God to be man's. "Moses the man of God" makes

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 25-28

holy exchange is he promoted that in return for God's protecting care he should give himself to God. But do not suppose that God becomes man's in the 26 same way that man becomes God's, for a man is God's as His possession, God is man's to be his glory and assistance. If thou wouldst have God as thy heart's portion, first become thyself a portion worthy for Him to take, and that thou shalt become if thou escape such faults as are thine own handiwork and come of free will.

IV. We should remember this also that the words 27 "I am thy God" are used by licence of language and not in their proper sense, for the Existent considered as existent is not relative. He is full of Himself and is sufficient for Himself. It was so before the creation of the world, and is equally so after the creation of all that is. He cannot change nor alter 28 and needs nothing else at all, so that all things are His but He Himself in the proper sense belongs to none. But the Potencies which He has projected into creation to benefit what He has framed are in some cases spoken of as in a sense relative,<sup>a</sup> such as

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 587.

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man to be God's. But the two relations are different. Man is God's because he is God's possession. God is man's only in the sense that he can glory in Him and gain help from Him. He then continues "if we wish to establish this latter relation we must first establish in the right way the former and thus become not merely God's possession, which we are in any case, but a possession worthy of Him."

<sup>2</sup> My correction for ms. and editions' νόμους. I can see no sense in this. For μῶμους *cf.* *Leg. All.* iii. 141 διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν μήθ' ἐκούσιον μήτ' ἀκούσιον μῶμον. For χειροποιήτους *cf.* its application to shipwrecks or famine caused needlessly by human ignorance or malice (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 154 and iii. 203).



- τὴν εὐεργετικὴν· βασιλεὺς γὰρ τινος καὶ εὐεργέτης  
 29 τινός, ἐτέρου πάντως βασιλευμένου καὶ εὐεργε-  
 [583] τουμένου. τούτων συγγενής ἐστι καὶ ἡ ποιητικὴ  
 δυνάμεις, ἡ καλουμένη θεός· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς  
 δυνάμεως ἔθηκε τὰ πάντα ὁ γεννήσας καὶ τεχνι-  
 τεύσας πατήρ, ὥστε τὸ “ ἐγὼ εἰμι θεὸς σός ” ἴσον  
 30 ἐστὶ τῷ ἐγὼ εἰμι ποιητῆς καὶ δημιουργός. μεγίστη  
 δὲ δωρεὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ λαχεῖν ἀρχιτέκτονος, οὗ καὶ  
 σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἔλαχε. φαύλου μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν  
 οὐ διέπλασεν—ἐχθρὸν γὰρ θεῷ κακία,—τὴν δὲ  
 μέσσην οὐ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον  
 Μωυσῆν, ἐπειδὴ κηροῦ τρόπον ἔμελλεν αὕτη  
 31 δέξασθαι καλοῦ τε καὶ αἰσχροῦ διαφοράν. διόπερ  
 λέγεται· “ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ’ εἰκόνα ἡμε-  
 τέραν,” ἵν’, εἰ μὲν δέξεται φαῦλον τύπον, ἐτέρων  
 φαίνηται δημιουργήματα, εἰ δὲ καλόν, τοῦ τῶν καλῶν  
 καὶ ἀγαθῶν μόνων τεχνίτου. πάντως οὖν σπου-  
 δαῖος ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, ᾧ φησιν· “ ἐγὼ εἰμι θεὸς σός,”  
 ποιητοῦ μόνου λαχὼν ἄνευ συμπράξεως ἐτέρων.  
 32 ἅμα μέντοι καὶ τὸ πολλαχοῦ κατασκευαζόμενον  
 αὐτῷ δόγμα συνάγει διδάσκων, ὅτι μόνων ἀγαθῶν  
 καὶ σοφῶν δημιουργός ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ πᾶς ὁ  
 θίασος<sup>1</sup> τὴν <τῶν> ἐκτὸς ἀφθονον<sup>2</sup> κτῆσιν ἑαυτὸν  
 ἐκὼν ἀφήρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν σαρκὶ φίλων  
 33 ὠλιγώρηκεν. εὐέκται μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφριγῶντες

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read <τοι>οὗτος δὲ πᾶς ὁ θίασος <δς>. See App. p. 587.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐκ τοῦ ἀφθόνου.

<sup>a</sup> θεός being derived from τίθημι; see note on *De Conf.* 137.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Op.* 72 ff., *De Conf.* 168 ff., *De Fug.* 68 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Or “indeed here with other lessons” (ἅμα), i.e. those of §§ 18 and 28.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 28-33

the kingly and the beneficial, for a king is a king of someone and a benefactor the benefactor of someone, while the subject of the kingship and the recipient of the benefit is necessarily something different. Akin to these two is the creative Potency 29 called God, because through this the Father who is its begetter and contriver made <sup>a</sup> the universe, so that "I am thy God" is equivalent to "I am the Maker and Artificer." And the greatest gift we can have 30 is to have Him for our Architect, Who was also the Architect of the whole world, for He did not form the soul of the bad, since wickedness is at enmity with Him, and in framing the soul which is in the intermediate stage He was not the sole agent according to the holiest of men, Moses, since such a soul would surely admit like wax the different qualities of noble and base. And therefore we read, 31 "Let us make man after our image" (Gen. i. 26), so that according as the wax received the bad or the noble impress it should appear to be the handiwork of others or of Him Who is the framer of the noble and the good alone.<sup>b</sup> Surely then he is a man of virtue to whom God says "I am thy God," for he has God alone for his maker without the co-operation of others. At the same time <sup>c</sup> Moses teaches us here 32 by implication the doctrine which he so often <sup>d</sup> lays down that God is the maker of the wise and good only. And all that company <sup>e</sup> have voluntarily stripped themselves of the external goods which are so abundantly supplied to us, and further have despised what is dear to the flesh. Fine, lusty and athletic 33

<sup>a</sup> In the other texts where God says "We" (see *De Conf.* 16) and Gen. xlviii. 15, 16 (*ibid.* 181).

<sup>e</sup> See App. p. 587.

ἀθληταὶ τὸ δοῦλον ἐπιτετειχικότες ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα,  
 ὥχροι δὲ καὶ διερρηγικότες καὶ κατεσκελετευμένοι  
 τρόπον τινὰ οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας, ταῖς ψυχικαῖς δυνά-  
 μεσι καὶ τοὺς σωματικούς τόνους προσκεκληρω-  
 κότες καί, εἰ δεῖ τᾷ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, εἰς ἓν εἶδος τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἀναλυθέντες καὶ ἀσώματοι διάνοιαι γεγο-  
 34 νότες. φθείρεται οὖν εἰκότως τὸ γεῶδες καὶ  
 καταλύεται,<sup>1</sup> ὅταν ὁλος δι' ὅλων ὁ νοὺς εὐαρεστεῖν  
 προέλῃται θεῷ. σπάνιον δὲ καὶ τὸ  
 γένος καὶ μόλις εὕρισκόμενον, πλὴν οὐκ ἀδύνατον  
 γενέσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐνώχ  
 λόγιον τόδε· “εὐηρέστησε δὲ Ἐνώχ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ  
 35 οὐχ εὕρισκετο.” ποῦ γὰρ <ἂν> σκεψάμενός τις  
 εὔροι τᾶγαθὸν τοῦτο; ποῖα πελάγη διαβαλὼν;  
 <πρὸς> τίνας νήσους, τίνας ἡπείρους ἐλθὼν; παρὰ  
 36 βαρβάρους ἢ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν; ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ μέχρι νῦν  
 τῶν φιλοσοφία τετελεσμένων εἰσὶ τινες, οἱ λέγουσιν  
 ἀνύπαρκτον εἶναι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν σοφόν;  
 μηδένα γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνθρώπων γενέσεως ἄχρι  
 τοῦ παρόντος βίου κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀνυπαίτιον  
 νομισθῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀδύνατον εἶναι θνητῷ σώματι  
 37 ἐνδεδεμένον εἰσάπαν εὐδαιμονῆσαι. ταῦτα δ' εἰ  
 [584] μὲν ὀρθῶς | λέγεται, σκεψόμεθα ἐν καιρῷ· νυνὶ  
 δ' ἀκολουθήσαντες τῷ λογίῳ φήσομεν, ὅτι ἔστι  
 μὲν ὑπαρκτὸν πρᾶγμα σοφία, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔραστῆς  
 αὐτῆς, σοφός, ὑπάρχων δὲ ὅμως ἡμᾶς τοὺς φαν-  
 λους διαλέλῃθαι· ἀγαθὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἐθέλει κακῷ  
 38 συνέρχεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται· “οὐχ εὕρισκετο”  
 ὁ εὐαρεστήσας τρόπος τῷ θεῷ, ὡς ἂν δήπου ὑπ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κατακλύζεται.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 33-38

are those who use the body as a menace to the soul. Pale, wasted and withered, so to speak, are the children of discipline. They have made over the bodily muscles to serve the powers of the soul and in fact are resolved into a single form, that of soul, and become unbodied minds. Naturally then the earthly 34 element is destroyed and dissolved when the mind in all its powers has a fixed purpose to be well pleasing to God.

But that kind is rare and hardly to be found, though that such should be is not impossible. This is shown by the oracle vouchsafed about Enoch. "Enoch was well pleasing to God and was not found" <sup>a</sup> (Gen. v. 24), for where 35 could one search and find this good thing, what seas should he cross, what islands, what continents should he visit? Shall he look for it among the Greeks or the barbarians? Indeed are there not still among 36 the disciples of philosophy some who say that a wise man is non-existent <sup>b</sup> and therefore wisdom also? None, they say, from the beginning of man's creation up to the life of to-day has been held to be completely free from fault, for absolute happiness is impossible to one who is imprisoned in the mortal body. Whether 37 these statements are true we will inquire at the proper occasion. At present we will accept the text and say that wisdom is indeed something which exists, and so too is the lover of wisdom, the sage, but, though he exists, we who are evil fail to see him, for good cannot keep company with bad. Therefore 38 we are told that "he was not found," this type of character which was well pleasing to God, meaning

<sup>a</sup> E.V. "Enoch walked with God; and he was not; for God took him" (LXX μετέθηκε). For "found" see App. p. 587.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 587 f.

- αρκτὸς μὲν ὢν, ἀποκρυπτόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτὸ  
 σύνοδον ἡμῶν ἀποδιδράσκων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μετατεθῆναι  
 λέγεται, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ μεταναστῆναι καὶ μετοικίαν  
 στείλασθαι τὴν ἀπὸ θνητοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸν ἀθάνατον.
- 39 V. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔνθεον μανίαν μανέντες  
 ἐξηγγριώθησαν, ἕτεροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τῆς τιθασοῦ καὶ  
 ἡμέρου σοφίας ἐταῖροι. τούτοις καὶ εὐσέβεια  
 διαφερόντως ἀσκεῖται καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια οὐχ  
 ὑπεροράται. μάρτυρες δ' οἱ χρησμοί, ἐν οἷς λέγεται  
 τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ· “εὐαρέσκει  
 ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ,” τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἔργοις παρ' ἐμοὶ κριτῇ, ὡς ἐφόρῳ
- 40 καὶ ἐπισκόπῳ. τιμῶν γὰρ γονεῖς ἢ πένητας ἐλεῶν  
 ἢ φίλους εὐεργετῶν ἢ πατρίδος ὑπερασπίζων ἢ  
 τῶν κοινῶν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους δικαίων ἐπι-  
 μελούμενος εὐαρεστήσεις μὲν πάντως τοῖς χρω-  
 μένοις, θεοῦ δ' ἐνώπιον εὐαρεστήσεις· ἀκοιμήτῳ  
 γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ βλέπει πάντα καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα  
 χάριτι ἐξαιρέτῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ καὶ ἀποδέχεται.
- 41 τοιγάρτοι καὶ ὁ ἀσκητὴς εὐχόμενος ταῦτὸν ἀπο-  
 δηλώσει φάσκων· “ὁ θεός, ᾧ εὐηρέστησαν οἱ  
 πατέρες μου” καὶ προστίθῃσιν “ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ,”  
 χάριν τοῦ γινῶναι τὴν πραγματικὴν διαφορὰν τοῦ  
 “θεῷ” εὐαρεστεῖν πρὸς τὸ “ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ”·  
 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφότερα περιέχει,<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ θάτερον μόνον.
- 42 οὕτω καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐν τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς παραινεί  
 λέγων· “τὸ εὐάρεστον ποιήσεις ἐνώπιον κυρίου  
 τοῦ θεοῦ σου,” οἷον τοιαῦτα πρᾶττε, ἃ γενήσεται  
 ἐπάξια τοῦ φανῆναι θεῷ καὶ ἅπερ ἰδὼν ἀποδέξεται·

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παρέχει.<sup>a</sup> As E.V. in Hebrews xi. 5.<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Quis Rerum* 127.<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Fug.* 170.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 38-42

doubtless that though actually existing he was hidden from us and shunned our company. And to confirm this we read that he was "translated" <sup>a</sup> (*ibid.*), that is, changed his abode and journeyed as an emigrant from the mortal life to the immortal.

V. These are men inspired with heaven-sent madness, men who have gone out into the wild. But there are others who have followed a tame and gentle wisdom,<sup>b</sup> and such are both eminent in the practice of piety and do not despise human things. This is attested by the oracle in which it is said to Abraham, with God as speaker, "Be well pleasing before Me" (Gen. xvii. 1), that is, "be well pleasing not to Me only but to My works, while I as judge watch and survey thee." For if you honour parents or show 40 mercy to the poor or do kindness to your friends or defend your country or observe with care your duties to all men in general, you will surely be well pleasing to all with whom you have to do, but also well pleasing before God. For He with an eye that never sleeps beholds all things, and what is good He summons to Himself and approves with special favour. And therefore the Practiser in his prayer will show 41 us the same truth. "The God," he says, "to whom my fathers were well pleasing," and adds "before Him" (Gen. xlvi. 15) to show us the difference in fact between being pleasing "to Him" and "before Him." The latter embraces both kinds of well pleasing, the former is confined to one only. And 42 so Moses in his Exhortations<sup>c</sup> charges them in these words: "Thou shalt do what is well pleasing before the Lord thy God" (Deut. xii. 28), meaning do such things as shall be worthy to appear before God, and when seen to be approved by Him, and such

- ταῦτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὁμοίους<sup>1</sup> εἴωθε χωρεῖν.
- 43 ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμηθεῖς τὴν τε σκηνην δυσὶ περιβόλων ὁρίοις συνύφαινε, μέσον ἀμφοῖν κάλυμμα θείς, ὅπως διακρίνηται τῶν εἴσω τὰ ἔξω, καὶ τὴν νομοφυλακίδα ἱερὰν κιβωτὸν ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐχρύσωσε, καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱερεῖ διττὰς ἀνέδωκε στολάς, τὴν μὲν λινὴν ἔνδον, τὴν δὲ ποικίλην ἔξω
- 44 μετὰ τοῦ ποδήρους. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμβολα ψυχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖς εἴσω πρὸς θεὸν ἀγνευούσης καὶ [ἐν] τοῖς ἔξω πρὸς τὸν αἰσθητὸν κόσμον καὶ βίον καθαρευούσης. εὐστόχως οὖν ἐκεῖνο πρὸς τὸν παλαιστὴν νικηφόρον ἐλέχθη μέλλοντα τοῖς νικητηρίοις ἀναδείσθαι στεφάνοις. τὸ
- [585] γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ | κήρυγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· “ἰσχυσας
- 45 μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων δυνατός.” τὸ γὰρ καθ' ἑκατέραν τάξιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γενόμενον, οὐ μικρὰς ἐστὶ διανοίας, ἀλλ', εἰ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, κόσμου καὶ θεοῦ μεθορίου· συνόλως τε προσήκει τὸν ἀστείον ὁπαδὸν εἶναι θεοῦ· μέλει γὰρ τῷ πάντων ἡγεμόνι
- 46 καὶ πατρὶ τοῦ γενομένου. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ἱκανὸς ἦν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ ὁ θεὸς καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου γένεσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἔμενεν, οὐ μεταβαλὼν; διὰ τί οὖν ἐποίει τὰ μὴ ὄντα; ἢ ὅτι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόδωρος ἦν; εἴτ' οὐχ ἐψόμεθα οἱ δοῦλοι τῷ δεσπότῃ, θαυμάζοντες

<sup>1</sup> The text is questioned by Mangey and Wendland and Cohn, who proposed different emendations, in the first two cases bearing little likeness to the original. Cohn suggested *ἐκτὸς ὁμοίως*. I see no reason to dispute the text. The use of *οἱ ὅμοιοι* for “our neighbours” in antithesis to God is exactly paralleled in *Quis Rerum* 172 τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀδικημάτων,

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 42-46

deeds as these commonly extend to our fellow-men.

It was this thought which prompted 43  
Moses when he wove the tabernacle, dividing its  
precincts into two, and set a curtain between the  
parts to distinguish the inner from the outer (Ex. xxvi.  
33); when too he gilded the sacred ark which holds  
the laws both within and without (Ex. xxv. 10), and  
gave the high priest two robes, the linen robe to be  
worn within, the many-coloured one with the long  
skirt to be worn outside (Ex. xxviii. 4, Lev. vi. 10).  
These and the like are symbols of a soul which in 44  
inward things is undefiled towards God and in out-  
ward things is pure towards the world of our senses  
and human life. And so those were fitting words  
which were said to the victorious wrestler when he  
was about to be crowned with garlands of triumph.  
For "Thou hast been strong with God and mighty  
with men" (Gen. xxxii. 28) were the words which pro-  
claimed his victory. To win honour in both spheres, in 45  
our duty both towards the uncreated and the created,  
requires no petty mind, but one which stands in  
very truth midway between the world and God.  
And in sum the man of worth should follow in the  
steps of God, for the Ruler and Father of all cares  
for His creatures. We all know that before the 46  
creation of the world God was sufficient unto Him-  
self and that after the creation He remained the  
same, unchanged. Why then did He make the  
things which were not? Why, save because He was  
good<sup>a</sup> and bountiful? Shall not then we His slaves

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 588.

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where no question is raised by the objectors to this passage.  
For *χρπεῖν* *eis* cf. § 150.



μὲν τὸν αἴτιον ὑπερφυῶς, τῆς δὲ καθ' αὐτοὺς φύσεως μὴ ὑπερορῶντες;

- 47 VI. Εἰπὼν δὲ “εὐαρέσκει ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ” προσ-  
 επιλέγει· “καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος,” ἀκολουθία καὶ  
 εἰρμῶ χρώμενος. μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ἐγχείρει τοῖς  
 καλοῖς, ἵνα εὐαρεστῇς· εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν γε ἀμαρτη-  
 μάτων ἀπέχου, ἵνα μὴ τυγχάνης μέμψεως. ὁ μὲν  
 γὰρ κατορθῶν ἐπαινετός, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀδικῶν οὐ  
 48 ψεκτός. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρεσβυτικὸν<sup>1</sup> ἄθλον κατορθοῦσι  
 πρόκειται, τὸ εὐαρεστον, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ μὴ ἀμαρ-  
 τάνουσι, τὸ ἄμεμπτον. τάχα δὲ καὶ γενέσει τῇ  
 θνητῇ τὸ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν ἴσον καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γρά-  
 φεται τῷ κατορθοῦντι. “τίς γάρ,” ὥς ὁ Ἰώβ  
 φησι, “καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ρύπου, καὶ μία ἡμέρα ἐστὶν  
 49 ἡ ζωή;” ἄπειρα μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα  
 τὴν ψυχὴν, ἅπερ ἐκνίψασθαι καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι  
 παντελῶς οὐκ ἔνεστιν. ἀπολείπονται γὰρ ἐξ  
 ἀνάγκης παντὶ θνητῷ συγγενεῖς κῆρες, αἷς λωφῆσαι  
 μὲν εἰκός, ἀναιρεθῆναι δ' εἰσάπαν ἀδύνατον.  
 50 δίκαιον οὖν ἢ φρόνιμον ἢ σώφρονα ἢ συνόλως  
 ἀγαθὸν τέλειον ἐν πεφυρμένῳ βίῳ ζητεῖ τις;  
 στέργε, καὶ μὴ ἄδικον ἢ μὴ ἄφρονα ἢ μὴ ἀκό-  
 λαστον ἢ μὴ δειλὸν ἢ μὴ παντελῶς φαῦλον εὕρης.<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ αἱ τῶν κακιῶν ἀνατροπαί, τῶν δ'  
 ἀρετῶν ἢ ἐντελὲς κτήσις ἀδύνατος ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ  
 51 καθ' ἡμᾶς. εὐλόγως οὖν ἔφη· “γίνου ἄμεμπτος,”

<sup>1</sup> So mss., but the adjective seems to be only known in the sense of “senile” or “antiquated.” Probably, as Wend. suggests, read *πρεσβύτατον*.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *εὐρήσεις*. Or perhaps *καὶ ἐλ* . . . *εὐρήσεις* (W.H.D.R.). The *καὶ* in any case however seems otiose, and *ἐὰν* . . . *εὕρης* would be more natural.

<sup>a</sup> For the general thought of this passage with the same

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 46-51

follow our Master with profoundest awe and reverence for Him Who is the Cause, yet not forgetting the calls of our common humanity? <sup>a</sup>

VI. After saying "Be well pleasing before Me" <sup>47</sup> He adds further "and become blameless." This is in close sequence to the preceding. "Best it is," He means, "to set your hand to excellence and thus be well pleasing, but failing this at least abstain from sins and thus escape blame." For positively righteous conduct <sup>b</sup> brings praise to the doer, but abstention from iniquity saves him from censure. The highest prize of "well pleasing" may be won <sup>48</sup> by positive well-doing, the second, freedom from blame, by avoidance of sin. And yet perhaps for the creature of mortal kind the former is declared by Scripture to coincide with the latter. For who, as Job says, is pure from defilement, even if his life be but for one day? (Job xiv. 4). Infinite indeed are <sup>49</sup> the defilements that soil the soul, which it is impossible to wash and scour away altogether. For there still remain evils which are bound up with the life of every mortal, which may well be abated but cannot be wholly destroyed. Should we then seek to <sup>50</sup> find in the medley of life one who is perfectly just or wise or temperate or good in general? Be satisfied, if you do but find one who is not unjust, is not foolish, is not licentious, is not cowardly, is not altogether evil. We may be content with the overthrow of vices, and the complete acquisition of virtues is impossible for man, as we know him. With good reason then did He say, "Become blame- <sup>51</sup>

illustration from the two robes and the words of Gen. xxxii. <sup>28</sup> cf. the fuller exposition in *De Ebr.* 80-87.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 588.

[586] μέγα πλεονέκτημα πρὸς εὐδαίμονα | βίον ὑπολαβὼν  
εἶναι τὸ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ἀνυπαίτιον.

- τῷ δὲ ἡρημένῳ ζῆν τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον καὶ κλῆρον  
κατὰ διαθήκας ἀπολείψειν ὁμολογεῖ τὸν ἀρμόζοντα  
δοῦναι μὲν θεῷ, λαβεῖν δὲ σοφῷ. φησὶ γάρ·
- 52 “ θήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ  
μέσον σοῦ.” διαθήκαι δὲ ἐπ’ ὠφελεία γράφονται  
τῶν δωρεᾶς ἀξίων, ὥστε σύμβολον εἶναι διαθήκην  
χάριτος, ἣν μέσσην ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ τε ὁρέ-  
53 γοντος καὶ ἀνθρώπου λαμβάνοντος. ὑπερβολὴ δὲ  
εὐεργεσίας τοῦτο ἐστι, μὴ εἶναι θεοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς  
μέσον, ὅτι μὴ τὴν παρθένον χάριτα. τὸν δὲ περὶ  
διαθηκῶν σύμπαντα λόγον ἐν δυσὶν ἀναγέγραφα  
συντάξεις καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παλινωδεῖν ἐκὼν  
ὑπερβαίνω καὶ ἅμα μὴ βουλόμενος ἀπαρτᾶν τὸ  
συμφυὲς τῆς πραγματείας.
- 54 VII. Λέγεται δ’ ἐξῆς· “ ἔπescen Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ  
πρόσωπον.” ἄρ’ οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὑποσχέσεσι θείαις  
γνώναί τε ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους οὐ-  
δένειαν καὶ πεσεῖν παρὰ τὸν ἐστῶτα εἰς ἔνδειξιν  
τῆς ὑπολήψεως, ἣν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε ἔσχε καὶ θεοῦ,  
ὅτι ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστὼς κινεῖ τὴν σύμπασαν  
στάσιν, οὐ διὰ τῶν σκελῶν—οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπόμορφος,  
—ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἐμφαί-  
55 νουσεν,<sup>1</sup> ὁ δ’ οὐδέποτε ἐν ταυτῷ βεβαίως ἰδρυμένος

<sup>1</sup> κινεῖ . . . ἐμφαίνουσεν. Following Wend. I have left this part of the sentence as the mss. have it. But it is clearly corrupt, and Markland, Cohn and Wend. have suggested various emendations. The translation is based on a suggestion of my own that for στάσιν we should read τάσιν (self-extension). Cf. *De Sac.* 68 ἔστηκα . . . οὐ μεταβατικῶς κινούμενος . . . ἀλλὰ τονικῇ χρώμενος τῇ κινήσει, also *De Post* 30.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 51-55

less," for He holds that freedom from sin and guilt is a great furtherance towards a happy life.

And to him who has elected to live in this fashion He promises to leave a covenanted portion such as is fitting for God to give and man to receive, for He says "I will set my covenant between Me and 52 between thee" (Gen. xvii. 2). Now covenants are drawn up for the benefit of those who are worthy of the gift, and thus a covenant is a symbol of the grace which God has set between Himself Who proffers it and man who receives. And this is the 53 crowning benefaction, that there is nothing between God and the soul save the virgin grace. But I have dealt with the whole subject of covenants in two treatises, and I willingly pass it over to avoid repetition, and also because I do not wish to interrupt the continuity of the discussion.

VII. The next words are "Abraham fell on his 54 face." Ah, what else should he do, when he heard the divine promises, but know himself and the nothingness of our mortal race, and fall at the feet of Him Who stands, to show what conception he held of himself and God? He knew that God stands with place unchanged, yet moves the universal frame of creation, His own motion being the motion of self-extension (not the movement of the legs, for He is not of human form), but a motion whereby He shows His unalterable, unchanging nature. He 55 knew that he himself is never firmly set in a stable

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I regard this however as very conjectural. If it were adopted, the rest of the passage might run somewhat as follows: *κινεῖ τὴν σύμπασαν <φύσιν or γένεσιν or σύστασιν κατὰ> τάσιν . . . ἀλλὰ <τὸ> ἀτρεπτον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἐμφαίνουσιν.* (Markland in place of the insertion of *τό* suggested *ἐμφαίνων οὐσίαν.*)

ἄλλοτε ἄλλοίᾱς δέχεται μεταβολὰς καὶ ὑποσκελιζόμενος, ὁ δυστυχής,—ὄλισθος γὰρ σύμπας ὁ βίος  
 56 ἔστιν αὐτῷ—μέγα πτώμα πίπτει; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν  
 ἄκων ἀμαθής, ὁ δ' ἐκὼν εὐάγωγος· οὐδ' χάριν καὶ  
 ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πεσεῖν λέγεται, ἐπὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις,  
 ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, ἐπὶ τὸν νοῦν, μονονοῦ βοῶν καὶ  
 κεκραγώς, ὅτι πέπτωκε μὲν αἰσθησις ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 ἀδυνατοῦσα αἰσθάνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ προμηθείᾳ τοῦ  
 σωτήρος ἀνεγερθείη πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποκειμένων  
 σωμάτων ἀντίληψιν, πέπτωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ λόγος  
 ἐρμηνεύσαι τι τῶν ὄντων ἀδυνατῶν, εἰ μὴ διανοίξας  
 τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν ἀρθρώσας ὁ τὸ φω-  
 νητήριον ὄργανον κατεσκευακῶς καὶ ἄρμοσάμενος  
 πλήξῃ τοὺς φθόγγους μουσικῶς, πέπτωκε δὲ καὶ  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς νοῦς τὰς καταλήψεις ἀφηρημένος, εἰ  
 μὴ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐγείρας ὁ ζωοπλάστης ἰδρύσαιτο  
 καὶ ἐνομματώσας ὀξυδερκέσι κόραις ἀγάγοι πρὸς  
 τὴν τῶν ἀσωμάτων θέαν πραγμάτων.

57 VIII. | Ἀγάμενος οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποδιδρά-  
 [587] σκοντα τρόπον καὶ ἐκούσιον πτώμα πίπτοντα διὰ  
 τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἣν ὡμολόγησε περὶ τοῦ ὄντος, ὅτι  
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἔστως ἐν ἣν ἄρα, τῶν μετ' αὐτὸ  
 τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς παντοίας<sup>1</sup> ἐνδεχομένων,  
 ἐνηχεῖ τε καὶ λόγου μεταδίδωσι φάσκων· “κἀγώ,  
 58 ἰδοὺ ἡ διαθήκη μου μετὰ σοῦ.” τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτον  
 ὑποβάλλει νοῦν· εἶδη μὲν διαθήκης ἐστὶ πάμπολλα  
 χάριτας καὶ δωρεὰς τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀπονέμοντα, τὸ δ'  
 ἀνώτατον γένος διαθηκῶν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ εἰμι. δείξας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. παντοίων.

<sup>a</sup> Literally “he both speaks with emphasis (or “instructs”) and gives him a share of the speech.” See App. p. 588.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 55-58

position, that he is ever subject to various changes, and that throughout his life, which is one long slipping, he trips and falls, woe to him ! and how great is that fall. Sometimes it is through involuntary 56 ignorance, sometimes through voluntary yielding to temptation, and so we read also that it was on his face that he fell. By face is meant his senses and his mind and his speech, and the gesture is little less than a loud insistent utterance. Fallen is sense, it cries, unable of itself to perceive, were it not by a dispensation of God's saving providence set on its feet to the perception of material substances : fallen is speech, because it were unable to express in language anything that is, did not He Who framed and adjusted to harmony the instrument of the voice beat out the music of its notes, opening the mouth and giving strength to the nerves of the tongue : fallen too is the royal mind, robbed of its powers of apprehension, did not the Framer of all that lives raise it up and establish it, and planting in it far-piercing eyes, lead it to the sight of the immaterial world.

VIII. The frame of mind which shrank from Him 57 and fell spontaneously won God's high approval by thus acknowledging of the Existent that it is He alone Who stands and that all below Him are subject to change and mutation of every kind. He addresses him with an insistence which is also a call to partnership.<sup>a</sup> "And I," He says, "—see, My covenant is with thee" (Gen. xvii. 4). The meaning suggested is to 58 this purport—there are very many kinds of covenant, assuring bounties and gifts to the worthy, but the highest form of covenant is "I myself." He shews and

γὰρ ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐνῆν δειχθῆναι τὸν ἄδεικτον, διὰ τοῦ φάναι “ καὶ γὰρ ” ἐπιλέγει· “ ἰδοὺ ἡ διαθήκη μου ”· ἡ πασῶν χαρίτων ἀρχὴ τε καὶ πηγὴ αὐτός  
 59 εἰμι ἐγώ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ δι’ ἐτέρων τὰς εὐεργεσίας εἴωθε προτείνειν ὁ θεός, γῆς, ὕδατος, ἀέρος, ἡλίου, σελήνης, οὐρανοῦ, δυνάμεων ἄλλων ἀσωμάτων, τοῖς δὲ δι’ ἑαυτοῦ μόνου, κλήρον ἀποφῆνας τῶν λαμβανόντων ἑαυτόν, οὓς εὐθέως καὶ προσρήσεως  
 60 ἐτέρας ἡξίωσε. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ οὐ κληθήσεται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβράμ, ἀλλ’ ἔσται τὸ ὄνομά σου Ἀβραάμ.” ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλαπεχθημόνων καὶ μώμους αἰεὶ τοῖς ἀμώμοις προσάπτειν ἐθελόντων οὐ σώμασι μᾶλλον ἢ πράγμασι καὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον πολεμούντων τοῖς ἱεροῖς πάνθ’ ὅσα μὴ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἐν λόγῳ διασφύζειν δοκεῖ σύμβολα φύσεως τῆς αἰεὶ κρύπτεσθαι φιλούσης ὑπάρχοντα μετ’ (οὐκ)<sup>1</sup> ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεύνης φανύσαντες ἐπὶ διαβολῇ προφέρουσι, διαφερόντως δὲ τὰς τῶν  
 61 ὀνομάτων μεταθέσεις. καὶ πρῶην ἤκουσα χλευάζοντος καὶ κατακερτομοῦντος ἀνδρὸς ἀθέου καὶ ἀσεβοῦς, ὃς ἐτόλμα λέγειν· μεγάλαί δὲ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσαι δωρεαί, ἃς φησι Μωυσῆς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων ὀρέγειν· στοιχείου (γὰρ) προσθήκη, τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄλφα, [στοιχείῳ περιττεύει]<sup>3</sup> καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρα προσθέσει τοῦ ῥῶ θαυμαστὴν ἡλικὴν ἔδοξεν εὐεργεσίαν παρεσχῆσθαι \* \* \* τὴν Ἀβραὰμ γυναικα Σάραν Σάρραν ὠνόμασε δις τὸ ῥῶ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> This or Wend.’s other suggestion of δίχα is needed to correspond with φιλούσης κρύπτεσθαι, which would be pointless with the ms. reading μετ’ ἀκριβοῦς (“ hunting everywhere for examples”).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δὲ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 58-61

points to Himself, as far as He can be shewn Who is above all shewing, by the words "And I," and adds, "behold my covenant," the beginning and the fountain of all bounties is "I myself." For to some God 59 is wont to extend His benefactions by other means, earth, water, air, sun, moon, heaven, and other agencies not material, but to others by Himself alone, making Himself the portion of those who receive Him. On these He presently bestows as their due 60 a different name. "Thy name shall not be called Abram (Ἀβράμ)," we read, "but Abraham (Ἀβραάμ)" (Gen. xvii. 5).

Some of the quarrelsome and captious type of people who wish to attach blame where it is not due, not so much to material things as to actions and ideas,<sup>a</sup> and wage war to the death against what is holy, when they find anything which seems to them to fall short in propriety if taken literally, while really it is a symbol of the nature-truth which loves concealment, make no careful search for that truth, but disparage it and hold it up to obloquy. And this they do especially with the changes of names. Not long ago I heard the scoffing and railing of a 61 godless and impious fellow who dared to speak thus: "Vast and extraordinary indeed are the gifts which Moses says come from the hand of the Ruler of all. What a boon He is supposed to have provided by adding a single letter, an alpha, and again by another addition of a rho, for He (turned Abram (Ἀβράμ) into Abraham (Ἀβραάμ) by doubling the alpha, and) Abraham's wife Sarai (Σάρα) into Sarah (Σάρρα) by

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

<sup>3</sup> See App. pp. 588 f.



λαβών.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὅσα ὁμοιότροπα συνείρων ἀπνευστὶ καὶ  
 62 ἐπισαρκάζων ἅμα διεξήει. τῆς μὲν οὖν φρενο-  
 βλαβείας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἔδωκε τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν  
 δίκην· ἀπὸ γὰρ μικρᾶς καὶ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως  
 ἐπ' ἀγχόνην ἤξεν, ἢ ὁ μιαρὸς καὶ δυσκάθατος  
 μηδὲ καθαρῷ θανάτῳ τελευτήσῃ.

IX. Δικαίως δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ καὶ ἕτερον  
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀλῶναι τὰς ὑπονοίας ἐκκόψαιμεν,  
 φυσιολογοῦντες καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες τὰ λεγόμενα  
 63 ταῦτα πάσης ἐπάξια σπουδῆς. οὐ <γὰρ> γράμματα  
 ἄφωνα ἢ φωνήεντα ἢ συνόλως ῥήματα καὶ ὀνόματα  
 [588] χαρίζεται ὁ θεός, | ὅποτε καὶ γεννήσας φυτὰ τε αὐ  
 καὶ ζῶα ἐκάλεσεν ὡς πρὸς ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,  
 ὃν<sup>2</sup> ἐκ πάντων δι' ἐπιστήμην ἐχώρισεν, ἢ ἐκάστοις  
 τὰ οἰκεία ὀνόματα θῆται. “πᾶν” γάρ φησιν “ὁ  
 ἂν ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Ἀδάμ, τοῦτο ὄνομα τοῦ κληθέντος  
 64 ἦν.” εἴθ' ὅπου οὐδὲ τὰς ὀλοκλήρους θέσεις τῶν  
 ὀνομάτων ὁ θεὸς ἡξίωσεν ἐπιφημίζειν, ἐπιτρέψας  
 ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, τῷ γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀρχηγέτῃ, τὸ  
 ἔργον, ὑπονοεῖν ἄξιον, ὅτι μέρη τῶν ὀνομάτων ἢ  
 συλλαβὰς ἢ γράμματα, οὐ φωνήεντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἄφωνα, αὐτὸς προσετίθει καὶ μεθῆρμοζε, καὶ  
 ταῦτ' ἐπὶ προφάσει δωρεᾶς καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσης  
 65 εὐεργεσίας; οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 χαρακτῆρες δυνάμεων εἰσι, βραχεῖς μεγάλων,  
 αἰσθητοὶ νοητῶν, φανεροὶ ἀδήλων· αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις  
 ἐν δόγμασιν ἀρίστοις, ἐν ἀψευδέσι καὶ καθαραῖς

<sup>1</sup> I leave this sentence as Wendland prints it, with the ms. τὸ ἐνὸς corrected to τοῦ, προσθεῖς to προσθέσει and τὴν ῥῶ to τὸ ῥῶ, and in the translation have followed what he supplies for the supposed lacuna after παρεσχῆσθαι. For other possibilities see App. pp. 588 f.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ὁς (Mangey ὁς καὶ πάντων δι' ἐπιστήμης ἐχώρησε).

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 61-65

doubling the rho." And in a sneering way he ran over the list of such cases without a moment's pause. Well, it was not long before he paid the penalty 62 which his wicked folly called for. For a slight and trivial cause he hastened to hang himself, and thus even a clean death was denied to the unclean miscreant.

IX. It is only right that to prevent any other falling a victim to the same errors we should eradicate misgivings of this sort<sup>a</sup> by resorting to the truths of nature and shewing that what we thus read is worthy of our most earnest consideration. Letters, 63 whether vowels or consonants and the parts of speech in general, are not the gifts of God's grace, seeing that when He created the plants and animals He summoned them to man as their ruler, set apart by Him from them all in virtue of his knowledge, that he might give each kind their distinguishing names. "Everything," he says, "which Adam called them, that was their name" (Gen. ii. 19). If God did not 64 think fit to assign names even in their completed form, but committed the task to a man of wisdom, the founder of the human race, is it proper to suppose that parts of names or syllables or single letters, not merely vocal vowels but mute consonants, were added and altered by Himself, and a gift and pre-eminent benefaction alleged to be conferred thereby? It is quite impossible. Such changes of name are signs<sup>b</sup> of 65 moral values, the signs small, sensible, obvious, the values great, intelligible, hidden. And these values are found in noble verities, in unerring and pure notions,

<sup>a</sup> This use of *ὑπονοίας* is strange, though Wend.'s suggestion of *τὰς <τοιαύτας> ὑπ.* or Mangey's *τὰς <κακὰς> ὑπ.* would make it more natural. See App. p. 589.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 589.

- ὑπολήψεσιν, ἐν ψυχῆς βελτιώσεσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐξετάζονται.  
 τὸν δὲ ἔλεγχον λαμβάνειν εὐμαρὲς τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν ποιησαμένοις ἀπὸ τοῦ νυνὶ μετονομασθέντος.
- 66 Ἀβράμ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται μετέωρος πατήρ, Ἀβραάμ  
 δὲ πατήρ ἐκλεκτὸς ἡχοῦς. ἥ δὲ διαφέρει ταυτ'  
 ἀλλήλων, εἰσόμεθα σαφέστερον, ἐπειδὰν τὸ δηλού-
- 67 μενον ὑφ'<sup>2</sup> ἐκατέρου πρότερον ἀναγνώμεν. μετέω-  
 ρον τοίνυν ἀλληγοῦροντές φαμεν τὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἑαυτὸν  
 εἰς ὕψος ἀΐροντα καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα τὰ μετάρσια,  
 μετεωροπόλον τε καὶ μετεωρολογικόν, ἐρευνῶντα  
 τί ἡλίου μέγεθος, τίνες αὐτοῦ φοραί, πῶς τὰς  
 ἐτησίους ὥρας διανέμει προσίων καὶ ἐξαναχωρῶν  
 πάλιν ἰσοταχέσι ταῖς ἀνακυκλήσεσι, καὶ σελήνης  
 περὶ φωτισμῶν, σχηματισμῶν, μειώσεως, αὐξή-  
 σεως, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων κινήσεως, ἀπλανοῦς
- 68 τε καὶ πεπλανημένης. ἡ γὰρ τούτων ἐξέτασις οὐκ  
 ἀφυοῦς καὶ ἀγόνου ψυχῆς ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς  
 μάλιστα εὐφυοῦς καὶ δυναμένης ὁλόκληρα καὶ  
 τέλεια γεννᾶν ἔγγονα. διὸ καὶ τὸν μετεωρολογικόν  
 “πατέρα” εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἄγονος σοφίας.
- 69 X. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ἀβράμ σύμβολα οὕτως ἀκρι-  
 βοῦται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ὡς ὑποδείξομεν· ἦν  
 δὲ τρία, πατήρ καὶ ἐκλεκτὸς καὶ ἡχοῦς. φαμέν δὴ  
 τὴν μὲν ἡχὴν τὸν προφορικὸν εἶναι λόγον—τοῦ γὰρ  
 ζώου ἡχείον ὄργανόν ἐστι τὸ φωνητήριον,—τούτου  
 δὲ πατέρα τὸν νοῦν—ἀπὸ γὰρ διανοίας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ  
 [589] πηγῆς φέρεται τὸ τοῦ λόγου νᾶμα,— | ἐκλεκτὸν  
 δὲ τὸν τοῦ σοφοῦ· ὃ τι γὰρ ἄριστον, ἐν τούτῳ.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ψυχᾶς βελτίσιςιν.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀφ'.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 65-69

and in soul-betterments. The proof of this is easy, starting from the change of name here before us, for Abram is interpreted as "uplifted 66 father," Abraham as "elect father of sound." <sup>a</sup> How the two differ we shall understand more clearly if we first discover the meaning of each. Resorting then to 67 allegory we say that "uplifted" is one who rising from earth to the heights surveys the supraterrrestrial, conversing with and studying the phenomena of the upper world, investigating the size of the sun and its courses, how it regulates the seasons of the year by its revolutions as it advances and retreats at the same rate of speed; one who considers also the different illuminations of the moon, its phases, its waning and waxing, and the movement of the other stars both in the fixed and the planetary order. To inquire into such 68 matters bespeaks a soul not devoid of natural gifts or unproductive, but highly gifted and capable of engendering offspring perfect and without blemish; and therefore he called the student of the upper world "father" because he is not unproductive of wisdom.

X. Such is our definition of the 69 meanings conveyed under the symbol of the name Abram; those conveyed by "Abraham" are such as I proceed to describe. They are three in number—"father," "elect" and "of sound." We say that sound stands for the uttered word, for in living creatures the instrument of sound is the vocal power. Its father is the mind, since the stream of speech issues from the understanding as its fount. The elect mind is the mind of the wise, since it contains what

<sup>a</sup> The interpretation of Abram and Abraham has already been given in *De Cher.* 4 f. and *De Gig.* 62 f. That of Sarai and Sarah in *De Cher.* 5 f.

- 70 κατὰ μὲν οὖν τοὺς προτέρους χαρακτῆρας ὁ φιλο-  
μαθῆς καὶ μετεωρολέσχης ἐσκιαγραφείτο, κατὰ δὲ  
τοὺς ἀρτίως ὑποτυπωθέντας ὁ φιλόσοφος, μᾶλλον  
δ' ὁ σοφὸς ἐδηλοῦτο. μηκέτ' οὖν ὀνομάτων ἀλ-  
λαγὴν ὑπολάβης χαρίζεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ διὰ  
71 συμβόλων ἡθῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν. τὸν γὰρ πραγ-  
ματευόμενον τὰ περὶ φύσεως οὐρανοῦ πρότερον,  
ὃν μαθηματικὸν ἔνιοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν  
μετουσίαν καλέσας ἀρετῆς σοφὸν καὶ ἀπέδειξε καὶ  
ὠνόμασεν, ἐπιφημίσας τὸν μεταχαραχθέντα τρόπον,  
ὥς μὲν Ἑβραῖοι εἶποιεν· ἂν, Ἀβραάμ, ὥς δ' ἂν  
72 Ἕλληνες, πατέρα ἐκλεκτὸν ἡχοῦς. τίνος γάρ,  
φησὶν, ἔνεκα χορείας καὶ περιόδους ἀστέρων ἐρευνᾷς  
καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω πρὸς αἰθέρα πεπήδηκας;  
ἀρ' ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον τὰ ἐκεῖ περιεργάσῃ; καὶ τίς  
ἐκ τῆς τοσαύτης περιεργίας γένοιτ' ἂν ὠφέλεια;  
τίς καθαίρεσις ἡδονῆς; τίς ἐπιθυμίας ἀνατροπή;  
τίς λύπης ἢ φόβου κατάλυσις; ποία παθῶν, ἃ  
73 κλονεῖ καὶ συγχεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐκτομή; καθάπερ  
γὰρ δένδρων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ καρπῶν οἰστικά  
γένοιτο, τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ<sup>1</sup> τρόπον οὐδὲ φυσιολογίας, εἰ  
μὴ μέλλοι κτῆσιν ἀρετῆς ἐνεγκεῖν· ὁ γὰρ καρπὸς  
74 αὐτῆς οὗτός ἐστι. διὸ καὶ τῶν πάλοι τινὲς ἀγρῶ  
τὸν κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν ἀπεικάσαντες λόγον φυτοῖς  
μὲν ἐξωμοίωσαν τὸ φυσικὸν μέρος, αἵμασιαις δὲ  
καὶ περιβόλοις τὸ λογικόν, καρπῷ δὲ τὸ ἠθικόν,  
ὑπολαβόντες<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ τείχῃ φυλακῆς ἔνεκα  
τοῦ καρποῦ κατεσκευάσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων καὶ  
τὰ φυτὰ δεδημιουργῆσθαι γενέσεως καρποῦ χάριν.  
75 οὕτως οὖν ἔφασαν καὶ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ δεῖν τὴν τε  
φυσικὴν καὶ λογικὴν πραγματείαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἠθικὴν  
ἀναφέρεσθαι, ἥ βελτιοῦται τὸ ἦθος κτήσεως ὁμοῦ

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 70-75

is best. So then the first set of signs delineated the 70  
lover of learning, the meteorologist, while those just  
sketched reveal the wisdom-lover or rather the wise.  
Cease then to suppose that the Deity's gift was a  
change of name, instead of a betterment of character  
symbolized thereby. Him who was erstwhile busied 71  
in the study of the nature of heaven—the astrologer  
as some call him—He summoned to a partnership  
in virtue and both made him and named him wise,  
giving to the spiritual outlook thus recast the title  
of Abraham, as the Hebrews would call it, and in our  
language, Elect Father of Sound. For what purpose, 72  
He asks, do you investigate the rhythmic movements  
and revolutions of the stars? Why this great leap  
from earth up to the realm of ether? Is it just to  
busy yourself in idle labour with what is there?  
And what good can result from all that idle busying?  
How will it serve to subdue the urge of pleasure, to  
overthrow the power of lust, to suppress fear or  
grief? What surgery has it for passions which agitate  
and confound the soul? Just as there is no use for 73  
trees, if they are not capable of bearing fruit, so too  
also with nature-study, if it is not going to bring the  
acquisition of virtue. For virtue is its fruit, and 74  
therefore some of the ancients, comparing the study  
of philosophy to a field, likened the physical part to  
plants, the logical to the walls and fences, and the  
ethical to the fruit.<sup>a</sup> They considered that the walls 75  
round the field are built by the owners to guard the  
fruit and the trees grown to produce it, and that in  
the same way in philosophy physical and logical re-  
search should be brought to bear on ethics by which

<sup>a</sup> See *De Agr.* 14 and *Leg. All.* i. 57, and notes.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δὲ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀπολαμβάντες.

76 καὶ χρήσεως ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένον. τοιαῦτα ἐδιδάχθημεν περὶ τοῦ λόγῳ μὲν μετονομασθέντος, ἔργῳ δὲ μεταβαλόντος ἀπὸ φυσιολογίας πρὸς τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ μεταναστάντος ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν κόσμον θεωρίας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πεπονηκότος ἐπιστήμην, ἐξ ἧς εὐσέβειαν, κτημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἐκτήσατο.

77 XI. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Σάρας νῦν ἐροῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη μετονομάζεται εἰς Σάρραν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς στοιχείου πρόσθεσιν τοῦ ῥῶ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ τυγχάνοντα μηνυτέον·  
 [590] ἐρμηνεύεται Σάρα μὲν | ἀρχή μου, Σάρρα δὲ 78 ἄρχουσα. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρότερον εἰδικῆς σύμβολον ἀρετῆς ἐστι, τὸ δ' ὕστερον γενικῆς. ὅσω δὲ γένος εἶδους διαφέρει κατὰ τὸ ἔλαττον, τοσούτῳ τὸ δεύτερον ὄνομα τοῦ προτέρου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ εἶδος καὶ βραχὺ καὶ φθαρτόν, τὸ δὲ γένος πολὺ τε αὖ 79 καὶ ἄφθαρτον. βούλεται δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀντὶ μικρῶν καὶ φθαρτῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀθάνατα χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐμπρεπὲς αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον. ἡ μὲν <γὰρ> ἐν τῷ σπουδαίῳ φρόνησις αὐτοῦ μόνου ἐστὶν ἀρχή, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι ὁ ἔχων, εἰ λέγοι· ἀρχή μου ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν ἐμοὶ φρόνησις· ἡ δὲ ταύτην τυπώσασα, ἡ γενικὴ φρόνησις, οὐκέτι τοῦ δεινός ἐστιν ἀρχή, 80 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀρχή. τοιγαροῦν ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ ἐν εἶδει τῷ ἔχοντι συμφθαρῆσεται, ἡ δὲ σφραγίδος τρόπον αὐτὴν τυπώσασα παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένη θνητοῦ διατελέσει πρὸς αἰῶνα ἄφθαρτος. οὕτω καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν αἱ μὲν ἐν εἶδει συναπόλλυνται τοῖς κτησαμένοις, γεωμέτραις, γραμματικοῖς, μουσικοῖς· αἱ δὲ γενικαὶ μένουσιν ἀνώλεθροι. προσ-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 75-80

the character is bettered and yearns to acquire and also to make use of virtue. This is how we have 76 learned to regard the story of Abraham. Literally his name was changed, actually he changed over from nature-study to ethical philosophy and abandoned the study of the world to find a new home in the knowledge of its Maker, and from this he gained piety, the most splendid of possessions.

XI. We will now deal with the case of Sarah his 77 wife. Her name Sarai (Σάρα) is changed to Sarah (Σάρρα) by the addition of one letter, rho. These are the names, now for the facts<sup>a</sup> indicated by them. Sarai means my sovereignty, Sarah sovereign. The 78 former is a symbol of specific virtue, the latter of generic, and in the same measure as the genus is greater than the species is the second name greater than the former. The species is small and perishable, the genus is large and imperishable. And the gifts 79 which God wills to bestow are great and immortal in exchange for small and perishable, and to give such is a work well suited to Him. Wisdom in the good man is a sovereignty vested in himself alone, and its possessor will not err if he says "The wisdom in me is my sovereignty." But in the wisdom which is its archetype, the generic wisdom, we cease to have the sovereignty of the particular individual, but sovereignty its very self. And therefore that specific 80 wisdom will perish with its possessor, while the other which like a seal gave it its shape, being free from all mortal element, will continue for ever imperishable. So too with the arts: the specific arts perish with their owners, the geometricians, the grammarians, the musicians: the generic arts remain imperishable.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 589.



υπογράφει δὲ ἀναδιδάσκων ἐν ταυτῷ, ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἀρετὴ βασιλὶς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄρχουσα καὶ ἡγεμονεύουσα τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραγμάτων.

- 81 XII. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἰακώβ μετονομάζεσθαι συμβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν Ἰσραήλ, οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἰακώβ πτερνιστής, ὁ δὲ Ἰσραήλ ὀρῶν τὸν θεὸν καλεῖται. πτερνιστοῦ μὲν οὖν ἔργον ἀσκοῦντος ἀρετὴν τὰς βάσεις τοῦ πάθους, αἷς ἐφίδρυσται, καὶ εἴ τι ὄχυρόν καὶ ἰδρυμένον ἐν αὐταῖς κινεῖν καὶ σαλεύειν καὶ ἀνατρέπειν—ταῦτα δὲ οὐ δίχα ἀγωνίας ἀκονιτὶ<sup>1</sup> φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τις τοὺς φρονήσεως ἄθλους διαθλῶν γυμνάζηται τε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς γυμνάσματα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους καὶ τραχηλίζοντας αὐτὴν λογισμοὺς παλαίῃ,—τοῦ δὲ τὸν θεὸν ὀρῶντος τὸ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀγώνος ἀστεφάνωτον ἐξελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ
- 82 τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ βραβεῖα ἄρασθαι. τίς δ' ἂν εὐανθέστερος καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερος πλέκοιτο νικηφόρῳ ψυχῇ στέφανος ἢ δι' οὗ τὸν ὄντα δυνήσεται θεωρεῖν ὀξυδερκῶς; καλὸν γε ἀσκητικῇ ψυχῇ πρόκειται τὸ ἄθλον, ἐνομματοῦθῃναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μόνου θεᾶς ἀξίου τηλαυγῇ κατανόησιν.
- 83 XIII. Ἀξίον δὲ ἀπορῆσαι, διὰ τί ὁ μὲν Ἀβραάμ, ἀφ' οὗ μετωνομάσθη, τῆς αὐτῆς προσρήσεως ἀξιοῦται μηκέτι καλούμενος ὀνόματι τῷ προτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ Ἰακώβ προσρηθείς Ἰσραήλ οὐδὲν ἥττον αὐθις
- [591] πάλιν Ἰακώβ ἐπὶ πλεόν ὀνομάζεται. | λεκτέον οὖν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα χαρακτῆρές εἰσιν, οἷς ἡ διδακτικὴ
- 84 τῆς ἀσκητικῆς ἀρετῆς διαφέρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ διδασκαλία βελτιωθείς, εὐμοίρου λαχὼν φύσεως, ἡ περιποιεῖ τὸ ἄληστον αὐτῷ διὰ συνεργοῦ μνήμης,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπονητὶ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 80-84

Incidentally another lesson suggested at the same time is that every virtue is a queen and a sovereign and a ruler of the course of human life.

XII. We shall also find that the change of Jacob's 81 name to Israel is much to the purpose. Why so? Because Jacob is the supplanter, and Israel he who sees God. It is the task of a supplanter in the practice of virtue to disturb and shake and upset the supports on which passion rests, and all the firmness and stability which they have. That is a work which cannot commonly be done without hard effort and the stains of the arena, but only when one maintains the contests of wisdom to the end, and drilled in the gymnastics of the soul wrestles with the thoughts which oppose and hold it fast in their grip. The task of him who sees God is not to leave the sacred arena uncrowned, but carry off the prizes of victory. And 82 what garland more fitting for its purpose or of richer flowers could be woven for the victorious soul than the power which will enable him to behold the Existent with clear vision? Surely that is a glorious guerdon to offer to the athlete-soul, that it should be endowed with eyes to apprehend in bright light Him Who alone is worthy of our contemplation.

XIII. It is worth inquiring why Abraham, after 83 the change of name, is not called by his old name, but always receives the same title as his right, whereas Jacob, after he is addressed as Israel, is in spite of this called Jacob many and many a time. We must reply that these are signs differing according as virtue acquired by teaching differs from virtue acquired by practice. He who is improved through 84 teaching, being endowed with a happy nature, which with the co-operation of memory assures his retentive-

μονῇ<sup>1</sup> χρήται, ὧν ἔμαθεν ἀπρίξ ἐπειλημμένος καὶ  
 βεβαίως περιεχόμενος· ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς ἐπειδὰν γυμνά-  
 σηται συντόνως, διαπνεῖ πάλιν καὶ ὑπανίεται, συλ-  
 λεγόμενος καὶ ἀνακτώμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πονεῖν  
 τεθρυμμένην<sup>2</sup> δύναμιν, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ τὰ σώματα  
 ἀλειφόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι περὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν  
 καμόντες, ὡς μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς αὐτοῖς ἀπορρα-  
 γεῖεν αἱ δυνάμεις διὰ τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ σύντονον τῆς  
 85 ἀθλήσεως, ἔλαιον ἐπιχέουσιν. εἴθ' ὁ μὲν  
 διδαχθεὶς ἀθανάτῳ χρώμενος ὑποβολεῖ τὴν ὠφέ-  
 λειαν ἔναυλον καὶ ἀθάνατον ἴσχει, μὴ τρεπόμενος·  
 ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς καὶ τὸ ἐκούσιον ἔχων αὐτὸ μόνον  
 καὶ τοῦτο γυμνάζων καὶ συγκροτῶν, ἵνα τὸ οἰκεῖον  
 πάθος τῷ γεννητῷ καταβάλῃ,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τελειωθῇ, καμῶν  
 86 πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπάνεισι γένος. τλητικώτερος μὲν  
 γὰρ οὗτος, εὐτυχέστερος δ' ἐκεῖνος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 χρήται διδασκάλῳ ἐτέρῳ, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ζητεῖ τε  
 καὶ σκέπτεται καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖ, μετὰ σπουδῆς  
 ἐρευνῶν τὰ φύσεως, ἀδιαστάτῳ χρώμενος καὶ  
 87 συνεχεῖ πόνῳ. διὰ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν Ἀβραάμ, ἐπειδὴ  
 μένειν ἔμελλεν ἐν ὁμοίῳ, μετωνόμασεν ὁ ἄτρεπτος  
 θεός, ἵν' ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐστῶτος καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ  
 ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος τὸ μέλλον στήσεσθαι παγίως  
 ἰδρυθῇ, τὸν δὲ Ἰακώβ ἄγγελος ὑπηρέτης τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 λόγος, ἵν' ὁμολογηθῇ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν μετὰ τὸ ὄν  
 ἀκλινούς καὶ ἀρρεπούς αἴτιον βεβαιότητος, ἀλλ'  
 ἀρμονίας τῆς ὡς ἐν ὀργάνῳ μουσικῷ περιεχούσης

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μόνη.<sup>2</sup> MSS. τεθρυμμένην.<sup>3</sup> MSS. μεταβάλῃ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 84-87

ness, gets a tight grip and a firm armhold of what he has learned and thus remains constant. The Practiser on the other hand, after strenuous exercise, takes a breathing-space and a relaxation while he collects and recovers the force which has been enfeebled by his labours. In this he resembles the athletes who anoint their bodies. When they are weary with exercise they pour oil upon their limbs to prevent their forces being utterly shattered by the intensity and severity of the contest.

Again, the Man of Teaching has to aid him the voice 85 of his monitor ringing in his ears, deathless as that monitor himself, and thus never swerves : the Man of Practice has only his own will which he exercises and drills to aid him to overthrow the passion natural to created being, and, even if he reaches the consummation, yet through weariness he returns to his old kind. He is more patient of toil, the other more blessed by 86 fortune. This last has another for his teacher, while the toiler, self-helped only, is busied in searching and inquiring and zealously exploring the secrets of nature, engaged in labour ceaseless and unremitting. Therefore did Abraham in token of the even tenor 87 of his future life receive his new name from God, the unchangeable, that the stability of his future might be set on a firm foundation by Him Who stands and is ever the same in nature and condition. But Jacob was re-named by an angel, God's minister, the Word, in acknowledgement that what is below the Existent cannot produce permanence unswerving and unwavering, but only such harmony as is found in a musical instrument wherein the tones now stretched to a

ἐπιτάσεις καὶ ἀνέσεις φθόγγων πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μέλους ἔντεχνον κράσιν.

- 88 XIV. Ἀλλὰ τριῶν ὄντων τοῦ γένους ἀρχηγῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄκροι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἀβραάμ τε καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ δὲ μέσος Ἰσαὰκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔλαχεν εἰς αἰὲ προσρήσεως. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἡ μὲν διδακτικὴ<sup>1</sup> ἀρετὴ καὶ ἀσκητικὴ δέχονται τὰ πρὸς βελτίωσιν — ἐφίεται γὰρ δὴ ὁ μὲν διδασκόμενος ἐπιστήμης ὧν ἀγνοεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀσκήσει χρώμενος στεφάνων καὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἀθλῶν φιλοπόνῳ καὶ φιλοθεάμονι ψυχῇ, — τὸ δ' αὐτοδίδακτον καὶ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, ἅτε φύσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιτηδεύσει συνιστάμενον, ἐξ [592] ἀρχῆς ἴσον καὶ τέλειον καὶ ἄρτιον ἡνέχθη, | μηδεὶν ὀνείδοντος τῶν εἰς πλήρωσιν ἀριθμοῦ.

- 89 Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτηδείων προστάτης Ἰωσήφ· ἀλλάττει γὰρ τοῦνομα, Ψονθομφανήχ ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς χώρας βασιλέως ἐπικληθείς. ὃν δὲ λόγον ἔχει καὶ ταῦτα, μηνυτέον. Ἰωσήφ ἐρμηνεύεται πρόσθεμα· προσθήκη δ' ἐστὶ τῶν φύσει τὰ θέσει, χρυσός, ἄργυρος, κτήματα, πρόσδοι, οἰκετῶν θεραπείαι, κειμηλίων καὶ ἐπίπλων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης περιουσίας ἄφθονοι ὕλαι, τῶν ἡδονῆς  
90 ποιητικῶν ἀμύχανοι τὸ πλήθος παρασκευαί. ὧν τὸν ποριστὴν καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν Ἰωσήφ ὀνόματι εὐθυβόλῳ καλεῖσθαι συμβέβηκε πρόσθεμα, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπεισοδιαζομένων καὶ προστιθεμένων τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν προστασίαν ἀνῆπται. μαρτυροῦσι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διδακτῇ, which might be retained, cf. § 263.

<sup>a</sup> Literally “as in a musical instrument containing heightenings and lowerings of notes to the artistic blending of melody.”

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 87-90

high pitch, now relaxed to a low, are blended into melody by the artist's skill.<sup>a</sup>

XIV. Again, while the race has three founders it 88 is the first and last of these, Abraham and Jacob, whose names were changed, while the middle founder, Isaac, has the same name throughout. Why is this? Because both the scholar's form of virtue and the practiser's are open to improving influences, since the former desires to know what he is ignorant of, the latter desires crowns of victory and the prizes offered to a soul which rejoices to toil and seek the vision of the truth. On the other hand the kind which has no teacher or pupil but itself, being made what it is by nature rather than by diligence, goes on its way from the first equal and perfect like an even number<sup>b</sup> with no other needed as complement.

Not so with the controller of bodily necessities, 89 Joseph. For he changes his name and receives the title of Psonthomphanech<sup>c</sup> (Gen. xli. 45) from the king of the country. The meaning of this also needs explanation. Joseph is by interpretation "addition," and conventional goods are an adjunct of natural goods. The former are such as gold, silver, chattels, revenues, services of menials, abundant stocks of heirlooms and furniture and all other luxuries, and the instruments of pleasure ready to hand in numberless forms. The provider and superintendent of these, 90 Joseph, is found to have the appropriate name of "Addition," since he is invested with the direction of the imported adventitious wealth which is an addition to the natural. This is attested by the

<sup>b</sup> ἀπτερον here combines its ordinary sense of "perfect" or "complete" with its technical use for an "even" number.

<sup>c</sup> Hebrew and E.V. Zaphenath-paneah.

- δ' οἱ χρησιμοὶ δηλοῦντες ὅτι τὰς τροφὰς τῆς  
σωματικῆς χώρας ἀπάσης, Αἰγύπτου, θησαυρισά-  
91 μενος ἐσιτάρχει. XV. τοιοῦτος μὲν τις  
ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐκ τῶν γνωρισμάτων γνωρίζεται· ὁ δὲ  
Ψονθομφανήχ ποιός ἐστι, θεασώμεθα. ἐρμηνεύεται  
οὖν ἐν ἀποκρίσει στόμα κρίνον. οἶεται γὰρ πᾶς  
ἄφρων τὸν πολυχρήματον καὶ περιρρεόμενον ταῖς  
ἐκτὸς οὐσίαις εὐθὺς εἶναι καὶ εὐλόγιστον, ἱκανὸν  
μὲν πρὸς ἃ ἂν πύθηται τις ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἱκανὸν  
δὲ καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμας εἰσηγήσασθαι συμ-  
φερούσας, καὶ συνόλως τὸ φρόνιμον ἐν τῷ τυχηρῷ  
τίθεται, δέον ἔμπαλιν τὸ τυχηρὸν ἐν τῷ φρονίμῳ·  
ἄξιον γὰρ τὸ ἄστατον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐστῶτος ἡνιοχεῖσθαι.  
92 καὶ μὴν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ὁμο-  
γάστριον ὁ μὲν πατὴρ Βενιαμίν, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ υἱὸν  
οἰδύνης προσαγορεύει, φυσικώτατα· μεταληφθεὶς  
γὰρ ὁ Βενιαμίν ἐστὶν υἱὸς ἡμερῶν, ἡμέρα δὲ τῷ  
ἀφ' ἡλίου αἰσθητῷ φωτὶ καταλάμπεται, τούτῳ δὲ  
93 τὴν κενὴν δόξαν ἐξομοιοῦμεν. ἔχει γὰρ τινα λαμ-  
πρότητα αἰσθητὴν ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ  
ἀγελαίων ἐπαίνοις, ἐν τοῖς γραφομένοις ψηφί-  
σμασιν, ἐν ταῖς ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων ἀναθέσεσιν,  
ἐν πορφύραις καὶ στεφάνοις χρυσοῖς, ἐν ἄρμασι  
καὶ τεθρίπποις καὶ παραπομπαῖς ὄχλων. ὁ τού-  
των οὖν ζηλωτῆς εἰκότως υἱὸς ἡμερῶν, αἰσθητοῦ  
[593] φέγγους καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν | κενὴν δόξαν λαμ-  
94 πρότητος, ὠνομάσθη. τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος λόγος  
καὶ πατὴρ ὄντως εὐθυβόλον καὶ κύριον ὄνομα αὐτῷ  
τίθεται, ἡ δὲ παθοῦσα ψυχὴ τὸ ᾧ πέπονθεν ἀρμότ-  
τον· οἰδύνης γὰρ υἱὸν καλεῖ. διὰ τί; ὅτι οἱ ἐν

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 90-94

oracles which state that he stored up the food and managed the provisioning of the whole land (*ibid.* 48) of the body.

XV. Such a character the 91 tokens given lead us to find in Joseph. Let us consider the nature of Psonthomphanech. His name means "mouth which judges in answer." For every fool thinks that the man of wealth who lives surrounded by a sea of outward kinds of substance must of necessity be able to reason aright, be capable of answering questions put to him and capable of originating judgements of value. And in general the fool holds wisdom to be subordinate to chance, instead of chance to wisdom, as he should do, since the unstable ought to be guided on its course by the stable.

And also his uterine brother 92 is addressed by his father as Benjamin and by his mother as Son of sorrow, and that is true to facts. For Benjamin by interpretation is Son of days, and the day is illumined by the sunlight visible to our senses, to which we liken vainglory. Such glory has 93 a certain brilliance to the outward sense, in the laudations bestowed by the vulgar multitude, in the decrees which are enacted, in the dedications of statues and images, in purple robes and golden crowns, in chariots and four-horse cars and crowded processions. He who affects these things was with good reason named the Son of days, that is of the visible light and of the brilliance of vainglory. This name 94 which exactly expresses the fact is given him by his father the head of the house, the reason. But the soul gives him the one that agrees with the experience by which she herself has learned. She calls him a son of sorrow. Why? Because those



- ταῖς κεναῖς φερόμενοι<sup>1</sup> δόξαις ὑπολαμβάνονται μὲν  
 95 εὐδαιμονεῖν, πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δὲ κακοδαιμονοῦσι. τὰ  
 γὰρ ἀντιπνέοντα πολλά, βασκανία, φθόνοι, συνεχεῖς  
 ἔριδες, φιλονεικίαι ἀκατάλλακτοι μέχρι θανάτου,  
 δυσμένειαι παισὶ παίδων κατὰ διαδοχὰς παρα-  
 96 διδόμεναι, κλῆρος οὐ κτητός. ἀναγκαίως οὖν ὁ  
 θεοφράδμων ἐν αὐταῖς ὠδίσιν ἀποθνήσκουσαν, ἣ  
 τίκτει κενοδοξίαν, παρέστησεν. “ἀπέθανε” γάρ  
 φησι “Ῥαχὴλ δυστοκήσασα,” ἐπειδὴ τῷ ὄντι  
 ψυχῆς ἐστι θάνατος δόξης αἰσθητῆς καὶ κενῆς  
 σπορά τε καὶ γέννησις.
- 97 XVI. Τί δ’; οἱ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ παῖδες, Ἐφραῖμ  
 τε καὶ Μανασσῆς, οὐ πάνυ φυσικῶς ἐξωμοιοῦντο  
 δυσὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις υἱοῖς τοῦ Ἰακώβ, Ῥουβὴν  
 τε καὶ Συμεών; λέγει γάρ· “οἱ δύο υἱοί σου, οἱ  
 γενόμενοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πρὸ τοῦ με ἐλθεῖν εἰς  
 Αἴγυπτον, ἐμοί εἰσιν. Ἐφραῖμ καὶ Μανασσῆς ὡς  
 Ῥουβὴν καὶ Συμεών ἔσσονται μοι.” τίνα οὖν  
 τρόπον οἱ δύο τοῖς δυσὶν ἐφαρμόζονται, θεασώμεθα.
- 98 Ῥουβὴν μὲν σύμβολον εὐφυΐας ἐστίν—ἐρμηνεύεται  
 γὰρ ὁρῶν υἱός—ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ὁ εὐθιξία καὶ εὐφυΐα  
 χρώμενος ὁρατικός,—Ἐφραῖμ δέ, ὡς πολλάκις  
 εἶπομεν ἐν ἑτέροις, μνήμης—μεταληφθεὶς γάρ  
 ἐστι καρποφορία, καρπὸς δὲ ψυχῆς ἄριστος ἢ  
 μνήμη—συγγενὲς δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον οὕτως [τῷ]
- 99 ἐτέρῳ, ὡς εὐφυεῖ<sup>2</sup> τὸ μεμνήσθαι. πάλιν ὁ Συμεών

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, as Mangey, φερόμενοι, cf. *De Ebr.* 57 τίς . . .  
 τῶν ἐτι φυρομένων ἐν κεναῖς δόξαις;

<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps <τῷ> εὐφυεῖ.

<sup>a</sup> As noted in the Introduction, §§ 97-102 are obviously  
 irrelevant, as none of the four persons discussed have any

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 94-99

who are swept along by the current of empty opinion are thought to be happy, but are in reality most unhappy, for many are the counterblasts, envy, 95 jealousies, continuous quarrelling, rancorous enmities unreconciled till death, feuds handed down successively to children's children, an inheritance which cannot be possessed. And so God's interpreter 96 could not but represent the mother of vainglory as dying in the very pangs of childbirth. Rachel died, we read, in hard labour (Gen. xxxv. 16, 19), for the conception and birth of vainglory, the creature of sense, is in reality the death of the soul.

XVI. Again, when the sons of Joseph, Ephraim 97 and Manasseh, were likened to the two elder sons of Jacob, Reuben and Simeon, have we not something perfectly true to nature? <sup>a</sup> Jacob says, "Thy two sons who were born in Egypt before I came to Egypt are mine. Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me" (Gen. xlviii. 5). Let us observe how the two pairs tally with each other. Reuben, whose name is by interpretation "Seeing 98 son," is the symbol of natural excellence, because the man who enjoys facility of apprehension and natural excellence is endowed with sight. Ephraim, as we have often said elsewhere,<sup>b</sup> is the symbol of memory. For he is by interpretation "Fruit-bearing," and memory is the best fruit of the soul. And no two things can be so close akin as memory and natural excellence. Again, Simeon is another 99

change of name. The only link is that they show how different names symbolize contrasting qualities. Possibly the thought is partly induced by the proximity of the two sons of Rachel, *cf.* the digression in *Quis Rer.* 252-266.

<sup>b</sup> See *Leg. All.* iii. 91 f., *De Sobr.* 27 f., *De Mig.* 205 f., *De Cong.* 40 f.

- ὄνομα μαθήσεως καὶ διδασκαλίας ἐστίν—εἰσακοή  
 γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται,—μανθάνοντος δ' ἴδιον ἀκούειν  
 τε καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς λεγομένοις, ὁ δὲ Μανασσῆς  
 ἀναμνήσεως σύμβολον· καλεῖται γὰρ ἐκ λήθης.
- 100 τῷ δ' ἐκ λήθης ἔξω προϊόντι συμβαίνει κατὰ τὸ  
 ἀναγκαῖον ἀναμνησέσθαι· μαθήσεως δὲ ἀνά-  
 μνησις οἰκεῖον. πολλάκις γὰρ τοῦ μανθάνοντος  
 ἀπορρεῖ τὰ θεωρήματα μὴ δυναμένου δι' ἀσθένειαν  
 κρατεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπαναπλεῖ. τὸ μὲν  
 οὖν τῆς ἀπορροῆς πάθος ὀνομάζεται λήθη, τὸ δὲ
- 101 τῆς παλιρροίας ἀνάμνησις. ἄρ' οὐ προσφυῶς  
 εὐφυῖα μὲν [ἡ] μνήμη, μαθήσει δὲ ἀνάμνησις ἐφ-  
 αρμόζεται; καὶ μὴν ὃν λόγον ἔχει Συμεὼν πρὸς  
 Ῥουβήν, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ μάθησις πρὸς φύσιν, τοῦτον  
 ἔχει λόγον Μανασσῆς πρὸς Ἐφραῖμ, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ
- 102 πρὸς μνήμην ἀνάμνησις. ὥς γὰρ τὸ εὐφυνὲς ἄμεινον  
 τοῦ μανθάνοντος — τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔοικεν ὀράσει, τὸ
- [594] δὲ ἀκοῇ· ἀκοῇ δὲ ὀράσεως | τὰ δευτέρα φέρεται,—  
 οὕτω τὸ μνημονικὸν τοῦ ἀναμνησκομένου παν-  
 ταχοῦ κρεῖττον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν λήθη κέκραται, τὸ δὲ  
 ἀμυγῆς καὶ ἄκρατον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους διαμένει.
- 103 XVII. Καὶ μὴν τὸν γε τοῦ ἀρχιπροφήτου πεν-  
 θερὸν τοτὲ μὲν Ἰοθὼρ τοτὲ δὲ Ῥαγουήλ οἱ χρησιμοὶ  
 καλοῦσιν· Ἰοθὼρ μὲν, ὅταν τῷφος εὐήμερῃ· μετα-  
 ληφθεὶς γὰρ ἐστὶ περισσός, περιττὸν δὲ ἀψευδεῖ  
 βίῳ τῷφος, γέλωτα. μὲν τὰ ἴσα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τῷ  
 βίῳ τιθέμενος, τὰ δὲ πλεονεξίας ἄνισα σεμνύνων.
- 104 οὗτος καὶ ἀνθρώπεια θείων καὶ ἔθνη νόμων καὶ  
 βέβηλα ἱερῶν καὶ θνητὰ ἀθανάτων καὶ συνόλως τὸ  
 δοκεῖν τοῦ εἶναι προτιμῶ. καὶ ἐπιτολήσας αὐτο-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 99-104

name for learning and teaching, since Simeon is by interpretation "hearing," and it is the peculiar mark of the learner that he hears and attends to what is said, while Manasseh is the symbol of recollection, for his name is "From forgetfulness." The advance 100 from forgetfulness necessarily involves recollection, and recollection is akin to learning. For what he has acquired often floats away from the learner's mind, because in his weakness he is unable to retain it, and then emerges and starts again. When it flows away we say he is in a state of forgetfulness, and when it returns we call it a state of recollection. Surely then memory closely corresponds to natural 101 excellence and recollection to learning. And the same relation which Simeon or learning bears to Reuben or nature is borne by Manasseh or recollection to Ephraim or memory. For just as natural 102 excellence which resembles sight is better than learning which resembles hearing, the inferior of sight, so memory is in every way the superior of recollection, since while that is mixed with forgetfulness memory remains from first to last free from mixture or contamination.

XVII. Again, the chief prophet's father-in-law is 103 sometimes called in the oracles Jethro and sometimes Raguel. He is Jethro when vanity is flourishing, for Jethro is by interpretation "superfluous," and vanity is to the verities of life a superfluity deriding as it does equalities and the mere necessities of life and glorifying surplusage and inequality.<sup>a</sup> Jethro values 104 the human above the divine, custom above laws, profane above sacred, mortal above immortal, and in general seeming above being. And he ventures

<sup>a</sup> Or "the inequalities produced by covetousness."

κέλευστος εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου παρέρχεται τάξιν, ὑφηγούμενος τῷ σοφῷ μὴ<sup>1</sup> ἀναδιδάσκειν ἃ μόνᾳ μανθάνειν ἄξιον, "τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον," ἀλλὰ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνθρώπων συμβόλαια, τῆς ἀκοινωνήτου σχεδὸν αἷτια κοινω- νίας. καὶ ὁ μέγας πάντα πειθαρχεῖ, νομίσας ἀρ- μόττον εἶναι μικροῖς μὲν τὰ μικρά, μεγάλοις δὲ 105 τὰ μεγάλα δίκαια τίθεσθαι. μεταβαλὼν δὲ πολ- λάκις ὁ δοκησίσοφος οὗτος καὶ μεταβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν θρεμμάτων, ἃ δὴ τυφλὸς ἔλαχεν ἡνιοχεῖν, ἀναζη- τήσας τὴν θείαν ἀγέλην μέρος οὐ μεμπτὸν αὐτῆς γίνεται, θαυμάσας τῆς φύσεως τὸν ἀγελάρχην καὶ τῆς ἐπιστασίας ἀγάμενος, ἥ χρηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θρεμμάτων<sup>2</sup> ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ 106 'Ραγουήλ ποιμασία θεοῦ. XVIII. τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον εἴρηται, τὰς δὲ πίστεις ὑφηγησεται. πρῶτον μὲν θεραπευτὴν αὐτὸν κρίσεως καὶ δίκης

<sup>1</sup> Wendland [μὴ] ἀναδιδάσκειν . . . <μὴ> τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. So also Mangey, more doubtfully. See note <sup>a</sup> below.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. σχημάτων.

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<sup>a</sup> The suggestion of Mangey and Wendland to explain away this extraordinary perversion of the story of Jethro's visit to Moses by transferring the negatives seems to me quite untenable. If it brings the passage into better agreement with the LXX, it does so at the cost of making nonsense of the whole, by representing something which is to Jethro's credit as being to his discredit. Moreover, the text as it stands substantially agrees with the account of the interview given more shortly in *De Ebr.* 37. Philo apparently gets his interpretation by stopping short at v. 17 of Ex. xviii. and ignoring the rest. Moses has said that he teaches the people "the ordinances of God and the law," and Jethro replies οὐκ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖς. The sequel goes on to shew that Jethro means that Moses should employ subordinates for

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 104-106

to come self-bidden and take the position of an adviser and suggests to the sage that he should not teach the only thing worth learning, the ordinances of God and the law, but the contracts which men make with each other, which as a rule produce dealings where the partners have no real partnership.<sup>a</sup> And the great ones <sup>b</sup> of the earth accept all he says, and think that it is right to give great justice to the great and little justice to the little.<sup>c</sup> Yet often this 105 wiseacre changes round and leaves the flock which had him in his blindness for their leader: he seeks the herd of God and becomes therein a member without reproach, so much does he admire the nature of its herdsman and reverence the skill in governing which he shews in the charge of his flock. For the meaning of Raguel (Ex. ii. 18) is "the shepherding of God." XVIII. I have stated the sum 106 of the matter, Moses will shew us the proofs. In the first place he describes him as one who honours

minor matters, and the last part of § 104 seems to be a vague reproduction of this, but completely twisted, whether through perversity or lapse of memory, so as to describe a policy of injustice called in *De Ebr.* "playing the demagogue, and laying down laws contrary to the laws of nature."

<sup>b</sup> *Prima facie* no doubt we should take ὁ μέγας as meaning Moses, particularly as Moses in the story does accept Jethro's suggestion. But in view of the impossibility of Philo ascribing to Moses the acceptance of such advice, I take it generically, and this fits in with the evidently intended antithesis to μεγάλοις μεγάλα.

<sup>c</sup> The Greek might mean "assigns important administrations of justice, etc.," but here again the overwhelming argument of the necessity of discrediting Jethro demands the translation given. Philo is perhaps thinking of Deut. i. 17, and xxiv. 13-16, where the thought suggested in the translation appears.

- εἰσηγείται· ἡ γὰρ προσηγορία τῆς Μαδιάμ μετα-  
ληφθεῖσα ἐκ κρίσεως ὀνομάζεται. διττὸν δὲ τοῦτο.  
δηλοῖ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἔκκρισιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν, ἡ καὶ  
τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀγῶνας λεγο-  
μένους εἴωθε συμβαίνειν· μυρίοι γὰρ ἀνεπιτήδειοι  
φανέντες ἤδη πρὸς τῶν ἀθλοθετῶν ἐξεκρίθησαν.  
107 οὗτοι [τε] τελεταῖς ἀνιέροις ταῖς Βεελφεγῶρ τελε-  
σθέντες καὶ τὰ τοῦ σώματος στόμια<sup>1</sup> πάντα εὐ-  
[595] ρύναντες πρὸς τὴν | τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐπιχειρομένων ρευ-  
μάτων ὑποδοχὴν—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ Βεελφεγῶρ  
ἀνωτέρω στόμα δέρματος—κατέκλυσαν τὸν ἡγε-  
μόνα νοῦν καὶ ἀφείσαν<sup>2</sup> εἰς βυθὸν ἔσχατον, ὥς μηδ’  
ἀνανήξασθαι μηδὲ μικρὸν ὅσον δυνηθῆναι ἀνασχεῖν.  
108 καὶ τοῦτο ἔπαθεν, ἕως ὃ εἰρηνικὸς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ  
θεοῦ τρανός, Φινεές, ὑπέρμαχος αὐτοκέλευστος  
ἦλθε, φύσει μισοπόνηρος ὢν καὶ ζήλῳ τῶν καλῶν  
κατεσχημένος· ᾧ σειρομάστην λαβόντι, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶν  
ἡκονημένον καὶ ὀξὺν λόγον, μαστεύειν καὶ ἀνα-  
ζητεῖν ἕκαστα ἱκανόν, ἐξεγένετο μὴ φενακισθῆναι,  
ῥώμῃ δὲ καρτερᾷ χρησαμένῳ κατακεντῆσαι διὰ  
τῆς μήτρας τὸ πάθος, ἵνα μηδὲν ἔτι κακὸν θεήλατον  
109 τίκτη. πρὸς τούτους καὶ ὁ μέγιστος ἐνίσταται τῷ  
ὁρατικῷ γένει πόλεμος, ἐν ᾧ τῶν διαγωνισαμένων

<sup>1</sup> mss. στόματα.

<sup>2</sup> So Wend. for mss. ἐπήεσαν: better perhaps as Mangey ἐπίεσαν.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* ἐκ κρίσεως may be taken as a single word ἐκκρίσεως, or as “belonging to judgement,” though in ἐκ λήθης (§ 100) the ἐκ is supposed to indicate the opposite of the noun.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 589.

<sup>c</sup> Or “mouth above skin” (or “leather,” *cf.* *δερμάτων* *δγκον* Βεελφεγῶρ, *De Conf.* 55). I take the application to be that *δέρμα* indicates the body, and, if the form given in the

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 106-109

judgement and justice. For the word Midian when translated appears as "from judgement or sifting." This has a twofold significance.<sup>a</sup> It means in one sense sifting out and sifting off, which we often see in the case of those who enter for the so-called sacred games.<sup>b</sup> For thousands of these who have been judged to be unfit have been known to be sifted out by the stewards. Midianites, in this sense, initiated 107 in the unholy rites of Baal Peor (Num. xxv. 3), and widening all the orifices of the body to receive the streams which pour in from outside (for the meaning of Baal Peor is "mouth of skin above"<sup>c</sup>), flood the ruling mind and sink it to the lowest depths, so that it cannot float up to the top or rise ever so little. And this was its condition until the Man of Peace, 108 an evident<sup>d</sup> priest of God, Phinehas (*ibid.* 12, 13), came a self-bidden champion. He is a hater of evil by nature and possessed by zeal for the good. And when he took the lance,<sup>e</sup> that is the sharp-edged word, able to probe and explore each thing, power was granted him, that duped by none and armed with mighty strength he should pierce passion through the womb, that it should henceforth bring to birth no plague of God's sending (*ibid.* 7, 8). It is against 109 these Midianites that the nation of vision sets on foot the greatest of wars in which none of their

translation is right, ἀνωτέρω suggests that in this case the body has usurped the superiority which belongs to the mind.

<sup>a</sup> A strange use of τρανός. No satisfactory emendation is suggested. Wend.'s τρανός <λόγος> is fairly satisfactory in itself, but the λόγον which follows is an objection.

<sup>e</sup> For σειρομάστην and other points in this sentence see the parallels, *Leg. All.* iii. 242, *De Post.* 183, *De Ebr.* 73, and notes thereon.



- “ διεφώνησεν οὐδείς,” ἀλλ’ ἄτρωτος καὶ σῶος ἐπανήλθε, τοῖς νικητηρίοις ἀναδούμενος στεφάνοις.
- 110 XIX. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς Μαδιὰμ ἐδηλοῦτο· ἕτερον δὲ τὸ κριτικὸν<sup>1</sup> καὶ δικαστικὸν εἶδος, ὃ καὶ κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν οἰκείουται γένει τῷ προφητικῷ. “ τῷ ἱερεῖ,” φησὶν οὖν, τῆς κρίσεως καὶ τῆς δίκης “ εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ θυγατέρες,” συμβολικῶς αἱ τοῦ ἀλόγου δυνάμεις, γονή τε καὶ φωνή καὶ πέντε αἰσθήσεις, ποιμαίνουσαι τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ
- 111 πατρός. διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἑπτὰ δυνάμεων τούτων αἱ προβάσεις καὶ παρανξήσεις τοῦ πατρὸς νοῦ ταῖς ἐγγινομέναις καταλήψεσι συνίστανται. “ παραγενόμεναι ” δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐκάστη, χρώματα μὲν καὶ σχήματα ὄρασις, φωνὰς δὲ ἀκοή, ἀτμούς δὲ ὄσφρησις, χυλοὺς δὲ γεῦσις καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πρὸς τὰ ἀρμόττοντα ἑαυταῖς, “ ἀντλοῦσι ” τρόπον τινὰ τὰ ἐκτὸς αἰσθητά, “ ἕως ἂν πληρώσωσι τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς δεξαμενάς, ἐξ ὧν ποτίζουσι<sup>2</sup> τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρὸς,” τὴν καθαρωτάτην λέγω τοῦ λογισμοῦ ποίμνην, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον περιφέρουσιν ἐν ταύ-
- 112 τῷ. “ παραγενόμενοι ” δ’ οἱ φθόνου καὶ βασκανίας ἐταῖροι, πονηρὰς ἀγέλης ἡγεμόνες, ἐλαύνουσιν αὐτὰς τῆς κατὰ φύσιν χρήσεως. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἄγουσιν εἴσω πρὸς οἷα δικαστὴν καὶ βασιλέα τὸν νοῦν, ἢν’ ἄρχοντι χρώμεναι τῷ βελτίστῳ κατορ-
- 113 θῶσιν· οἱ δ’ ἀντικάθηνται διώκοντες καὶ τὰναντία παραγγέλλοντες, ἕξω<sup>3</sup> τὸν νοῦν ἐπισπᾶσθαι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κρεῖττον.<sup>2</sup> MSS. πίνουσι.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐξόν.

<sup>a</sup> See notes on *De Conf.* 56 and *De Ebr.* 114. Here there is no allusion to the original meaning of the word, and the derived sense of “is lost” may be given in the translation.

<sup>b</sup> *προβάσεις* evidently alludes to the idea that *πρόβατον* is

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 109-113

combatants was "lost"<sup>a</sup> (Num. xxxi. 49), but returned safe and unwounded, crowned with the garlands of victory.

XIX. The above is one of the 110 types indicated by the word Midian; another is the judicial, justice-dispensing type which by marriage is akin to the prophetic sort. "The priest" of judgment and justice, he says, "had seven daughters" (Ex. ii. 16). The daughters stand as a symbol for 111 the seven faculties of the unreasoning element, namely reproductive power, speech, and the five senses. "Daughters," it adds, "who kept the sheep of their father," for through these seven faculties come the advances<sup>b</sup> and growths which repeated apprehension produces in the father, the mind. Each of these faculties "arrives at" its own, sight at colours and forms, hearing at sounds, smell at scents, taste at flavours, and the others at the objects appropriate to each in particular. Each "draws up," so to speak, external objects of sense until they "fill the troughs" of the soul "from which they water the sheep of the father," and by these I mean the purest of flocks, the flock of reasoning which brings with it at once protection and adornment.<sup>c</sup> But then "arrive" the comrades of envy and malice, 112 the shepherds of an evil herd, and drive them from the uses prescribed by nature (*ibid.* 17). For whereas the daughters take outside objects inside to the mind, which is as it were their judge and king, hoping thus under the best of rulers to perform their duty aright, the others beset and pursue them and give the 113 opposite orders, namely that they should entice the

derived from *προβαίνω*, cf. *De Sac.* 112 *προκοπήs δὲ πρόβατον*,  
ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, σύμβολον.

<sup>a</sup> This is explained later in § 246.

- ἀγώγιμα παραδιδόναι τὰ φαινόμενα, μέχρις “ ἀνα-  
 [596] στὰς ” | ὁ τέως ἡρεμεῖν τρόπος δοκῶν φιλάρετος  
 καὶ ἐπιθειάσας, ὄνομα Μωυσῆς, ὑπερασπίσει καὶ  
 “ ῥύσεται αὐτὰς ” τῶν κατεχόντων, ποτίμοις λόγοις  
 114 θρέψας τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιμήνην. ἐκφυγοῦσαι δὲ  
 τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τῶν διανοίας μὲν ἐχθρῶν, τὰ δὲ  
 περίαπτα ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ μόνα ἐξηλωκότων  
 οὐκέτι πρὸς Ἰοθόρ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Ῥαγουνήλ ἀφ-  
 ικνοῦνται. καταλελοίπασιν μὲν γὰρ τὴν πρὸς τῷφον  
 συγγένειαν, ὥκειωνται δὲ ἀγωγῇ νομίμῳ, μοῖρα  
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης ἀξιῶσασαι γενέσθαι, ἧς ὁ θεῖος  
 ἀφηγεῖται λόγος, ὡς δηλοῖ τοῦνομα· ποιμασία γάρ  
 115 ἐστὶ θεοῦ. XX. ποιμήνης δ’ ἐπιμελουμένου τῆς  
 ἰδίας, ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἀγαθὰ πάρεστιν ἀθρόα τοῖς πειθα-  
 ρχοῦσι καὶ μὴ ἀφηνιάζουσι τῶν θρεμμάτων. ἄδεται  
 δὲ καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄσμα τοιοῦτον· “ κύριος ποιμαίνει  
 116 με, καὶ οὐδέν με ὑστερήσει.” πεύσεται<sup>1</sup> οὖν εἰκότως  
 ὁ ποιμένι (καὶ) βασιλεῖ χρώμενος τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ  
 νοῦς τῶν ἐπτά θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ· διὰ τί συν-  
 τεῖναι μετὰ πολλοῦ τάχους τήμερον ἀφῆλθε;  
 πρότερον γὰρ ὅτ’ ἐνετυγχάνετε τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πειστέον.

<sup>a</sup> The thought is obscure. Cohn and Wend. proposed ἀγώγιμον παραδιδόναι τοῖς φαινόμενοις (or πρὸς τὰ φαινόμενα). If the text is kept, I suggest that the thought may be that while the mind holds its proper seat, it makes the right use of αἰσθητά, but if it is enticed out into the body-loving region, αἰσθητά are used by it as slaves or prisoners. This would be brought out more clearly if we made the easy correction καὶ <ἐκεῖ> παραδιδόναι. But Mangey’s emendation of ποιμαινέ-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 113-116

mind outside and there deliver over phenomena into its hand.<sup>a</sup> And in this way they will persist until the mind which loves virtue and is inspired by God, called Moses, shall "arise" from his former seeming quietude, protect and "save" the maidens from their subjugators, and nourish the flock of the father with words and thoughts, sweet as water to drink. And 114 when the maidens have escaped the onset of those who are the mind's enemies and have no aspiration but for the superfluities of life as though life were mere play-acting,<sup>b</sup> they return not now to Jethro but to Raguel. For they have discarded their kinship with vanity, and become affiliated to the guidance and rule of law,<sup>c</sup> resolved to become a part of the holy herd which is led by God's Word as its name shews, for Raguel means "the shepherding of God." XX. And since God cares for His own flock He has 115 ready at hand a multitude of gifts for those of His charges who obey Him and do not rebel. In the Psalms there is a hymn of this kind, "The Lord is my shepherd, and nothing shall be lacking to me" (Ps. xxiii. (xxii.) 1). So then we shall not be surprised 116 to find the mind which has the Divine Word for its shepherd and king asking of its seven daughters, "Why have ye returned with such speed and so eagerly to-day?" (Ex. ii. 18). For at other times when you visited the objects of sense you spent a *μενα* for *φαινόμενα* would greatly simplify the imagery and deserves all consideration. See App. pp. 589 f.

<sup>b</sup> If this is right *περιπτα* is used in a somewhat different sense from § 199 for "appendages"; cf. Aristot. *Nic. Eth.* x. 8. 12 οὐδὲν δὴ προσδεῖται τῆς ἡδονῆς ὁ βίος αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ περιπτον τινός. For *τραγωδία* cf. *De Post.* 165 οἱ τραγωδῖαν τὸν βίον . . . νομιζόντες. But the words may refer to the masks of actors, and if so would be more in line with §§ 198, 199.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 590.

- μακρὸν χρόνον ἔξω διατρίβουσαι μόλις ἐπανήειτε  
 δελεαζόμεναι πρὸς αὐτῶν· νυνὶ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι  
 παθοῦσαι συντόνως<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἐπανήκετε.
- 117 φήσουσιν οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ αὐταὶ γεγόνασιν αἷται τοῦ  
 τὸν διάυλον ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν  
 ἀπνευστὶ καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ῥύμης δραμεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ  
 ῥυσάμενος αὐτὰς ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀγρίας  
 ἀγέλης ποιμένων. Αἰγύπτιον δὲ καλοῦσι Μωυσῆν,  
 τὸν οὐ μόνον Ἑβραῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ καθαρωτάτου  
 γένους ὄντα Ἑβραίων, ὃ ἱερᾶται μόνον, οὐ δυνά-
- 118 μεναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ὑπερβῆναι. μεθόριοι γὰρ  
 αἱ αἰσθήσεις οὔσαι [τῶν] νοητῶν τε καὶ αἰσθητῶν  
 ἀγαπητὸν ἐὰν ἑκατέρων ἐφίωνται, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὸ  
 μόνων τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἄγωνται· τὸ δ' οἶεσθαι ὅτι  
 μόνοις ποτὲ τοῖς κατὰ διάνοιαν ἐπανέξουσιν εὐήθεια  
 πολλή. οὐ χάριν ἀμφότερα τιθέασι, διὰ μὲν τοῦ  
 “ ἄνθρωπος ” τὰ μόνῳ λόγῳ θεωρητὰ μηνύουσαι,  
 διὰ δὲ τοῦ “ Αἰγύπτιος ” παριστᾶσαι τὰ αἰσθητά.
- 119 ταῦτ' ἀκούσας καὶ πάλιν πεύσεται· “ ποῦ ἐστίν ” ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος; ἐν τίνι μέρει τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς οἰκεῖ<sup>2</sup> τὸ  
 λογικὸν εἶδος; “ ἵνα τί αὐτὸν ” ῥαδίως οὕτω  
 “ καταλελοίπατε, ” ἀλλ' οὐχ ἅπαξ ἐντυχούσαι περι-  
 ἔσχετε κτῆμα κάλλιστον καὶ λυσιτελέστατον ἑαυταῖς;
- 120 ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν “ αὐτὸν καλέσατε, ὅπως  
 ἂν φάγη ” καὶ τραφῇ ταῖς ὑμετέραις βελτιώσεσι  
 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείωσει. τάχα γὰρ καὶ οἰκῇσει
- [597] | παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ πτηνὸν καὶ [τὸ] θεοφόρητον καὶ  
 προφητικὸν γένος, ὄνομα Σεμφώραν, ἄζεται.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συντόμως.<sup>2</sup> MSS. οἰκεῖον (Mangey οἰκεῖ οὖν).

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 116-120

long time out there and almost refused to return, so greatly were you enticed by them. But now something or other has induced you to come back with this unwonted eagerness. So they will reply that 117 this hasty breathless racing out to the world of sense and back again is not due to themselves but to the man who rescued them from the shepherds of the savage herd, and they call Moses an Egyptian (*ibid.* 19), Moses who was not only a Hebrew, but of that purest Hebrew blood which alone is consecrated. They cannot, that is, rise above their own nature. For the senses are on the border-line between the 118 intelligible realm and the sensible, and all that we can hope is that they should desire both realms and not be led by the latter only. To suppose that they will ever give their affections to the things of mind only would be the height of folly, and therefore they give both titles. By the word "man" they point out the world which reason alone discerns,<sup>a</sup> by "Egyptian" they represent the world of sense. On 119 hearing this the father will ask again, where is the man? (*ibid.* 20). In what part of your surroundings does the element of the reason dwell? Why have you left him so easily, and why when you once fell in with him did you not take to your arms that treasure, so beautiful above all, so profitable to yourselves? But if you have not as yet, at least now "invite him 120 that he may eat" (*ibid.* 20) and feed on your advance to higher stages of goodness and a closer affinity to him. Perhaps he will even dwell among you and wed the winged, inspired and prophetic nature called Zipporah (*ibid.* 21).

<sup>a</sup> For "Man" standing for the true man, the mind, *cf.* *De Agr.* 9, *Quis Rerum* 231, *De Fug.* 71, and elsewhere.

- 121 XXI. Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν  
 Ὡσηέ μετονομάζει Μωυσῆς εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν  
 ποιὸν εἰς ἕξιν μεταχαράττων. Ὡσηέ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐρμηνεύεται <σώζεται><sup>1</sup> ποιὸς οὗτος, Ἰησοῦς δέ  
 122 σωτηρία κυρίου, ἕξεως ὄνομα τῆς ἀρίστης. ἕξεις  
 γὰρ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς ποιῶν ἀμείνους, ὡς μουσικὴ  
 μουσικοῦ καὶ ἱατρικὴ ἱατροῦ καὶ παντὸς τεχνίτου  
 τέχνη πᾶσα,<sup>2</sup> καὶ αἰδιότητι καὶ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ περὶ  
 τὰ θεωρήματα ἀπταιίστῳ ἀκρότητι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἕξις αἰδιον, ἐνεργοῦν, τέλειον, ὃ δὲ ποιὸς θνητόν,  
 πάσχον, ἀτελές· κρεῖττον δὲ θνητοῦ μὲν τὸ ἄ-  
 φθαρτον, πάσχοντος δὲ τὸ δρῶν αἴτιον, τὸ δὲ τέλειον  
 123 ἀτελοῦς. οὕτω μετεχαράχθη καὶ τὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος  
 νόμισμα πρὸς ἰδέαν βελτίονα. ὃ δὲ  
 Χάλεβ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅλος ἀλλάττεται· “ ἐγένετο ” γὰρ  
 φησι “ πνεῦμα ἕτερον ἐν αὐτῷ,” ὥσανεὶ τοῦ  
 ἡγεμονικοῦ μεταβαλόντος πρὸς ἄκραν τελειότητα.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἐστὶ Χάλεβ πᾶσα καρδιά·  
 124 τοῦτο δὲ σύμβολον τοῦ μὴ ἐκ μέρους ἐπαμφοτερί-  
 ζουσιν καὶ ἀντιρρέπουσαν, ἀλλ' ὅλην δι' ὅλου τὴν  
 ψυχὴν μεταβεβλήσθαι πρὸς τὸ δόκιμον, καὶ εἴ τι

<sup>1</sup> <σώζεται>: my insertion, which I hope will meet with general acceptance. That Philo should have supposed that “Hoshea” meant “this person of a particular kind” seems to me absurd (for Siegfried’s defence of it see App. p. 590). Philo’s meaning, as I understand it, is that the finite verb necessarily implies a subject and therefore stands to the abstract noun as the ποιὸς does to the ποιότης or ἕξις. It will be seen that the juxtaposition of two -εται’s might easily lead to the omission of one. For the interpretation of a name by a finite verb cf. below, § 189.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey (approved by Wend.): mss. ποιὰ, which cannot mean “of any kind,” and if we take it as “some particular kind” does not balance well with παντός.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 121-124

XXI. So much for this. But Moses also changes 121 the name of Hoshea to Joshua (Num. xiii. 17), thus transforming the individual who embodies a state into the state itself.<sup>a</sup> For Hoshea by interpretation is "he," that is a particular individual, "is saved." But Joshua is "safety of the Lord," a name for the best possible state. For states are better than the 122 individuals who embody them, as music is better than the musician and medicine than the physician, and every art than every artist, better both in everlastingness and in power and in unerring mastery over its subject matter. The state is everlasting, active, perfect; the individual is mortal, acted on, imperfect; and the imperishable is higher and greater than the mortal, the acting cause than that on which it acts, and the perfect than the imperfect. Thus in the 123 above also we see the coin which represents the man re-minted in a better form. But in Caleb we have a total change of the man himself. For we read "there was another spirit in him" (Num. xiv. 24), as though the ruling mind in him was changed to supreme perfection. For Caleb is by interpretation "all heart," and this is a figurative way of shewing 124 that his was no partial change of a soul wavering and oscillating, but a change to proved excellence of the whole and entire soul which dislodged anything that

<sup>a</sup> *ποιός* (a person of a particular kind) is regularly used in antithesis to other *ποιοί* or *ἀποιοί*; but it may also be used in antithesis to *ποιότης*, cf. *ποιόν τι ἄλλ' οὐ ποιότητα*, *Theaetetus* 182 A. In this case the *ποιός* is the concrete of the abstract *ποιότης*. Philo has used it in exactly the same way in *Leg. All.* i. 67, 79, and also in *Leg. All.* ii. 18, where *ὁ κατὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ποιός* is *φρόνιμος* or *σώφρων*, etc., corresponding to *φρόνησις*, *σωφροσύνη*, etc.



μὴ πάνυ ἐπαινετὸν εἶη,<sup>1</sup> λόγοις τοῖς περὶ μετανοίας ἐξοικίσασαν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκνυψαμένη τὰ καταρρυπαίνοντα καὶ τοῖς φρονήσεως λουτροῖς χρησαμένη καὶ καθαρσίοις<sup>2</sup> ἔμελλε φαιδρύνεσθαι.

- 125 XXII. Τὸν δὲ ἀρχιπροφήτην συμβέβηκεν εἶναι πολuwνυμον. ὁπότε μὲν γὰρ τοὺς χρησιμωδουμένους χρησμοὺς ἐρμηνεύων ὑφηγεῖται, προσαγορεύεται Μωυσῆς· ὁπότε δ' εὐχόμενος εὐλογεῖ τὸν λεών, ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ· ἡνίκα δὲ Αἴγυπτος τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσεβηθέντων δίκας ἐκτίνει, τοῦ βασιλεύοντος
- 126 τῆς χώρας Φαραὼ θεός. διὰ τί δέ; ὅτι τὸ μὲν νόμους μεταγράφειν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν ἐντευξομένων ψηλαφῶντός ἐστι καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντος αἰεὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἀνακεκλημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ θεσπιωδοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ εἰληφότος παρ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλην δωρεάν, ἐρμηνείαν καὶ προφητείαν νόμων ἱερῶν· μεταληφθεὶς γὰρ Μωυσῆς καλεῖται λῆμμα, δύναται δὲ
- 127 καὶ ψηλάφημα διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας. τὸ δέ γε εὐχεσθαι καὶ εὐλογεῖν οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ τυχόντος, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπου τὴν πρὸς γένεσιν μὴ ἑωρακότος συγγένειαν, προσκεκληρωκότος δὲ ἑαυτὸν τῷ πάν-
- 128 των ἡγεμόνι καὶ πατρί· ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, εἴ τω ἐξεγένετο εὐλογιστίᾳ χρῆσθαι, τὸ δέ γε καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἑτέροις περιποιεῖν τὸ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο μείζονος καὶ τελειο-
- [598] τέρας ψυχῆς καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς θειαζούσης | ἦν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἦ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. καθαρσίω.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps τὸ δέ γε <τόδε> καί.

<sup>a</sup> Or “a thing received,” the natural meaning of the word, i.e. Moses is named after the gift which he has received.

<sup>b</sup> The meaning is obscure. Perhaps the fact that Moses “handled” the laws shews that his name of “receiving” must also be understood to include the kindred meaning of

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 124-128

was not entirely laudable by thoughts of repentance ; for when it thus washed away its defilements, and made use of the lustrations and purifications of wisdom, it could not but be clean and fair.

XXII. The chief of the prophets proves to have 125 many names. When he interprets and teaches the oracles vouchsafed to him he is called Moses ; when he prays and blesses the people, he is a Man of God (Deut. xxxiii. 1) ; and when Egypt is paying the penalties for its impious deeds he is the god (Ex. vii. 1) of Pharaoh, the king of the country. Why 126 these three ? Because to enact fresh laws for the benefit of those to whom they would apply is the task of one whose hands are ever in touch with divine things, one who is called up (Ex. xxiv. 1) by the Lawgiver who speaks in oracles, one who has received from Him a great gift, the power of language to express prophet-like the holy laws. For Moses, if translated, is a "receiving"<sup>a</sup> and it also means a handling, as shewn above.<sup>b</sup> Secondly, to pray and bless 127 is not for any chance person but for a man who has had no eyes<sup>c</sup> for his kinship to created being and has given himself to be the portion of Him who is ruler and father of all. For one must be content if it be 128 granted to him to follow right reasoning himself, but to procure the good gift for others is what only a greater, more perfect, truly God-inspired soul can "handling." The derivation here given applies only to the last part of the name. The common ancient derivation that "Mo" represented the Egyptian μῶν, "water," is given by Philo, *De Mos.* i. 17. In *Leg. All.* iii. 231 ψηλάφημα was used for "groping" (in darkness).

<sup>c</sup> Clearly an allusion to the blessing of Levi (Deut. xxxiii. 9), "who said to his father and mother 'I have not seen thee' (οὐχ ἑώρακα)." Cf. *De Fug.* 89 and elsewhere. Mangey and Wend. needlessly suspect the word.

- ἐπάγγελμα, ἥς ὁ τυχὼν εἰκότως θεοῦ<sup>1</sup> κεκληθήσεται. θεὸς δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἄτε σοφὸς ὢν καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρχων παντὸς ἄφρονος, κἂν εἰ τοῖς βασιλείοις σκήπτροις ἐκεῖνος ἐφιδρύνειτο μεγαλαυχῶν. καὶ
- 129 διὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἡκιστα<sup>2</sup>. βούλεται γὰρ ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμὼν, κἂν ἀφόρητα ἀδικοῦντές τινες μέλλωσι κολάζεσθαι, παραιτητὰς ἔχειν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἳ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἰλεω δύναμιν ἀπομιμούμενοι μετριώτερον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον χρήσονται ταῖς τιμωρίαις· θεοῦ δὲ τὸ εὐεργετεῖν ἴδιον.
- 130 XXIII. Ἀποχρώντως οὖν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀλλαγῆς τε καὶ μεταθέσεως εἰρηκότες ἐπὶ τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐφόδου τρεψόμεθα κεφάλαια. εἶπετο δ' εὐθύς ἡ γένεσις Ἰσαάκ· καλέσας γὰρ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Σάρραν ἀντὶ Σάρας φησὶ τῷ Ἀβραάμ· “δώσω σοι (ἐξ αὐτῆς) τέκνον.” ἐν μέρει δ'
- 131 ἕκαστον ἀκριβωτέον. ὁ τοίνυν κυρίως διδούς ὅτιοῦν ἴδιόν τι πάντως ἑαυτοῦ δίδωσιν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀψευδές ἐστι, γένοιτ' ἂν Ἰσαὰκ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ὁ συνώνυμος τῆς ἀρίστης τῶν εὐπαθειῶν, χαρᾶς, γέλως ὁ ἐνδιάθετος, υἱὸς θεοῦ<sup>3</sup> τοῦ διδόντος

<sup>1</sup> mss. θεός, which Wend. prints, though noting that ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ seems the right reading. But θεοῦ by itself is a simpler and, I think, quite sufficient correction.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. puts no stop at μεγαλαυχῶν, apparently treating it as “boasting on account of this (what?) in particular.” Mangey gives a full stop after μεγαλαυχῶν, but inserts <εὔχεται> after ἡκιστα. I suggest that θεός ἐστι is to be understood; see note <sup>b</sup> on opposite page. τοῦτο looks forward, as e.g. *De Op.* 72, 100, *De Som.* i. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Wend. and Mangey both punctuate γέλως, ὁ ἐνδιάθετος υἱὸς θεοῦ (which Drummond translates “the ideal son of God”). But can ἐνδιάθετος mean this? I understand it in its usual sense of opposition to προφορικός, cf. *De Mig.*

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 128-131

promise, and the possessor of such a soul will with good reason be called God's man.<sup>a</sup> Thirdly, this same person is a god, because he is wise and therefore the ruler of every fool, even though that fool boast ever so loudly in the support of his royal sceptre. And he is a god for this reason in particular. It is the will 129 of the ruler of all that though there be some doomed to punishment for their intolerable misdeeds, they should have mediators to make intercession for them, who imitating the merciful power of the Father will dispense punishment with more moderation and in a kindlier spirit. Beneficence is the peculiar prerogative of a god.<sup>b</sup>

XXIII. We have now dealt sufficiently with the 130 change and substitution of names and will proceed to the next points in our inquiry. What followed at once was the promise of the birth of Isaac. For after calling his mother Sarah instead of Sarai He says to Abraham, "I will give thee a child from her" (Gen. xvii. 16). Each part of this must be severally examined. First, then, the giver of anything in the 131 proper sense of the word must necessarily give something which belongs to himself, and if this is so Isaac must be not the man Isaac but the Isaac whose name is that of the best of the good emotions, joy, the Isaac who is the laughter of the heart, a son of God,

<sup>a</sup> Philo, as often, connects *εὐλογιστία* with *εὐλογία*. See note on *De Sobr.* 18.

<sup>b</sup> The thought is: Moses' "godship" to Pharaoh was particularly shewn in his not punishing him summarily, but allowing him so many chances of repenting, and in interceding with God for him, *e.g.* Ex. ix. 29.

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157 τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου καὶ σπουδαίου γέλωτος, and so below § 154 τὸν ψυχῆς γέλωτα.

- αὐτὸν μείλιγμα καὶ εὐθυμίαν εἰρηνικωτάταις ψυχαῖς.
- 132 ἄτοπον μὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ἄνδρα εἶναι, ἐξ ἑτέρου δὲ νόθα καὶ μοιχίδια παιδοποιεῖσθαι· καὶ μὴν τὸν γε θεὸν ἄνδρα τῆς φιλαρέτου διανοίας Μωυσῆς ἀναγράφει δι' ὧν φησιν· “ ἰδὼν κύριος, ὅτι μισεῖται Λεία, ἤνοιξε τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς.” ἔλεον γὰρ καὶ οἶκτον λαβὼν τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ θνητοῦ γένους μισουμένης ἀρετῆς καὶ ψυχῆς τῆς φιλαρέτου στείροι μὲν \* \* \* τὴν φιλόκαλον φύσιν, ἀνοίγνυνσι δὲ τῆς εὐπαιδίας πηγὴν εὐτοκίαν αὐτῇ χαριζόμενος.<sup>1</sup>
- 134 ἡ δὲ Θάμαρ ἐγκύμων τε γενομένη θείων σπερμάτων καὶ τὸν μὲν σπείραντα οὐκ ἰδοῦσα—λέγεται γὰρ τότε “ ἐγκαλύψασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον,” ὡς Μωυσῆς, ἡνίκα ἀπεστράφη εὐλαβούμενος τὸν θεὸν ἰδεῖν,—τὰ δὲ σύμβολα καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια διαθρήσασα καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ δικάσασα, ὅτι θνητὸς ταῦτ' οὐ δίδωσιν, ἀνέκραγεν· “ οὐτινος ταῦτ' ἐστίν,
- 135 ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχω.” τίνος ὁ δακτύλιος, ἡ πίστις, ἡ τῶν ὅλων σφραγίς, ἡ ἀρχέτυπος ἰδέα, ἡ τὰ πάντ' ἀνείδεα ὄντα καὶ ἅποια σημειωθέντα ἐτυπώθη; τίνος δὲ καὶ ὁ ὁρμίσκος, ὁ κόσμος, ἡ εἰμαρμένη,<sup>2</sup> ἀκολουθία καὶ ἀναλογία τῶν συμπάντων εἰρμόν ἔχουσα ἀδιάλυτον; τίνος δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος, τὸ ἐρηρυσμένον, τὸ ἀκράδαντον, τὸ ἄτρεπτον, ἡ νοθεσία, ὁ σωφρονισμός, ἡ παιδεία, τὸ

<sup>1</sup> An alternative to supposing a lacuna may be obtained by emending φιλόκαλον to φιλόκακον (or better ἀφιλόκαλον, W.H.D.R.), and referring αὐτῇ to εὐπαιδίας.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey suggests: Wend. prints ἡ [ὁ κόσμος] εἰμαρμένη: mss. ἡ ὁ κόσμος εἰμαρμένη. I see no reason to exclude ὁ κόσμος, which naturally suggests “order” as well as “world.” Wend. also puts a question at παιδεία, as if σκῆπτρον began an explanation of another of Judah's gifts. Clearly

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 131-135

who gives him as a means to soothe and cheer truly peaceful souls. It were a monstrous thing that one 132 should be a husband, and another the parent, parent therefore of bastards born in adultery, and yet Moses writes of God as the husband of the virtue-loving mind when he says, "The Lord seeing that Leah was hated opened her womb" (Gen. xxix. 31), for moved by pity and compassion for the virtue 133 hated by our mortal race and for the soul that loves virtue hesends barrenness (on the favourite and gives honour) to the nature which loves excellence and opens the fountain of happy parentage by granting her welfare in childbirth.

And Tamar 134

too; she bore within her womb the divine seed, but had not seen the sower.<sup>a</sup> For we are told that at that hour she veiled her face (Gen. xxxviii. 15), just as Moses when he turned aside fearing to look upon God (Ex. iii. 6). But she closely scanned the symbols and tokens, and judging in her heart that these were the gifts of no mortal she cried aloud, "To whomsoever these belong, he it is by whom I am with child" (Gen. xxxviii. 25). Whose is the ring, 135 the pledge of faith, the seal of the universe, the archetypal idea by which all things without form or quality before were stamped and shaped? Whose is the cord, that is, the world-order, the chain of destiny,<sup>b</sup> the correspondence and sequence of all things, with their ever-unbroken chain? Whose is the staff, that is the firmly planted, the unshaken, the unbending; the admonition, the chastening, the

<sup>a</sup> For §§ 134-136 *cf. De Fug.* 149 ff.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 590.

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this is not so. The staff suggests (1) immovableness, (2) discipline, (3) royalty. I suggest <ῆ> ἀκολουθία.

- 136 σκῆπτρον, ἡ βασιλεία, τίνος; ἀρ' οὐχὶ μόνου  
 [599] θεοῦ; τοιγαροῦν ὁ ἐξομολογητικὸς | τρόπος,  
 'Ιουδας, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῆς τῷ κατεχομένῳ καὶ θεο-  
 φορήτῳ παρρησιάζεται λέγων· “δεδικαίωται, ἥς  
 ἔνεκα αἰτίας ἐγὼ οὐδενὶ θνητῷ αὐτὴν ἔδωκα,”  
 ἀσεβὲς ἡγούμενος μαίνειν βεβήλοις τὰ θεῖα.
- 137 XXIV. μνηύει δὲ καὶ ἡ τρόπον μητρὸς  
 ἀποκνήσασα φρόνησις τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, ὅτι  
 θεὸς αὐτὸ ἔσπειρε· τεχθέντος γὰρ ἐπισεμνύνεται  
 φάσκουσα· “γέλῳτά μοι ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος,” ἴσον  
 τῷ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ διέπλασεν, ἐδημιούργησεν, ἐγέν-  
 138 νησεν, ἐπειδὴ γέλῳτι ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν. ἀλλ' οὐ παντός  
 ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ ἄκουσμα τοῦτο, πολλοῦ τοῦ  
 δεισιδαιμονίας ῥυέντος παρ' ἡμῶν κακοῦ καὶ τὰς  
 ἀνάνδρους καὶ ἀγεννεῖς ψυχὰς ἐπικλύσαντος. διὸ  
 προστίθῃσιν· “ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἀκούσῃ, συγχαρεῖταιί  
 μοι,” ὡς ὀλίγων ὄντων, οἷς τὰ ὦτα ἀναπέπταται  
 καὶ ἀνωρθίασται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων λόγων  
 ὑποδοχὴν, οἱ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς ἄρα μόνου θεοῦ σπεί-  
 ρειν καὶ γεννᾶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργον ἴδιον· πρὸς οὓς οἱ  
 139 ἄλλοι πάντες κεκώφηνται. στόματι δ' οἷδ' ἀ ποτε  
 προφητικῶ θεσπισθέντα διάπυρον τοιόνδε χρῆσμον·  
 “ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὁ καρπὸς σου εὗρηται. τίς σοφὸς καὶ  
 συνήσει ταῦτα; συνετὸς καὶ γνώσεται αὐτά;”  
 τὸν δ' ὑπήχουσιν καὶ κρούοντα ἀόρατον ἀοράτως  
 τὸ φωνῆς ὄργανον ἐνενόουν καὶ ἐθαύμαζον ἅμα  
 140 καταπληττόμενος καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον. εἰ γάρ τι  
 ἀγαθὸν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὁ σύμπας  
 οὐρανὸς τε καὶ κόσμος, εἰ δεῖ τ' ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, θεοῦ

<sup>1</sup> I see no clear reason for supposing a lacuna here.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 135-140

discipline ; the sceptre, the kingship ! whose are they ? Are they not God's alone ? And therefore the 136 temper which makes confession of thankfulness, that is Judah, pleased at the divine inspiration which masters her, says with all boldness, " She is justified since I gave her to no mortal " (*ibid.* 26), for he holds it impiety to defile the divine with things profane.

XXIV. So, too, the wisdom which as in motherhood 137 brought forth the nature of the self-taught declares that God had begotten it. For when the child is born she says with pride, " The Lord has made laughter for me " (Gen. xxi. 6). That is the same as saying " He formed, He wrought, He begot, Isaac," since Isaac and laughter are the same. But this 138 saying is not for all to hear, so strongly does the evil tide of superstition flow in our minds and drown unmanly and degenerate souls.<sup>a</sup> And therefore she adds " Whoever shall hear will rejoice with me " (*ibid.*) as though there were few whose ears are opened and pricked up to receive these holy words, which teach us that to sow and beget the excellent is the peculiar task of God alone. To this lesson all but those few are deaf. I remember too an oracle given 139 by a prophet's mouth in words of fire which runs thus: " From Me thy fruit has been found. Who is wise and he shall understand them, who is understanding and he shall know them ? " (Hos. xiv. 9, 10).<sup>b</sup> Under the prophet's words I recognized the voice of the invisible master whose invisible hand plays on the instrument of human speech, and I was lost in admiration at the saying also. For all that is good 140 in the range of existing things or rather the whole heaven and universe is in very truth God's fruit, the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 590.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Plant.* 138.



καρπός ἐστιν, ὅφ' οἷα δένδρου συνεχόμενος τῆς αἰδίου καὶ ἀειθαλοῦς φύσεως. συνετῶν δ' ἐστὶ καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν, οὐκ ἀσήμων.

141 XXV. Τί μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ τὸ “ δώσω σοι ” λέλεκται, τὸ δ' “ ἐξ αὐτῆς ” μνηντέον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔξω γινόμενον αὐτῆς ἐδέξαντο νομίζοντες ἄριστον κεκρίσθαι παρὰ ὀρθῶ λόγῳ τὸ μηδὲν ἀποφαίνειν τὴν ψυχὴν ἴδιον αὐτῆς καλόν, ἀλλὰ προσγινόμενον ἔξωθεν κατὰ τὴν μεγαλόνοιαν τοῦ

142 χάριτας ὁμβροῦντος θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ τὸ παραντίκα (κατὰ)<sup>1</sup> τάχος ἴσον γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἔξ αὐτῆς τῷ παραχρήμα, εὐθύς, ἀνυπερθέτως, ἄνευ μελλήσεως. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον αἱ θεῖαι φιλοῦσι συμβαίνειν δωρεαὶ φθάνουσαι καὶ τὰ χρόνων διαστήματα. τρίτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν ἀρετὴν μητέρα τοῦ γεννητοῦ εἶναι λέγοντες ἀγαθοῦ, λαμβάνουσαν τὰς γονὰς παρὰ μηδεὶν θνητοῦ.

143 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ζητοῦντας, εἰ στείρα τίκτει—Σάρραν γὰρ εἰσάγοντες πάλαι στείραν οἱ χρησμοὶ νῦν ὅτι γενήσεται μήτηρ ὁμολογοῦσι,—λεκτέον ἐκείνο, ὅτι

[600] γυνὴ μὲν στείρα τίκτειν οὐ πέφυκεν, ὥσπερ | οὐδὲ τυφλὸς βλέπειν οὐδὲ κωφὸς ἀκούειν, ψυχὴ δ' ἢ πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα ἐστερωμένη καὶ παθῶν ἀμετρίας καὶ κακιῶν ἄγονος μόνη σχεδὸν εὐτοκίᾳ χρῆται, τὰ ἀξιέραστα τίκτουσα, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑπτὰ κατὰ τὸ ἀδόμενον ἄσμα ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος, “ Ἀννης, ἣ φησιν· “ στείρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτὰ, ἣ δὲ πολλὴ ἐν τέκνοις 144 ἡσθένησε.” καλεῖ δὲ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν ἐκ μιγάδων

<sup>1</sup> My insertion. That κατὰ would be easily lost between -κα and τα- is obvious. The adverb τάχος appears to be poetical.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 140-144

inseparable growth, as it were, of the tree of His eternal and never-fading nature. And to know and confess such things is for the wise and understanding, not for men of no account.

XXV. So much for the phrase "I will give to thee." We must now explain "from her." Some understand by it that which comes into being outside her, thinking that in the judgement of right reason the best decision is that the soul should declare that nothing good belongs to herself, but all is an addition from outside, through the high benevolence of God Who showers His gifts of grace.

Others take it as "immediate," "with speed." They say that  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$   $\alpha\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$  is equivalent to "straightway," "at once," "without postponement," "without delay," and this is the way in which the gifts of God are wont to be given, outrunning even the moments of time.

There is a third class who say that virtue is the mother of any good that has come into being, receiving the seeds of that being from nothing that is mortal.

Again, some ask whether the barren can bear children, since the oracles earlier describe Sarah as barren and now admit that she will become a mother. Our answer to this must be that it is not in the nature of a barren woman to bear, any more than of the blind to see or of the deaf to hear. But as for the soul which is sterilized to wickedness and unfruitful of the endless host of passions and vices, scarce any prosper in childbirth as she. For she bears offspring worthy of love, even the number seven according to the hymn of Hannah, that is, grace, who says "The barren hath borne seven, but she that is much in children hath languished" (1 Sam. ii. 5).

- καὶ συγκλύδων λογισμῶν συμπεφορημένην διά-  
νοϊαν, ἥ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ὄχλων καὶ  
θορύβων ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τίκτει, στείραν δὲ τὴν μὴ  
παραδεχομένην θνητὸν ὡς γόνιμον σπóρον, ἀλλὰ  
τὰς τῶν φαύλων ὁμιλίας καὶ συνουσίας ἀμβλίσ-  
κουσάν<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ διαφθείρουσαν, περιεχομένην δὲ τῆς  
ἐβδόμης καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν εἰρηνικωτάτου· τούτου  
γὰρ ἐγκύμων τε εἶναι βούλεται καὶ μήτηρ λέγεσθαι.
- 145 XXVI. Τοιοῦτον ἦν καὶ τὸ “ ἐξ αὐτῆς ”· τὸ δὲ  
τρίτον, ὃ δὴ “ τέκνον ” ἐλέγετο, νῦν διασκεψώμεθα.  
πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ μὴ πολλὰ  
τέκνα φάναι δώσειν, ἐν δὲ χαριεῖσθαι μόνον. διὰ  
τί δέ; ὅτι τὸ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν πλήθει μᾶλλον ἢ
- 146 δυνάμει πέφυκεν ἐξετάζεσθαι. μουσικὰ μὲν γάρ,  
εἰ τύχοι, καὶ γραμματικὰ καὶ γεωμετρικὰ καὶ  
δίκαια καὶ φρόνιμα καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σώφρονα πάμ-  
πολλά ἐστιν· αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο <τὸ> μουσικὸν καὶ  
γραμματικὸν καὶ γεωμετρικόν, ἔτι δὲ δίκαιον καὶ  
σώφρον φρόνιμόν τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖον ἐν αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ  
ἀνωτάτω, μηδὲν ἰδέας ἀρχετύπου διαφέρον, ἀφ'  
οὗ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀμύθητα ἐκεῖνα διεπλάσθη.
- 147 ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐν φάναι δώσειν· νυνὶ δὲ  
τέκνον εἴρηκεν οὐκ ἀμελῶς οὐδ' ἀπερισκέπτως,  
ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ παραστήσαι, ὅτι οὐκ ὀθνεῖον οὐδ'  
ὑποβολιμαῖον οὐδ' αὖ θετὸν ἢ νόθον, ἀλλὰ γνήσιον  
καὶ ἀστείον [ὅτι οὐκ ὀθνεῖον] ὄντως ἀστῆς ψυχῆς

<sup>1</sup> My correction for ms. ἀναλίσκουσαν, for which Wend. suggests ἀποδιδράσκουσιν and Mangey ἀναλυσκάζουσιν. Cf. its use in *Theaetetus* 149 D, which Philo may have in mind. See App. pp. 590 f.

<sup>a</sup> For this use of ἐβδόμη for ἐβδομάς see note on § 260.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 591.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 144-147

She applies the word "much" to the mind which is a medley of mixed and confused thoughts, which, because of the multitude of riots and turmoils that surround it, brings forth evils past all remedy. But the word "barren" she applies to the mind which refuses to accept any mortal sowing as fruitful, the mind which makes away with and brings to abortion all the intimacies and the matings of the wicked, but holds fast to the "seventh"<sup>a</sup> and the supreme peace which it gives. This peace she would fain bear in her womb and be called its mother.

XXVI. Such is the meaning of "from her." Let 145  
us now examine the third part of the phrase used, namely "child." First then we may well wonder why He does not say He will give many children, but will grant one only. Why? Because excellence cannot be estimated by number but rather by value. For, to take examples at random, there are ever so 146  
many musical, grammatical and geometrical things, and just and prudent and courageous and temperate things, but music and grammar and geometry in the abstract and again justice and temperance and prudence and courage in the abstract are each of them one thing, the original, the same as the archetypal idea, and from this origin the many and indeed infinite particulars<sup>b</sup> have been formed. So much for 147  
His saying that He will give one, but the word actually used in this passage, "bairn," is used not without care or consideration. He wishes to shew that the child is not alien or supposititious, nor again adopted or bastard, but the truly genuine and free-natured<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> For this play upon *ἀστῆς* and *ἀστεῖον* (for which Mangey needlessly wished to substitute *ἀστὸν*) cf. *De Mig.* 99 *ἀσται τε καὶ ἀστεῖαι γυναῖκες* and note on *De Conf.* 106.

ἔγγονον. παρὰ γὰρ τὸν τόκον τὸ τέκνον εἴρηται  
πρὸς ἔμφασιν οἰκειότητος, ἥ φυσικῶς ἀρμόζεται  
τέκνα γονεῦσιν.

- 148 XXVII. “Εὐλογήσω” δέ φησιν “αὐτήν, καὶ  
ἔσται εἰς ἔθνη,” δηλῶν ὅτι<sup>1</sup> οὐ μόνον ἡ γενικὴ  
ἀρετὴ ὡς ἂν εἰς ἔθνη τὰ προσεχέστατα<sup>2</sup> εἶδη  
τέμνεται καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῖς εἵδεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι  
[601] συμβέβηκεν ὡς ζώων οὕτω καὶ πραγμάτων | εἶναι  
τρόπον τινὰ ἔθνη, οἷς μέγα ὄφελος ἀρετὴν προσ-  
149 εῖναι. τὰ γὰρ ἔρημα καὶ χῆρα φρονήσεως πάντα  
ἐπιζήμια, καθάπερ οἷς οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει ἥλιος ἐξ  
ἀνάγκης ζοφερά. ἀρετῇ μὲν γὰρ γεωπόνος ἄμεινον  
φυτῶν ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀρετῇ δέ καὶ ἡνίοχος ἄρμα ἐν  
ἵπποδρομίαις ἄπταιστον ἐλαύνει, ἀρετῇ δέ καὶ  
κυβερνήτης [οἰακονόμος] οἰακονομεῖ κατὰ πλοῦν  
τὸ σκάφος. ἀρετὴ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ πόλιν καὶ χώραν  
βέλτιον οἰκεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασεν, οἰκονομικούς,  
πολιτικούς, κοινωνικούς ἄνδρας δημιουργοῦσα.  
150 ἀρετὴ καὶ νόμους ἀρίστους εἰσηγήσατο καὶ τὰ  
εἰρήνης κατεβάλετο πανταχοῦ σπέρματα· ἐπεὶ καὶ  
ὑπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας ἕξεως πέφυκε γίνεσθαι τάναντία,  
πόλεμος, ἀνομία, κακοπολιτεῖαι, συγχύσεις, δύσ-  
πλοiai, περιτροπαί, ἡ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστήμας ἀργαλεω-  
τάτῃ νόσος, πανουργία, ἀφ’ ἧς ἀντὶ τεχνῶν κακο-  
τεχνίαι προσερρήθησαν. ἀναγκαίως οὖν εἰς ἔθνη  
χωρήσει ἡ ἀρετή, ζώων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων  
μεγάλα καὶ ἀθρόα συστήματα, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν δεχο-  
μένων ὠφελείᾳ.
- 151 XXVIII. Λέγεται δὲ ἐξῆς, ὅτι “καὶ βασιλεῖς  
ἐθνῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔσονται.” οὗς γὰρ κυοφορεῖ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δηλονότι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. πρὸς ἔσχατα τὰ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 147-151

offspring of a free-born soul. For "bairn" derived from "bearing" is used to bring out the affinity which is the natural tie between parents and children.

XXVII. "I will bless her," He continues, "and 148 she shall be for nations." He shews hereby that not only is generic virtue divided into its proximate species and their subdivisions, as into nations, but also that actions and ideas have nations in a sense, just as living creatures have, and that to these nations the addition of virtue is most beneficial. For every- 149 thing that lacks or has lost prudence is a source of mischief, just as all must be in darkness on which the sun does not shine. By virtue the husbandman takes better care of his plants; by virtue the charioteer guides his chariot in the horse-race without a fall; by virtue the helmsman steers his vessel safe through the voyage. Virtue again produces better conditions in households, city and country, by producing men who are good household managers, statesmanlike and neighbourly. Virtue, too, introduces the best laws, 150 and sows everywhere seeds of peace. And in proof of this we see that where the opposite condition prevails the natural result is the opposite of these blessings, namely war, lawlessness, misgovernment, confusion, disasters at sea, revolutions, and in the realm of the sciences that most painful disease knavery, which causes them to be called perversions of art,<sup>a</sup> rather than arts. Virtue then will necessarily extend to nations, that is, large and comprehensive combinations both of living creatures and of actions and ideas, and will thus benefit those who receive her.

XXVIII. Next we read "And kings of nations 151 shall be from her," for those whom she conceives and

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 591.

- ἀποτίκτει, πάντες εἰσὶν ἡγεμόνες, οὐ κλήρω, πράγματι ἀβεβαίω, καὶ χειροτονία ἐμμίσθων τὰ πολλὰ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς ὀλίγον χρόνον αἰρεθέντες, ἀλλ' 152 ὑπὸ φύσεως εἰς αἰὲ κατασταθέντες αὐτῆς. οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἐμὸς μῦθος, ἀλλὰ χρησμῶν τῶν ἱερωτάτων ἐστίν, ἐν οἷς εἰσάγονταί τινες λέγοντες τῷ Ἀβραάμ· “ βασιλεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ εἶ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν,” οὐ τὰς ὕλας ἐξετάσαντες,—τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν ἀνδρὶ μετανάστη καὶ μηδὲ πόλιν οἰκοῦντι, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ ἐρήμην καὶ ἄβατον ἀλωμένῳ γῆν;—ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ βασιλικὴν ἔξιν κατανοήσαντες, ὥστ' ἀνομολογῆσαι 153 κατὰ Μωυσῆν μόνον τὸν σοφὸν βασιλέα. καὶ γὰρ ὄντως ὁ μὲν φρόνιμος ἡγεμὼν ἀφρόνων ἐστὶν εἰδὼς ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν τε καὶ ἃ μὴ, ὁ δὲ σώφρων ἀκολάστων τὰ περὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις καὶ φυγὰς ἡκριβωκῶς οὐκ ἀμελῶς, δειλῶν δὲ ὁ ἀνδρείος ἃ δεῖ ὑπομένειν καὶ ἃ μὴ σαφῶς ἐκμαθῶν, ἀδίκων δὲ ὁ δίκαιος ἰσότητος ἐν τοῖς ἀπονεμητέοις ἀρρεποῦς στοχαζόμενος, ὁ δ' ὅσιος ἀνοσίων [ἐν] ἀρίσταις ὑπολήψεσι ταῖς περὶ θεοῦ κατεσχημένος.
- 154 XXIX. Ταύταις εἰκὸς ἦν ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι τὸν νοῦν ἐκφυσηθέντα μετέωρον ἀρθῆναι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς | [602] ἔλεγχον ἡμῶν, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροτάτοις εἰώθαμεν ὑψαυχενεῖν, πίπτει καὶ εὐθὺς γελᾷ τὸν ψυχῆς γέλωτα, σκυθρωπάζων μὲν τῷ προσώπῳ, μειδιῶν δὲ τῇ διανοίᾳ, πολλῆς καὶ ἀκράτου χαρᾶς εἰσοικισα- 155 μένης. ἀμφοτέρα δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον συμβαίνει τῷ μείζονα ἐλπίδος ἀγαθὰ κληρονομοῦντι σοφῷ, γελᾶν τε καὶ πίπτειν· τὸ μὲν εἰς πίστιν τοῦ μὴ μεγαλαυχεῖν διὰ κατάγνωσιν τῆς θνητῆς οὐδε-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 151-155

bears are all rulers, chosen not for a short time by the uncertainty of lot or by the votes of men for the most part hirelings, but rulers appointed for ever by Nature herself. And this is no invention of mine, 152 but a statement made by the most holy oracles, wherein certain people appear as saying to Abraham "Thou art a King from God among us" (Gen. xxiii. 6). They did not consider his material resources, for what such were there in an emigrant, who was not even the inhabitant of a city but a wanderer over a wide and desolate and trackless land? Rather they perceived the kingship in his mind, and thus Moses confesses that the Sage alone is king.<sup>a</sup> For in truth the prudent man is ruler of 153 the imprudent, for he knows what he should and should not do, and the temperate of the intemperate, for he has studied carefully how to choose and how to avoid: the brave man of the coward because he has learned with certainty what he should and should not endure: the just of the unjust, because he aims at unbiased equality in what he has to award:<sup>a</sup> the holy of the unholy because high and true conceptions of God prevail with him.

XXIX. These promises might well have puffed up 154 the mind to soar into the heights. But to convict us, so often proud-necked at the smallest cause, he falls down and straightway laughs (Gen. xvii. 17) with the laughter of the soul, mournfulness in his face, but smiles in his mind, where joy vast and unalloyed has made its lodging. For the sage who receives an 155 inheritance of good beyond his hope these two things are simultaneous—to fall and to laugh. He falls as a pledge that the proved nothingness of mortality

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 591.



- νείας, τὸ δ' εἰς εὐσεβείας βεβαίωσιν διὰ τὸ μόνον<sup>1</sup>  
 χαρίτων καὶ ἀγαθῶν νομίζειν τὸν θεὸν αἴτιον.  
 156 πιπτέτω μὲν δὴ καὶ σκυθρωπαζέτω γένεσις, φυσι-  
 κῶς—ἀνίδρυτός τε γὰρ καὶ ἐπίλυπος<sup>2</sup> ἐξ ἑαυτῆς  
 ἐστίν,—ἀνιστάσθω δὲ ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ γελάτω· τὸ  
 γὰρ ἔρεισμα αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ χαρὰ μόνος οὗτός ἐστιν.  
 157 Εἰκότως δ' ἂν ἀπορήσειέ τις, πῶς ἐνδέχεται  
 γελᾶν τινα, μήπω γέλωτος εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς  
 γένεσιν ἐλθόντος· ὁ γὰρ Ἰσαάκ ἐστι γέλως, ὃς  
 κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν σκέψιν οὕτω γεγέννηται.  
 ὥσπερ γὰρ οὔτε βλέπειν χωρὶς ὀφθαλμῶν οὔτ'  
 ἀκούειν χωρὶς ὠτῶν οὔτε δίχα μυκτῆρων ὀσφραί-  
 νεσθαι οὐδ' αὖ ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσιν ἄνευ τῶν  
 κατ' αὐτὰς ὀργάνων χρῆσθαι οὔτε καταλαμβάνειν  
 δίχα λογισμοῦ, οὕτως οὐδὲ γελᾶν εἰκὸς ἦν, εἰ μὴ  
 158 γέλως ἐδεδημιούργητο. τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; πολλὰ  
 ἢ φύσις τῶν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι διὰ τινων συμ-  
 βόλων προμηνύει. ἢ τὸν νεοττὸν οὐχ ὄρας, ὅς,  
 πρὶν ἀέρι ἐπινήχεσθαι, πτερύσσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς  
 ταρσοὺς διασειεῖν φιλεῖ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ πέτεσθαι  
 159 δυνήσεσθαι προεναγγelizόμενος; ἀμνὸν δ' ἢ χί-  
 μαρον ἢ βοῦν ἔτι νεογνὸν οὐκ εἶδες, μήπω τῶν  
 κεράτων ἐκπεφυκότων, ὅποτε διερεθίζει τις, ἀντι-  
 βεβηκότα καὶ τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις ὀρμῶντα πρὸς  
 ἄμυναν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ φύσις τὰ ἀμυντήρια ὄπλα ἀνα-  
 160 δίδωσιν; ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς θηριομαχίαις οὐκ εὐθὺς  
 οἱ ταῦροι τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἀναπείρουσιν, ἀλλ'  
 εὖ μάλα διαβάντες καὶ μετρίως τὸν αὐχένα χαλά-  
 σαντες καὶ θάτερον ἐκκλίναντες καὶ ταυρωπὸν  
 ὄντως ἀποβλεψάμενοι τηνικαῦτα ἐπίασιν, ἔργου  
 ἐξόμενοι. τὸ δὲ γινόμενον ὀρουσιν<sup>3</sup> ἐκάλεσαν, οἷς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοῦ μόνων (τοῦ perhaps rightly).

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 155-160

keeps him from vaunting : he laughs to shew that the thought that God alone is the cause of good and gracious gifts makes strong his piety. Let created 156 being fall with mourning in its face ; it is only what nature demands, so feeble in footing is it, so sad of heart in itself. Then let it be raised up by God and laugh, for God alone is its support and its joy.

One might reasonably question how it is possible 157 for anyone to laugh, when laughter had not yet come into being among us. For Isaac is laughter, which according to the view before us is not yet born. For as we cannot see without eyes nor hear without ears, nor smell without nostrils nor use the othersenses without the corresponding organs, nor apprehend without the power of thought, so the act of laughing would be against all probability if laughter had not yet been created. What shall we say then ? Nature 158 often provides signs which shew us beforehand future happenings. Do you not often see how the fledgling, before it actually oars its way in the air, likes to flutter or shake its wings, thus giving a welcome promise of ability to fly hereafter ? Or how the lamb or the he- 159 goat or the youngling ox, if one provoke it, fronts its opponent and starts to defend itself with those parts from which spring the weapons of defence which Nature provides ? Again, in the arena the bulls do 160 not at once gore their antagonists, but set their legs well apart, bend their necks slightly, and turn them either way with a truly bull-like glare, and only then do they attack and shew a mind to set to in earnest. This kind of thing, one impulse, that is, preluding

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. *ἐπίλυτος*.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ἐρυσιν*.

- ὀνοματοποιεῖν ἔθος, ὁρμὴν τινα πρὸ ὁρμῆς ὑπ-  
 161 ἀρχουσαν. XXX. ὅμοιον δὴ τι<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ  
 πολλὰ πάσχει· ἐλπίζομένου γὰρ τὰγαθοῦ προγῆθαι,  
 ὡς τρόπον τινα χαίρειν πρὸ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφραίνεισθαι  
 πρὸ εὐφροσύνης. εἰκάσαι δ' ἂν τις αὐτὸ καὶ τῷ  
 περὶ τὰ φυτὰ συμβαίνοντι· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα,<sup>2</sup> ὅποτε  
 μέλλοι καρποφορεῖν, προβλαστάνει καὶ προανθεῖ |  
 [603] καὶ χλοηφορεῖ. τὴν ἡμερίδα ἄμπελον ἴδε, ὡς ὑπὸ  
 162 φύσεως τεθουματούργηται, κληματίσιν, ἔλιξι, μωσ-  
 χεύμασι, πετάλοις, οἰνάροις, ἃ φωνὴν (μονον)οὐκ  
 ἀφιέντα μηνύει τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλοντι καρπῷ τοῦ  
 δένδρου χαρὰν. καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα μέντοι προγελαῖ πρὸς  
 βαθὺν ὀρθρον μέλλοντος ἀνίσχεν ἡλίου· αὐγὴ γὰρ  
 αὐγῆς<sup>3</sup> ἄγγελος καὶ φῶς φωτὸς ἀμυδρότερον τηλ-  
 163 αυγεστέρου προεξέρχεται. ἥκοντι μὲν οὖν ἤδη τῷ  
 ἀγαθῷ συνομαρτεῖ χαρὰ, προσδοκωμένῳ δὲ ἐλπίς·  
 ἀφικομένῳ μὲν (γὰρ) χαίρομεν, μέλλοντος<sup>4</sup> δὲ  
 ἐλπίζομεν, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐναντίων ἔχειν  
 συμβέβηκεν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ παρουσία τοῦ κακοῦ λύπην,  
 ἡ δὲ προσδοκία φόβον ἐγέννησεν. φόβος δὲ ἄρα  
 ἦν οὐδέν ἢ λύπη πρὸ λύπης, ὥσπερ ἐλπίς χαρὰ  
 πρὸ χαρᾶς· ὁ γάρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς λύπην φόβος,  
 164 τοῦτο πρὸς χαρὰν ἐλπίς. σημεία δὲ τοῦ λεγο-  
 μένου καὶ αἰσθήσεις ἐναργῆ περιφέρουσι· γεύσεως  
 γὰρ ὁσφρησις προκαθημένη τὰ πρὸς ἔδωδὴν καὶ  
 πόσιν σχεδὸν ἅπαντα προδικάζει· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ προ-  
 γευστρίδα αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν εἰς τὴν ἐνάργειαν<sup>5</sup>  
 ἀπιδόντες εὐθυβόλως ἔνιοι. πέφυκε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς  
 ὥσανει τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ προγεύεσθαι καὶ δια-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δῆτα.<sup>2</sup> MSS. αὐτὰ.<sup>3</sup> MSS. αὐτῆς.<sup>4</sup> MSS. μέλλοντι, which perhaps retain, reading with Mangey  
 <ἐπ>ελπίζουεν.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 160-164

another, is called *orousis*,<sup>a</sup> or "springing," by those who practise word-coining. XXX. Much the same 161 often befalls the soul. When good is hoped for, it rejoices in anticipation, and thus may be said to feel joy before joy, gladness before gladness. We may find in this a likeness to what happens in the vegetable world. They too, when they are going to bear fruit, put forth shoots, flowers and leaves in anticipation. Observe the cultivated vine, what a wonderful piece 162 of nature's handiwork it is, with its twigs, tendrils, suckers, petals, leaves, which seem almost to break out into speech and proclaim their joy at the coming fruit of the tree. And the day laughs in forecast while the dawning is still young because the sunrise is coming. For beam heralds beam and the dimmer light leads the way for the clearer. And so the good 163 when it has come is accompanied by joy, and when it is expected, by hope. For we rejoice at its arrival and hope when it is coming. Similarly with their opposites. The presence of evil produces grief, and its expectation fear. And so fear is grief before grief, just as hope is joy before joy. For fear, I think, bears the same relation to grief as hope does to joy. The senses, too, carry with them clear signs of what 164 is here stated. Smell presides over taste and passes judgement in advance on practically all that serves for food or drink. And therefore some looking to the obvious fact have given to smell the apposite name of fore-taster. And so it is natural for hope to taste beforehand as it were the coming good and to recom-

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 591.

<sup>b</sup> MSS. *ἐνέργειαν*. The change seems to me very doubtful: *ἐνέργεια* is frequently used in connexion with the sense organs, e.g. *De Abr.* 154, 158.

- συνιστάνειν αὐτὸ ψυχῇ τῇ βεβαίως κτησομένη.  
 165 καὶ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις μέντοι πεινήσας τις καὶ  
 διψήσας, πηγὰς ἐξαίφνης ἰδὼν ἢ δένδρα παντοῖα  
 ἡμέροις βρίθοντα καρποῖς, μήπω φαγὼν ἢ πιών,  
 ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀρυσάμενος<sup>1</sup> ἢ δρεψάμενος ἐλπίδι τῆς  
 ἀπολαύσεως προπληροῦται. εἴτ' οἰόμεθα ταῖς μὲν  
 τοῦ σώματος τροφαῖς καὶ πρὸ τῆς χρήσεως ἐστιᾶ-  
 σθαι δύνασθαι, τὰς δὲ τῆς διανοίας οὐχ ἱκανὰς εἶναι  
 καὶ ὁπότε μέλλοιεν ἐστιᾶν προευφραίνειν;  
 166 XXXI. Ἐγέλασεν οὖν εἰκότως μήπω δοκοῦντος  
 ἐν τῷ θνητῷ γένει σπαρῆναι τοῦ γέλωτος· καὶ οὐ  
 μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ γελᾷ. λέγεται γὰρ  
 αὐθις· “ ἐγέλασε δὲ Σάρρα ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα· οὐπω  
 μὲν μοι γέγονεν ἕως τοῦ νῦν ” ἄνευ μελέτης ἀπ-  
 αυτοματίζον ἀγαθόν· ὁ δ' ὑποσχόμενος “ κύριός  
 μου καὶ πρεσβύτερος ” πάσης γενέσεώς ἐστιν, ᾧ  
 167 πιστεύειν ἀναγκαῖον. ἅμα μέντοι καὶ ἀναδιδάσκει,  
 ὅτι ἡ τ' ἀρετὴ χαρτόν ἐστι φύσει καὶ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν  
 αἰεὶ γέγηθε, καὶ τοῦναντίον ὅτι ἡ τε κακία λυπηρόν  
 καὶ ὁ ἔχων ὀδυνηρότατος. ἔτι νῦν θαυμάζομεν  
 τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς λέγοντας τὴν ἀρετὴν εὐπάθειαν<sup>2</sup>  
 168 εἶναι; ἰδοὺ γὰρ Μωυσῆς χορηγὸς ἀνεύρηται τοῦ  
 σοφοῦ τούτου δόγματος, χαίροντα καὶ γελῶντα  
 παραγαγὼν τὸν ἀστείον· ἀλλαχόθι δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸν  
 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς εἰς ταῦτόν ἀφικνουμένους  
 αὐτῷ. “ ἰδὼν γάρ σε ” φησί “ χαρήσεται ἐν  
 [604] αὐτῷ,” | ὡς τῆς τοῦ σπουδαίου προσόψεως αὐτὸ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἰδρυσάμενος.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀπάθειαν.

<sup>a</sup> This perversion of the laughter of Abraham and Sarah has some excuse in the case of the latter in the obscurity of the LXX in which the E.V. “After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my lord being old also?” appears as here quoted. So also in *Leg. All.* iii. 217 f.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 164-168

mend it to the soul which will have it for its solid possession. Again the hungry or thirsty traveller, if 165 he suddenly sees in his journeying springs of water or trees of every kind laden with refreshing fruits, finds a preliminary satisfaction in the hope of future enjoyment, before he eats or drinks and even before he draws the water or plucks the fruit. And if we can find a feast in what feeds the body before we actually eat, can we possibly suppose that what feeds the mind is unable to give us a foretaste of gladness when the feast it provides is still to come?

XXXI. Well then might he laugh even though 166 laughter seems to have been as yet unborn in our mortal race, and not only did he himself laugh but his wife also. For again we find Sarah laughed, saying in herself, "Not yet has this befallen me till now," this unstudied, self-sprung good. Yet He that promised, she says, is "my Lord" (Gen. xviii. 12) and "older" than all creation, and I needs must believe Him.<sup>a</sup> At 167 the same time Moses teaches us this lesson that virtue is by its very nature a thing for joy,<sup>b</sup> and that he who possesses it ever rejoices, while vice on the contrary is grievous and its possessor most unhappy. After this need we extol those philosophers who declare that virtue is a state of happy feeling<sup>c</sup>? For, 168 see, we find in Moses the primary authority for this wise doctrine, since he pictures the good man as rejoicing and laughing, and elsewhere not the good man only but those also who come into company with him. "Seeing thee," he says, "he will rejoice at it" (Ex. iv. 14).<sup>d</sup> He suggests that the mere sight

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 591.

<sup>c</sup> Or "well-being." See App. p. 591.

<sup>d</sup> See note on *De Mig.* 79.

- μόνον ἱκανῆς οὔσης ἀναπληρῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν  
 εὐφροσύνης, ἀποφορτισαμένην τὸ ἀπεχθέστατον  
 169 ψυχῆς κακῶν, λύπην. φαύλῳ δ' οὐδενὶ χαίρειν  
 ἐφέται, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν προφητικαῖς ᾄδεται  
 ῥήσεσι· “χαίρειν οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν, εἶπεν ὁ  
 θεός.” λόγος γὰρ ὄντως καὶ χρησμός ἐστι θεῖος,  
 σκυθρωπὸν καὶ ἐπίλυπον καὶ μεστὸν βαρυδαιμο-  
 νίας εἶναι τὸν παντὸς μοχθηροῦ βίον, καὶ προσ-  
 170 ποιῆται τῷ προσώπῳ μειδίαν. οὐ γὰρ  
 τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους χαίρειν ἂν εἴποιμι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν,  
 ἡνίκα τοὺς ἀδελφούς Ἰωσήφ ἤκοντας ἤκουσαν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπιμορφάζειν<sup>1</sup> καθυποκρινομένους τὸ δοκεῖν.  
 οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐπιστὰς ἔλεγχος ἀφρόνων δι' ἡδονῆς  
 ἐστίν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἱατρὸς ἀκρατεῖ νοσοῦντι. πόνος  
 μὲν γὰρ τοῖς συμφέρουσι, ῥαστώνη δὲ τοῖς βλα-  
 βεροῖς ἔπεται· πόνου δὲ ῥαστώνην προκρίναντες  
 εἰκότως τοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα εἰσηγουμένοις ἀπεχθά-  
 171 νονται. ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἀκούσης ὅτι “ἐχάρη Φαραὼ  
 καὶ ἡ θεραπεία αὐτοῦ” διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
 Ἰωσήφ ἄφιξιν, μὴ νόμιζε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἡδεσθαι,  
 εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐκείνο ἴσως, ὅτι προσδοκῶσιν αὐτὸν τὸν  
 <νοῦν><sup>2</sup> μεταβαλεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῆς ἀγαθῶν, οἷς  
 συνετράφη, πρὸς τὰς τοῦ σώματος ἀνηνύτους ἐπι-  
 θυμίας, τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ προγονικὸν ἀρετῆς συγ-  
 172 γενοῦς νόμισμα παρακόψαντα. XXXII. τοιαῦτα  
 δ' ἐλπίσας ὁ φιλήδονος νοῦς αὐταρκες οὐχ ὑπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπομορφάζειν.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν <νοῦν>: my correction for αὐτόν in MSS. and all editions. As the text stands, αὐτόν can only refer to Joseph and this is hardly sense. How could the arrival of the brethren, always representing the good, cause Joseph already more or less corrupted by Egypt to change for the worse? The sequel clearly shows that it is the brethren and Jacob

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 168-172

of the worthy is enough to make the mind cast off the soul's most hateful burden, grief, and to fill it with joy. And to none of the wicked is rejoicing 169 permitted, as indeed the orations of the prophets proclaim: "Rejoicing is not for the impious, said God" (Is. xlviii. 22). It is indeed a divine saying and oracle that the life of every worthless man is one of gloom and sorrow and full of misery, even though he affect to wear a smiling face.

I would 170 not say that the Egyptians really rejoiced when they heard that Joseph's brethren had come. Rather they assumed in hypocrisy the appearance of joy. For no fool when confronted by conviction is pleased with it, any more than the dissolute man on his sick-bed with the physician. For the profitable is followed by toil, the noxious by ease. And fools because they prefer ease to toil are naturally at enmity with those who would advise them to their profit. And so when 171 you hear that "Pharaoh rejoiced and his servants" (Gen. xlv. 16) at the coming of the brothers of Joseph, do not suppose that they were really pleased, except perhaps at one thought: they expected once more to lead away the mind to desert its foster-brethren the goods of the soul for the numberless lusts of the body, and to debase its old ancestral coinage, the coinage of virtue its birth-fellow. XXXII. With such 172 hopes the pleasure-loving mind is not content merely

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in particular whom they hope to corrupt. But *συνετράφη* and *παρακόψαντα* forbid us to correct to *αὐτοῦς*. The suggestion of *αὐ* is not necessary to the sense, but it enriches it, as well as diminishing the departure from the mss. Egypt hopes to do with the new arrivals what it has already done with Joseph. This is supported by §173, where the ills which will be inflicted on them are those which Joseph has already suffered.



- λαμβάνει τοὺς νεωτέρους καὶ ἄρτι πρὸς τὰ σω-  
φροσύνης γυμνάσια φοιτῶντας ἐπιθυμιῶν δελέασιν  
ἀγκιστρεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, εἰ μὴ  
καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον ὑπάξεται λόγον, οὐ τὰ λυτ-  
173 τῶντα πάθη παρήβηκε. λέγει γὰρ αὖ τὰς ζημίας  
ὡς ὠφελείας προτείνων· “παραλαβόντες τὸν πατέρα  
καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ὑμῶν ἦκετε πρὸς μέ” ἐπ’  
Αἰγύπτου<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ τούτου βασιλέως, ὃς  
καὶ τὰ πατρῶα ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ὄντως ὑπάρχοντα  
ἀγαθὰ ἔξω προεληλυθότα τοῦ σώματος—φύσει γάρ  
ἐστὶν ἐλεύθερα—ἀντισπᾶ βιαζόμενος δεσμοτηρίῳ  
πάνυ πικρῷ παραδοῦναι, καταστήσας εἰρκτοφύλακα,  
ὥς φησι τὸ λόγιον, Πεντεφρῆ τὸν σπάδοντα καὶ  
ἀρχιμάγειρον σπάνει κεχρημένον τῶν καλῶν καὶ  
τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτετμημένον, ἔτι δὲ  
σπείρειν καὶ φυτεύειν τι τῶν κατὰ παιδείαν ἀδυνα-  
τοῦντα, μαγείρου τρόπον κτείνοντα τὰ ζῶντα καὶ  
κατὰ μέρη καὶ κατὰ μέλη κόπτοντα καὶ διαιροῦντα  
καὶ ἐν ἀψύχοις καὶ νεκροῖς καλινδούμενον οὐ σώμασι  
μᾶλλον ἢ πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς περιέργοις παρ-  
αρτύσεσιν ἀνεγείροντα καὶ ἀνερθεύζοντα τὰς τῶν  
ἀνηνύτων παθῶν ὁρμάς, ὥς εἰκὸς ἦν τιθασεύοντα  
174 πρᾶναι. ὁ δὲ καὶ “δώσω” φησὶν “ὑμῖν πάντων  
[605] τῶν ἀγαθῶν Αἰγύπτου, καὶ | φάγεσθε τὸν μυελὸν  
(τῆς) γῆς.” ἀλλ’ ἐροῦμεν αὐτῷ· σώματος ἀγαθὸν  
οὐ προσιέμεθα οἱ τὰ ψυχῆς ἰδόντες· ἱκανὸς γὰρ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests ἐπ’ <ἀγαθὰ>, and adds “certe corruptela latet.” I doubt whether there is anything very unusual in this use of ἐπὶ with the genitive.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. at present only the brethren representing virtue at its earliest stages have come to Egypt. Egypt hopes also to win over the more perfected virtue of Jacob.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 172-174

to angle with the baits of every lust for the younger sort, the novices in the training-schools of temperance, but revolts from the idea that it should be unable to subjugate the older thinking, in which the frenzy of passion has passed its prime.<sup>a</sup> He makes other offers, offers which mean loss though he speaks of them as profit. "Take your father and your wealth," he says, "and come to me" (*ibid.* 18) into Egypt, come, that is, to this King of terror, who when our paternal and our truly real wealth had in virtue of its natural liberty left the body behind in its advance, draws it back and throws it with violence into a prison of exceeding bitterness; and over this prison he sets for keeper, as the oracular text tells us, Potiphar (Gen. xxxix. 1) the eunuch and chief cook<sup>b</sup>: eunuch, because he has scant store of excellence and has lost by mutilation the soul's organs of generation, unable further to sow and beget anything that tends to discipline; cook, because in cook-like fashion he slaughters living beings, chops and divides them, piece by piece, limb by limb, and moves in a chaos of lifeless carcasses, immaterial rather than material;<sup>c</sup> and with his elaborately seasoned dishes arouses and excites the appetites of fruitless passions, appetites which should rather be tamed and calmed. And also,<sup>174</sup> says the Pleasure-lover, "I will give you of all the good things of Egypt, and ye shall eat the marrow of the land" (Gen. xlv. 18). But we will answer him, "We do not accept the body's good, for we have seen the things of the soul. For so deeply has our strong

<sup>b</sup> So LXX. E.V. "an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard"; cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 236.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

## PHILO

- τριπόθητος ἐκείνων ἡμερος ἐντακεῖς πάντων ὅσα τῇ σαρκὶ φίλα λήθην ἐργάσασθαι.
- 175 XXXIII. Τοιαύτη μὲν τις ἡ ψευδώνυμος χαρὰ τῶν ἀφρόνων, ἣ δὲ ἀληθοῦς πρότερον εἴρηται, μόνοις ἀστείοις ἐφαρμόζουσα. “ πεσὼν οὖν ἐγέλασεν,” οὐκ ἀπὸ θεοῦ πεσὼν, ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ· ἔστη μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄτρεπτον, ἔπεσε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οἰήσεως. διὸ καὶ τοῦ μὲν δοκησισόφου καταβληθέντος φρονήματος, ἀνεγερθέντος δὲ τοῦ φιλοθέου καὶ περὶ τὸν ἀκλινῇ μόνον ἰδρυθέντος, γελάσας εὐθὺς “ εἶπε τῇ διανοίᾳ· εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεί γενήσεται, καὶ ἡ Σάρρα ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν οὔσα τέξεται;”
- 177 μὴ <μὲν>τοι νομίσης, ὦ γενναῖε, τὸ “ εἰπεῖν” οὐχὶ τῷ στόματι, ἀλλὰ “ τῇ διανοίᾳ” προσκεῖσθαι παρέργως, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἐξητασμένως. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἔοικε διὰ τοῦ φάσκειν “ εἰ τῷ ἑκατονταετεί γενήσεται” περὶ τῆς Ἰσαὰκ ἐνδοιάσαι γενέσεως, ἐφ’ ἣ πρότερον ἐλέγετο πιστεῦσαι, ὡς ἐδήλου τὸ χρησθὲν πρὸ μικροῦ τόδε· “ οὐ κληρονομήσει σε οὗτος, ἀλλ’ ὃς ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ σοῦ”· εἴτ’ εὐθὺς εἶπεν· “ ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.”
- 178 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀκόλουθον οὐκ ἦν ἐνδοιάσαι τῷ πεπιστευκότι, πεποίηκε τὸν ἐνδοιασμὸν οὐ πολυχρόνιον, μηκυνόμενον μέχρι γλώττης καὶ στόματος, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ὀξυκίνητον διάνοιαν ἰστάμενον. “ τῇ γὰρ διανοίᾳ” φησὶν “ εἶπεν,” ἣν τῶν εἰς ποδῶκειαν ἐπαινουμένων οὐδὲν ἂν ἰσχύσαι παρα-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 174-178

yearning for these sunk into us that it can make us forget all that is dear to the flesh."

XXXIII. Such indeed is the joy falsely so-called 175 of the fool. The true joy has been described above, the joy which befits the virtuous alone. "And so Abraham fell and laughed" (Gen. xvii. 17). He fell not from God but from himself, for in clinging to the immovable Being he stood, but fell from his own conceit. And so when the spirit which is wise in its 176 own conceits had been thrown to the ground and the spirit of love to God raised up and firmly planted round Him who alone never bends, he laughed at once and said in his mind, "Shall this happen to one of a hundred years old, and shall Sarah being ninety years old bear a son?"

But do not think, 177 good reader, that when "he said" is followed by "in his mind" instead of "with his mouth," the addition has little meaning. No, it is made with very careful purpose. Why so? Because in saying "Shall this happen to one of a hundred years," he seems to doubt the birth of Isaac in which in an earlier place he was said to believe, as was shown by the oracular words delivered a little time before. Those ran, "He shall not be thine heir, but one who shall come from thee," and then immediately followed the words, "And Abraham believed God and it was accounted to him for righteousness" (Gen. xv. 4, 6). So then, since doubt was not consistent with 178 his past belief, Moses has represented the doubt not as long-lived, or prolonged to reach the mouth and tongue, but staying where it was with the swiftly moving mind. For, says the text, "He said in his mind," which none of the creatures whose swiftness of foot we admire can outrun, and indeed no form

- δραμεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πτηνὰς φύσεις ἀπάσας  
 179 ἔφθακεν. ἀφ' οὗ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλληνισ-  
 ποιητῶν ὁ δοκιμώτατος "ὥς εἰ πτερόν ἢ νόημα"  
 φάναι, δηλῶν τὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος τάχος, κατ' ἐπίτασιν  
 ὕστερον τοῦ πτεροῦ τὸ νόημα θεῖς. ἐπὶ πολλὰ γὰρ  
 ἢ διάνοια ἐν ταύτῳ πράγματα ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματα  
 στείχει μετὰ ἀλέκτου φορᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ γῆς καὶ  
 θαλάττης αὐτίκα πέρατα φθάνει συναιρούσα καὶ  
 τέμνουσα τὰ ἀπειρομεγέθη διαστήματα<sup>1</sup>. κατὰ δέ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναπηδᾷ, ὥς  
 δι' ἁέρος εἰς αἰθέρα ἀνέρχεσθαι καὶ μόλις περὶ τὴν  
 180 ἐσχάτην τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀψίδα ἵστασθαι. τὸ γὰρ  
 ἔνθερμον καὶ διάπυρον ἡρεμεῖν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔῃ· διὸ  
 πολλὰ ὑπερβάλλουσα καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ  
 τούτου ὄρου ἔξω φέρεται πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν  
 παγέντα συγγενικῶς. γέγονεν οὖν περὶ τὸν ἀστείον  
 ἢ τροπὴν βραχεῖα, ἄτομος, ἀμερής, οὐκ αἰσθητή, |  
 [606] νοητὴ δὲ μόνον, τρόπον τινὰ ἄχρονος.  
 181 XXXIV. ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τις εἴποι· τί οὖν γε, ὅτι  
 πεπιστευκῶς ἵχνος ἢ σκιὰν ἢ αὔραν<sup>2</sup> ἀπιστίας  
 δέχεται τὸ παράπαν; οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερόν μοι  
 βούλεσθαι δοκεῖ ἢ τὸν γενόμενον ἀποφαίνειν ἀ-  
 γένητον καὶ τὸν θνητὸν ἀθάνατον καὶ τὸν φθαρτὸν  
 ἀφθαρτον καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, θεόν.  
 182 τὴν γὰρ πίστιν, ἥς ἔλαχεν ἄνθρωπος, οὕτω βέβαιόν  
 φησι δεῖν εἶναι, ὥς μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς περὶ τὸ  
 ὄν, τῆς ἀρτίου καὶ περὶ πάντα πλήρους. λέγει

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπειρα μεγέθη διὰ στόματος.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὥραν.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 179-182

of bird nature has such speed. This is, I think, the 179 reason why the poet most highly esteemed among the Greeks says, "like a bird's wing or a thought."<sup>a</sup> He is showing the swiftness of the mind's intensity, and to bring this out more strongly he puts thought after the bird's wing. For the mind moves at the same moment to many things material and immaterial with indescribable rapidity and reaches at once the boundaries of land and sea, covering and dividing<sup>b</sup> distances of infinite magnitude. At the same time it leaps so high from the earth that it passes through the lower to the upper air and scarcely comes to a stop even when it reaches the furthestmost sphere of the fixed stars. For its fiery fervent nature forbids 180 it to rest and its onward journey carries it across wide spaces outside the limits of all this world of sense to the world framed from the ideas to which it feels itself akin. So then in the case of the virtuous man the swerving was short, instantaneous and infinitesimal, not belonging to sense but only to mind, and so to speak timeless.

XXXIV. But 181

perhaps it may be said, why did he, when once he had believed, admit any trace or shadow or breath of unbelief whatsoever? It seems to me that this question amounts to a wish to make out the created to be uncreated, the mortal immortal, the perishable imperishable, and if it is not blasphemy to say it, man to be God. Such a person asserts that the faith 182 which man possesses should be so strong as to differ not at all from the faith which belongs to the Existent, a faith sound and complete in every way. For Moses

<sup>a</sup> *Odyssey* vii. 36, cf. the saying of Thales (Diog. Laert. i. 35) *τάχιστον νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει.*

<sup>b</sup> The sense of the word is not clear. Wend. suggests *συντέμνουσα* "cutting down," "making a short cut of."

## PHILO

- γὰρ Μωυσῆς ἐν ὧδῃ τῇ μέιζονι· “θεὸς πιστός,  
 183 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία ἐν αὐτῷ.” πολλὴ δὲ ἄγνοια  
 νομίζειν, τὰς θεοῦ ἀρετὰς τὰς ἀρρεπεῖς καὶ παγιω-  
 τάτας χωρῆσαι ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου δύνασθαι· ἀγα-  
 πητὸν γὰρ εἰκόνας αὐτῶν κτήσασθαι δυνηθῆναι,  
 πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀριθμοῖς τῶν ἀρχετύπων  
 184 ἐλαττουμένας· καὶ μήποτ’ εἰκότως· ἀκράτους μὲν  
 γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς θεοῦ ἀρετάς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ  
 ὁ θεὸς οὐ σύγκριμα, φύσις ὢν ἀπλή, κεκραμένας  
 δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγόναμεν  
 κράματα, θείου καὶ θνητοῦ συγκερασθέντων καὶ  
 κατὰ τοὺς τῆς τελείας μουσικῆς λόγους ἀρμοσθέν-  
 των· τὸ δ’ ἐκ πλείονων συνεστὼς φυσικὰς πρὸς  
 185 ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ἀνθολοκὰς ἔχει. εὐδαίμων δ’  
 ὅτῳ ἐξεγένετο τὸν πλείω τοῦ βίου χρόνον πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀμείνω καὶ θειοτέραν μοῖραν ταλαντεύειν· ἅπαντα  
 γὰρ τὸν αἰῶνα ἀμήχανον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἀντίπαλον  
 θνητὸν ἄχθος ἔστιν ὅτε ἀντέρρεψε καὶ ἐφεδρεῦ-  
 σαν ἐκαιροφυλάκησε τὰς ἀκαιρίας τοῦ λογισμοῦ,  
 186 ὥς ἀντιβιάσασθαι. XXXV. “πεπίστευκεν οὖν  
 Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ,” ἀλλ’ ὥς ἄνθρωπος πεπίστευκεν,  
 ἵνα τὸ ἴδιον τοῦ θνητοῦ γνῶς καὶ μάθης οὐκ ἄλλως  
 αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐκ φύσεως, τὴν τροπὴν. ἀλλ’  
 εἰ βραχεῖα καὶ ἀκαρῆς γέγονεν, ἄξιον εὐχαριστεῖν·  
 πολλοὶ γὰρ ἕτεροι τῇ ρύμῃ καὶ φορᾷ κατα-  
 187 κλυσθέντες καὶ τῇ βίᾳ εἰσάπαν ἠφανίσθησαν. οὐκ  
 ἔστι γάρ, ὧ γενναῖε, κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Μωυσὴν  
 ἀρτίπους ἢ ἐν θνητῷ σώματι ἀρετὴ, ἀλλὰ παρα-  
 πλῆσιόν τι πάσχουσα νάρκη, μικρὸν ὅσον ὑπο-

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<sup>a</sup> The common title for Deut. xxxii. in contrast to the song of Ex. xv.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 182-187

says in the Greater Song,<sup>a</sup> "God is faithful and there is no injustice in Him" (Deut. xxxii. 4), and it argues 183 great ignorance to think that the soul of man can contain the unwavering, absolutely steadfast excellences of God. Enough for man is the power to possess the images of these, images in the scale of number and magnitude far below the archetypes. And surely this is to be expected, for the excellences 184 of God must needs be unmixed since God is not compounded but a single nature, whereas man's excellences are mixed, since we, too, are mixtures, with human and divine blended in us and formed into a harmony in the proportions of perfect music, and a compound of more than one ingredient is subject to natural counter-forces drawing it to each of these ingredients. Happy is he to whom it is 185 granted to incline towards the better and more god-like part through most of his life. For it is impossible that it should be so with him throughout the whole length of life, since sometimes the opposing load of mortality throws its weight into the scales, and biding its time waits to find its chance in the mischances of reason and so prove too strong for him. XXXV. "Abraham then has believed God," but only 186 as a man, so that you may recognize the weakness, the distinctive mark of the mortal, and learn that, if he swerves, his swerving arises only according to nature. But if that swerving is short and momentary, thanks are due, for many others have been overwhelmed by the rushing of the tide and died a violent death in the waters. For, good friend, if you believe 187 the holy Moses, virtue is not sound-footed in our mortal and bodily nature, but limps ever so little and is subject to a sort of stiffness, for we are told that



- χωλαίνουσα. “ἐνάρκησε” γάρ φησι “τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ, ᾧ καὶ ἐπέσκαζεν.”
- 188 Ἴσως δ’ ἂν τῶν εὐθαρσεστέρων εἴποι τις παρελθὼν, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀπιστοῦντός ἐστιν ἡ προφορά, ἀλλ’ εὐχομένου, ἢν’, εἰ μέλλοι τῶν εὐπαθειῶν ἡ ἀρίστη γεννᾶσθαι, χαρά, μὴ ἑτέροις ἀριθμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ
- [607] τοῖς ἐνενηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν<sup>1</sup> τεχθῇ, ἵνα τὸ | τέλειον
- 189 ἀγαθὶ τελείοις ἀριθμοῖς εἰς γένεσιν ἔλθῃ. τέλειοι δ’ οἱ λεχθέντες ἀριθμοί, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς ἱερωτάτας ἀναγραφάς. ἴδωμεν δ’ αὐτῶν ἑκάτερον<sup>2</sup>. Σὴμ εὐθέως μὲν, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ δικαίου Νῶε, πρόγονος δὲ τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ γένους, “ἑκατὸν ἑτῶν εἶναι λέγεται, ἥνικα ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀρφαξάτ,” ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται συνετάραξε τάλαιπωρίαν· καλὸν γε ἔγγονον ψυχῆς κλονεῖν καὶ συγχεῖν καὶ διαφθείρειν τὴν τάλαιπωρον καὶ γέμουσαν κακῶν ἀδικίαν.
- 190 ἀλλὰ καὶ “Ἀβραὰμ ἄρουραν φυτεύει” χρώμενος<sup>3</sup> ἑκατοστῷ λόγῳ πρὸς ἀναμέτρησιν τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ “ἑκατοστεύουσιν εὐρίσκει κριθήν.” καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς σκηνῆς Μωυσῆς κατασκευάζει πῆχεσιν ἑκατόν, τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ
- 191 δύσεις ἐκμετρούμενος διάστημα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀπαρχῆς ἀπαρχὴ ὁ ἑκατοστὸς λόγος, ὃν Λευῖται τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἀπάρχονται· λαβοῦσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὰς δεκάτας παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους διείρηται καθάπερ ἀπὸ κτημάτων οἰκείων τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδόναι ὥς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τοῖς ἐνενηκονταέταις οὔσι: Mangey proposed ἑκατονταέταις. I should suggest τοῖς ἐνενηκονταέταις <καὶ ἑκατονταέταις> οὔσι. The latter word occurs in the narrative of Gen. xvii. 17, though, as apparently elsewhere, in the third declension. Perhaps here -εσι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐκάτερα.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. χρώματος.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 187-191

"the width of the thigh was stiffened, and he halted on it" (Gen. xxxii. 25, 31).

But perhaps some more courageous spirits might 188 come forward and say that the utterance does not even indicate any disbelief, but a prayer, that if joy, the best of good emotions, is to be born, its birth should be confined to the numbers ninety and a hundred, that so the perfect good may enter on its existence under perfect numbers. The numbers here 189 named are perfect numbers, particularly according to the sacred writings. Let us consider each of them separately. To begin with Shem, the son of the just Noah, the ancestor of the nation of vision; he is said to have been a hundred years old when he begat Arphaxad (Gen. xi. 10), the meaning of whose name is "he disturbed affliction." And surely it is excellent that the soul's offspring should harass and confound and destroy injustice, afflicted and full of evils as it is. Abraham too "plants 190 an acre"<sup>a</sup> and adopts the hundred in measuring out the plot (Gen. xxi. 33), and Isaac "finds barley a hundredfold" (Gen. xxvi. 12); and Moses in building the court of the tabernacle takes a hundred cubits in measuring out the distance from east to west (Ex. xxvii. 9). And a hundred too appears 191 in the firstfruit of firstfruit which the Levites offer to the consecrated priest (Num. xviii. 28), for when they receive the tenths from the nation, they are bidden to treat them as their own possessions and to give to the priest what may be called a holy tenth

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Philo interprets *ἀρουραν* in the technical sense of a piece of land of 100 square cubits, *cf.* ἡ δὲ ἀρουρα ἑκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντη, Herodotus ii. 168, *cf.* *De Plant.* 75.

192 δεκάτην <δεκάτων><sup>1</sup> λόγων ιεράν. πολλά δ' ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλα σκοπῶν εὖροι πρὸς ἔπαινον τοῦ λεχθέντος ἀριθμοῦ τοῖς νόμοις ἐμφερόμενα, πρὸς δὲ τὸ παρὸν διεξαρκεῖ τὰ εἰρημένα. ἀλλ' ἐὰν τῶν

ἐκατὸν ἀφέλῃς δεκάτην ιεράν ἀπαρχὴν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς φέροντι καὶ αὖξοντι καὶ πληροῦντι καρπούς θεῷ, ἕτερον ἀριθμὸν <τέλειον> τὸν ἐνενήκοντα ἀπολείψεις. πῶς γὰρ οὐ τέλειος, μεθόριος ὢν πρώτης καὶ δεκάτης <δεκάδος>,<sup>2</sup> καθ' ὃν διακρίνεται τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἀγίων<sup>3</sup> τρόπον καταπετάσματος τοῦ μέσου, ᾧ τὰ ὁμογενῆ διαστέλλεται κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς εἶδεσι τομάς.

193 XXXVI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀστεῖος ἐλάλει τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰ ἀστεῖα ὄντως, ὁ δὲ φαῦλος ἐρμηνεύει ἔστιν ὅτε παγκάλως τὰ καλά, πράττει δὲ αἰσchrῶς τὰ αἰσχιστα, καθάπερ καὶ Συγχέμ ὁ ἑγγονος ἀνοίας. Ἐμῶρ γὰρ ἔστι πατρός, ὃς μεταληφθεὶς ὄνος καλεῖται, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἔστιν ὦμος, πόνου σύμβολον. ἄθλιος δὲ καὶ ταλαιπωρίας μεστὸς πόνος, ὃν ἄνοια γεννᾷ, ὥσπερ ὠφέλιμος, ᾧ συγγενῆς

<sup>1</sup> <δεκάτων>: my insertion. Wendland proposes *ἐτέρας δεκάτας* <ἐκάτοστον> λόγον περιέχουσας or *δεκάτην* ὡς ἀπαρχὴν ιεράν: Mangey *δεκάτην ἐκατόστῃ λόγῳ ιεράν*. I do not know why they preferred these wide departures from the mss. to the obvious correction which is printed above. The periphrasis with *λόγος* for the ordinal is quite common, as their conjectures indeed admit, and I do not think the plural is any objection.

<sup>2</sup> <δεκάδος>: again my insertion. Wend. <δευτέρας>, in which I can see no meaning. Ninety is certainly the borderland between ten and a hundred, which is here called the tenth ten to bring out the analogy with the veil which separates the ἅγια.

<sup>3</sup> I suggest τὰ ἅγια <τῶν ἀγίων> τῶν ἀγίων (the holy place from the holy of holies), cf. *Leg. All.* ii. 55. This will bring

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 192-193

of tenths. And by observation we might discover 192 contained in the laws many other examples in praise of the number here mentioned, but the above is quite sufficient for the present.

But if you separate from the hundred a tenth as the sacred first offering to God who brings the fruits of the soul to their beginning,<sup>a</sup> their increase and their fulfilment, you will leave behind another perfect number, ninety, for it must needs be perfect, placed as it is in a debatable land between the first and the tenth ten, and thus serve to separate sanctities from sanctities like the veil in the midst of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 33), by which things of the same genus are distinguished through division into their respective species.

XXXVI. The virtuous man then spoke truly virtu- 193  
ous words and "with his mind."<sup>b</sup> But the wicked man sometimes gives admirable expression to noble thoughts, but his actions are most vile and their method equally so. Such a one is Shechem, the son of folly, for his father is Hamor whose name is translated by "ass," while his own is interpreted as "shoulder," the symbol of toil. The toil which is fathered by unintelligence is miserable and full of affliction, just as that which has intelligence for its

<sup>a</sup> For this use of *φέρω* see note on *Quis Rerum* 36. So also in § 256 below. In § 225 the use is somewhat different, as there *φέρειν* precedes *τίκτειν*.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. *ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ* must under this second interpretation be understood not, as in the first interpretation, as indicating a passing thought, but as "sincerely." Though Philo does not state this expressly, it is implied by the antithesis with *κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρθένου* below.

out more clearly the correspondence with the first and the tenth ten. Perhaps also insert *διὰ* after *τρόπον*, in which case the form of the sentence will be the same as *τούτων* (eight words) *τὸν τρόπον De Conf. 69.*

- 194 ἀγχίνοια. φασὶ γοῦν οἱ χρησμοὶ ὅτι “ἐλάλησε  
κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρθένου” ταπεινώσας  
αὐτὴν πρότερον ὁ Συχέμ. ἄρ’ οὐκ<sup>1</sup> ἐξητασμένως  
ἐλέχθη τὸ “ἐλάλησε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρ-  
θένου,” μονονοῦκ εἰς δῆλωσιν τοῦ τάναντία οἷς  
εἶπεν εἰργασμένου; Δεῖνα γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἀδέκαστος  
[608] κρίσις, ἡ | πάρεδρος θεοῦ δίκη, ἡ ἀειπάρθενος·  
ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ ἐκάτερον Δεῖνα, κρίσις ἢ δίκη.  
195 ταύτην οἱ ἐπιχειροῦντες ἄφρονες διαφθείρειν διὰ  
τῶν καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν βουλευμάτων καὶ ἐπι-  
τηδευμάτων εὐπρεπείᾳ λόγου διαδιδράσκουσι τὸν  
ἔλεγχον. χρή γοῦν<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς λε-  
γομένοις πράττειν ἢ ἀδικοῦντας ἡσυχάζειν· ἡμισυ  
γάρ, φασί, κακοῦ ἡσυχία· καθὰ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐπι-  
τιμῶν τῷ πρεσβείων μὲν ἀξιώσαντι γένεσιν, δευ-  
τερείων δὲ τὸν ἄφθαρτον θεόν φησιν· “ἡμαρτες,  
196 ἡσύχασον.” τὸ γὰρ ἐκτραγωδεῖν καὶ ἐπικομπάζειν  
τὰ κακὰ διπλοῦν ἀμάρτημα. σχεδὸν δ’ οἱ πολλοὶ  
πεπόνθασι τοῦτο· λέγουσι μὲν γὰρ αἰὶ τῇ παρθένῳ  
ἀρετῇ τὰ φίλα καὶ δίκαια,<sup>3</sup> καιρὸν δ’ οὐδένα  
παριᾶσιν, ἐν ᾧ δυνηθέντες αὐτὴν οὐχ ὕβριοῦσι καὶ  
κακώσουσι. ποία γὰρ πόλις οὐκ ἐστὶ μεστὴ τῶν  
197 τὴν ἀειπάρθενον ὑμνούντων ἀρετῆν; οἱ τὰ ὦτα  
τῶν παρατυγχανόντων ἀποκναίουσι διεξιόντες τὰ  
τοιαῦτα· ἡ φρόνησις ἀναγκαῖον, ἡ ἀφροσύνη βλα-  
βερὸν· αἰρετὸν ἡ σωφροσύνη, ἐχθρὸν ἡ ἀκολασία·  
ὑπομονῆς ἄξιον ἡ ἀνδρεία, φυγῆς ἡ δειλία· συμ-  
φέρον ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ἀσύμφορον ἡ ἀδικία· τὸ ὅσιον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὐν.<sup>2</sup> Wend. suggests ἐχρήν (rather χρήν) οὐν.<sup>3</sup> MSS. δίκη.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 194-197

congener is profitable. Thus the oracles say that 194  
 Shechem spake "according to the mind of the virgin"  
 after first humiliating her (Gen. xxxiv. 2, 3). Are  
 not these words "according to the mind of the virgin"  
 added with exact thought so as almost to shew that  
 his actions were the opposite of his words? For Dinah  
 is incorruptible judgement, the justice which is the  
 assessor of God, the ever virgin, for the word  
 "Dinah" by interpretation is either judgement or  
 justice. The fools who attempt to seduce her by 195  
 their plottings and their practices repeated day by  
 day seek by means of specious talking to escape from  
 conviction. Now they should either make their  
 actions conform to their words or if they persist in  
 iniquity keep still. For by keeping still men say evil  
 is halved. And so Moses by rebuking him who  
 adjudges the chief honours to creation and only the  
 second to the imperishable God says, "Thou hast  
 sinned, be still" (Gen. iv. 7).<sup>a</sup> For to rant and boast 196  
 of evil doings is a double sin. But what regularly  
 happens with the multitude is this: they are ever  
 addressing words of friendship and fairness to the  
 maiden Virtue, but they let no occasion slip without  
 using it to outrage and maltreat her if they can.  
 What city is not crowded with those who hymn virtue  
 the ever virgin? They tear to pieces the ears of all 197  
 they meet with such disquisitions as these, prudence  
 is necessary, imprudence is harmful, temperance  
 deserves our choice, intemperance our hatred;  
 courage is worthy of perseverance<sup>b</sup> therein, cowardice  
 of avoidance; justice is profitable, injustice unprofit-  
 able; holiness is honourable, unholiness disgraceful;

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's use of this text see note on *De Sobr.* 50.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 591 f.

καλόν, τὸ ἀνόσιον αἰσχρόν· τὸ θεοσεβὲς ἐπαινετόν,  
τὸ ἀσεβὲς ψεκτόν· [τὸ] οἰκειότατον ἀνθρώπου φύσει  
τὸ εὖ καὶ βουλευέσθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν,  
198 ἀλλοτριώτατον τὸ κακῶς τούτων ἕκαστον. ταῦτα  
καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰεὶ συνείροντες τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ  
βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰ θέατρα καὶ πάντα σύλλογον  
καὶ θίασον ἀνθρώπων<sup>2</sup> ἀπατῶσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ προσω-  
πέια καλὰ αἰσχίσταις ὄψεσι περιτιθέντες προνοία  
199 τοῦ μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁρώντων ἐλέγχεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν  
ὄφελος· ἀφίξονται γάρ τινες εὖ μάλα ἐρρωμένοι  
καὶ τῷ περὶ ἀρετὴν ζήλῳ κατεσχημένοι καὶ τὰ  
περικαλύμματα καὶ περιάπτα ταῦτα, ὅσα λόγῳ  
κακοτεχνοῦντες<sup>3</sup> συνύφηναν, ἀπαμφιάσαντες καὶ  
γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ἐφ' αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνγάσαντες  
εἴσονται καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀποκείμενα τῆς φύσεως  
ἀπόρρητα· εἰτ' ἔξω προαγαγόντες τὴν αἰσχύνην<sup>4</sup>  
καὶ τὰ ὀνειδῆ πάντα αὐτῆς ἐν ἡλίῳ καθαρῷ πᾶσιν  
ἐπιδεικνύονται, οἷα τις οὖσα, ὡς αἰσχρὰ καὶ κατα-  
γέλαστος, οἷαν ἐκ τῶν περιάπτων, ὡς νόθην ἐπ-  
200 ἐμόρφαζεν εὐμορφίαν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ἄμυναν εὐτρεπεῖς  
τῶν οὕτως βεβήλων καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τρόπων δύο  
μὲν εἰσιν ἀριθμῷ, Συμεὼν καὶ Λευί, γνώμη δὲ εἷς.  
διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοὺς ἐν  
τάξει ἑνὸς κατηρίθμει, διὰ τὸ σύμφωνον τῆς ὁμο-  
νοίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἑν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος ὁρμῆς,<sup>5</sup> ὁ  
δὲ Μωυσῆς οὐδὲ δυνάδος ἔτι μέμνηται, ἀλλ' ὅλον  
[609] τὸν | Συμεὼν εἰς τὸν Λευὶ ἐνεχάραξε<sup>6</sup> δύο οὐσίας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. βούλεσθαι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀνθρώποι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. κατατεχνοῦντες.

<sup>4</sup> So MSS.: Wend. prints τὰ αἰσχῃ. I do not see any sufficient reason for the change.

<sup>5</sup> I have put a comma after ὁρμῆς, instead of a full stop as

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 197-200

piety is praiseworthy, impiety blameworthy ; right purposing, speaking and acting is most conformable to man's nature, wrong purposing, speaking and acting most alien to the same. With a perpetual string<sup>198</sup> of this or suchlike talk they deceive the law-courts, the theatres, the council-chambers and every gathering and group of men, like people who set handsome masks on the ugliest of faces to prevent the ugliness being detected by the eyes of others. But it is<sup>199</sup> all useless. The vindicators will come strong and doughty, inspired with zeal for virtue. They will strip off all this complication of wraps and bandages which the perverted art of the talkers has put together, and beholding the soul naked in her very self they will know the secrets hidden from sight in the recesses of her nature ; and then exposing to every eye in clear sunlight her shame and all her disgraces they will point the contrast between her real character, so hideous, so despicable, and the spurious comeliness which disguised in her wrappings she counterfeited. And the champions who stand ready<sup>200</sup> to repel such profane and impure ways of thinking are two in number, Simeon and Levi, but they are one in will. That is why in the blessings, while their father ranked them under a single head (Gen. xlix. 5), because their minds are in concord and harmony and their purpose set in one and the same direction, Moses ceases even to mention the pair, but compresses the whole of Simeon into Levi (Deut. xxxiii.

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Mangey and Wend. The "blessings" refer to the two blessings of Jacob and Moses.

<sup>6</sup> Is this word, often used by Philo of impressing a stamp, appropriate to this case where Simeon is wholly absorbed ? I suggest *ἐνέναξε*. The compound is not noted in the lexicon, but *νάσσω* exactly expresses the idea. Or *ἐνέπλασε* (W.H.D.R.).



# PHILO

- κερασάμενος, ἀφ' ὧν ἓνα εἰργάσατο οἶον ἰδέα μιᾷ τυπωθέντα, τὸ ἀκούειν τῷ πράττειν ἐνώσας.
- 201 XXXVII. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἔγνω τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν,<sup>1</sup> λαλήσας<sup>2</sup> τὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας μεστὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν, ὁ σπουδαῖος ἔπαθεν ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πίστιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γενητὸν ἀπιστίαν. εἰκότως οὖν φησι δεόμενος· “Ἰσμαὴλ οὗτος ζήτω ἐνώπιόν σου,” οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἕκαστον τῶν ὀνομάτων τιθεῖς, τὸ “οὗτος,” τὸ “ζήτω,” τὸ “ἐνώπιόν σου”. ταῖς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁμωνυμίαις ἡπατήθησαν
- 202 οὐκ ὀλίγοι. τί δ' ἐστὶν ὃ λέγω, σκεπτέον· ἐρμηνευθεῖς Ἰσμαὴλ ἐστὶν ἀκοή θεοῦ, τῶν δὲ θείων δογμάτων οἱ μὲν ἀκούουσιν ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ βλάβῃ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐτέρων. ἢ τὸν οἰωνοσκοπὸν Βαλαὰμ οὐχ ὄρας; οὗτος εἰσάγεται “ἀκούων λόγια θεοῦ ἐπιστάμενός τε ἐπιστήμην
- 203 παρὰ ὑψίστου.” ἀλλὰ τί ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀκροάσεως, τί δ' ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιστήμης ὦνατο, γνώμη μὲν ἐπιχειρήσας τὸ ψυχῆς ἄριστον ὄμμα λυμήνασθαι, ὃ δὴ μόνον τὸν θεὸν ὄραν πεπαίδευται, μὴ δυνηθεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸ σωτήρος κράτος ἀήττητον; τοιγαροῦν ὁ μὲν κατακεντούμενος ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τραύματα πολλὰ δεξάμενος ἐν μέσοις τραυματίαις ἀπώλετο, διότι σοφιστεία μαντικῇ τὴν θεοφόρητον προφητείαν
- 204 παρεχάραξε.<sup>3</sup> δεόντως οὖν εὔχεται ὁ ἀστείος, ἵν' οὗτος μόνος Ἰσμαὴλ ὑγιαίνει, διὰ τοὺς μὴ γνη-

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀπαγγελίαν.

<sup>2</sup> mss. and all editions λαλοῦσαν. I have made this correction, feeling that, though ἔγνω λαλοῦσαν is a more natural construction, it is impossible that the divine message should be spoken of as full of εὐλάβεια or even of αἰδώς. I under-

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 200-204

8), and thus blending the two natures he makes them one, bearing the stamp of a single form, and unites hearing with action.

XXXVII. So when he understood the promise and 201 spoke "according to his mind" these words, so full of reverence and pious awe, the man of worth was moved by a twofold feeling, faith towards God, distrust of the creature. It is natural then that he should pray in these words, "Let this Ishmael live before thee" (Gen. xvii. 18), and each of the phrases here included, namely, "this," "live," "before Thee," are applied by him appropriately. I say appropriately because many are deceived by the application of the same terms to denote different things. What I mean by this should be considered. 202 Ishmael by interpretation is "hearing God," but the divine truths are heard by some to their profit, by some to the harm of themselves and others.

Observe that dealer in augury, Balaam. He is described as "hearing the oracles of God and knowing knowledge from the Most High" (Num. xxiv. 16), but what did he profit from such hearing 203 or such knowledge, he who attempted to bring ruin on the soul's best eye which alone has been trained to see God? But yet what he willed he could not, so strong was the Saviour's invincible might. Therefore, stabbed by his own madness, he received many wounds and perished "in the midst of the wounded" (Num. xxxi. 8) because with his soothsayer's mock wisdom he defaced the stamp of heaven-sent prophecy. Rightly then it is "this Ishmael" for whose 204 health alone the man of virtue prays, because of

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stand λαλήσας . . . διάνοιαν to repeat εἶπε τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτοῦ as interpreted in §§ 193 ff. <sup>3</sup> MSS. προσ(υ)χάραξε.

- σίως ἀκούοντας τῶν ἱερῶν ὑφηγήσεων· οἷς ἀπέιπε  
 Μωυσῆς ἀντικρυς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν φοιτᾶν τοῦ παν-  
 205 ηγεμόνος. τεθλασμένοι γὰρ τὰ γεννητικὰ τῆς δια-  
 νοίας ἢ καὶ τελείως ἀποκοπέντες οἱ τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν  
 καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀποσεμνύνοντες ὥς μόνα τῶν  
 κατ' ἀνθρώπους αἴτια πραγμάτων ἢ οἱ πολυθεῖας  
 ἐρασταὶ καὶ τὸν πολύθεον ἐκτετιμηκότες θιάσον,  
 οἱ ἐκ πόρνῃς γεγονότες, τὸν ἓνα ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα  
 φιλαρέτου ψυχῆς θεὸν οὐκ εἰδότες, ἄρ' οὐκ εἰκότως  
 206 ἐλαύνονται τε καὶ φυγαδεύονται; παρα-  
 πλῆσιόν μοι δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν καὶ οἱ κατηγοροῦντες  
 τοῦ υἱοῦ<sup>1</sup> γονεῖς ἐπ' οἰνοφλυγία· λέγουσι γάρ· “ὁ  
 υἱὸς ἡμῶν οὗτος ἀπειθεῖ,” διὰ τῆς προσθήκης τῆς  
 “οὗτος” μνηνύοντες, ὅτι εἰσὶν ἕτεροι παῖδες καρ-  
 τερικοὶ καὶ σῶφρονες, τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι τοῦ ὀρθοῦ  
 λόγου καὶ παιδείας πειθαρχοῦντες· οὗτοι γὰρ ψυχῆς  
 ἀψεудέστατοι γονεῖς, ὑφ' ὧν κατηγορηθῆναι μὲν  
 [610] | αἰσχιστον, ἐπαινεθῆναι δ' εὐκλέεστατον.  
 207 τὸ <δὲ> “οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωυσῆς, οἷς  
 εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐξ  
 Αἰγύπτου” καὶ τὸ “οὗτοί εἰνιν οἱ διαλεγόμενοι  
 Φαραὼ βασιλεῖ,” ταῦτα μὴ νομίζωμεν εἰρῆσθαι  
 παρέργως ἢ τὰς δείξεις μὴ πλέον τι τῶν ὀνομάτων  
 208 παρεμφαίνειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Μωυσῆς μὲν ἐστὶ νοῦς  
 ὁ καθαρώτατος, Ἀαρὼν δὲ λόγος αὐτοῦ, πεπαί-  
 δευται δὲ καὶ ὁ νοῦς θεοπρεπῶς<sup>2</sup> ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ  
 ὁ λόγος ὁσίως ἐρμηνεύειν τὰ ὅσια, μιμηλάζοντες δὴ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τούτου for τοῦ υἱοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Should we read *θεοπροπῶς* <*θεοπροπῶν*> as the balance of the sentence perhaps suggests?

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Mig.* 69.

<sup>b</sup> For the full development of this theme see *De Ebr.* 13-94.  
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## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 204-208

those others who do not hear with honest mind the holy instructions, whom Moses absolutely forbade to resort to the assembly of the Ruler of all. Such as in their pride extol their own mind and senses as the sole causes of all that happens amongst men—these are they who have spiritually lost the organs 205 of generation by crushing or complete mutilation; such again as love the creed which holds that gods are many and pays all honour to that fellowship of deities—these are the children of the harlot who knows not the one husband and father of the virtue-loving soul,—are not all such with good reason expelled and banished? (Deut. xxiii. 1, 2).<sup>a</sup>

The parents too who accuse their son of wine-bibbing 206 seem to make a like use of the pronoun. They say "This son of ours is disobedient" (Deut. xxi. 20), and thus by the addition of "this" they shew that they have other sons, strong-willed and self-controlling, who obey the injunctions of right reason and instruction. For these two are the soul's parents who can never lie, and to be accused by them is the greatest disgrace, as their praise is the highest glory.<sup>b</sup>

To take another instance, "It is this Moses and 207 Aaron whom God bade lead the sons of Israel from Egypt" (Ex. vi. 26), or "These are they who talked with Pharaoh the king" (*ibid.* 27). In neither of these cases must we suppose that the words are used carelessly and that the demonstrative pronouns served no other purpose than to indicate<sup>c</sup> the names. For since Moses is mind at its purest, and Aaron is 208 its word, and each have been trained to holy things, the mind to grasp them as a God should and the word to express them worthily, the professors of

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 592.

οἱ σοφισταὶ καὶ παρακόπτοντες τὸ δόκιμον νόμισμα τοῦτό φασι<sup>1</sup> καὶ νοεῖν ὀρθῶς περὶ τοῦ ἀρίστου καὶ λέγειν ἐπαινετῶς. ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπατώμεθα παρὰ θέσει τῶν κεκιβδηλευμένων πρὸς τὰ δόκιμα δι' ὁμοιότητος τοῦ χαρακτῆρος, βάσανον ἔδωκεν, ἣ  
 209 διακριθῆσεται. τίς οὖν ἡ βάσανος; τὸ ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας τὸν ὁρατικὸν καὶ φιλοθεάμονα νοῦν καὶ φιλόσοφον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο δυνηθεὶς Μωυσῆς ἐστὶν οὗτος, ὁ δὲ ἀδυνατήσας, ὁ λεγόμενος μόνον, μυρίας δὲ σεμνότητος ὀνομάτων ἐπαμπισχόμενος, γελᾷται.

Ζῆν δὲ εὐχεται τῷ Ἰσμαήλ, οὐ τῆς μετὰ σώματος ζωῆς ἐπιστροφόμενος, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὸ θεῖον ἄκουσμα ἐπὶ ψυχῇ διαιωνίζον ἐγείρῃ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ζωπυρῇ.  
 210 XXXVIII. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀκρόασιν λόγων καὶ μάθησιν δογμάτων ἱερῶν εὐχεται ζῆν, ὡς ἐλέχθη, ὁ δ' ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ εὐφυΐαν λέγει γάρ. "ζήτω Ῥουβὴν καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω". ἄρα γε ἀθανασίαν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν εὐχόμενος, ἀνθρώπῳ πρᾶγμα ἀ-  
 211 δύνατον; οὐ δήπου. τί οὖν ἔσθ' ὃ βούλεται παραστήσαι, λεκτέον. πάντα τὰ ἀκούσματα καὶ μαθήματα ἐποικοδομεῖται καθάπερ θεμελίῳ προκαταβεβλημένῳ φύσει παιδείας δεκτικῇ, φύσεως δὲ μὴ προϋπαρχούσης ἀνωφελῇ πάντα. δρυὸς γὰρ ἢ λίθου κωφῆς οὐδὲν ἂν δόξαιεν οἱ ἀφνεῖς διαφέρειν· ἔγκολλον γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀρμόζοιτο, πάντα δ' ὡς ἀπὸ στερροῦ τινος ἀποπάλλεται καὶ ἀποπηδᾷ.  
 212 τὰς δὲ τῶν εὐφυῶν ψυχὰς ἔστιν ἰδεῖν κηροῦ τρόπον

<sup>1</sup> I should suggest *φαίνονται* as making better sense.

<sup>a</sup> Ascribed by inadvertence to the Blessing of Jacob, instead of to that of Moses.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 208-212

false wisdom mimic and debase this authentic coin, and say that what they think of the most excellent is just, and what they say of it worthy of praise (Ex. vii. 11). And so that when the spurious is set beside the authentic we may not be deceived by the likeness of the stamp he has given us a touchstone by which they may be distinguished. What is this 209 touchstone? It is that he brought out of the land of the body the mind which could see and which loved wisdom and the vision. For he who could do this is "This Moses," and he who could not, who had but the name and clothed himself with a multitude of grand-sounding titles, is made a laughing-stock.

When he prays that Ishmael may live, he is not concerned with the life of the body, but prays that what he hears from God may abide for ever with the soul and stir him into living flame; XXXVIII. and 210 while Abraham prays, as we have said, that the grace of hearkening to holy words and learning holy truths may live, Jacob, the Man of Practice, prays for the life of natural goodness, for he says "Let Reuben live and not die" (Deut. xxxiii. 6).<sup>a</sup> Is he here praying that he should never know death and corruption, a gift impossible for a man? Surely not. Let us say then what he wishes to shew us. 211 All that is heard or learned is a superstructure, built on the foundation of a nature receptive of instruction, for if nature be not there to begin with all else is useless. For those who are ungifted by nature would seem to differ not at all from an oak or mute stone, for nothing can adhere or fit into them, but all is shaken off and rebounds as from a solid substance. But in the souls of the naturally 212

λελειασμένου μήτε<sup>1</sup> ἄγαν στερεοῦ μήτε<sup>1</sup> ἄγαν ἀπαλοῦ  
 κεκερασμένας μετρίως, παραδεχομένας τὰ ἀκούσ-  
 ματα καὶ θεάματα ῥαδίως πάντα καὶ ἐναποματτο-  
 μένας ἄκρως αὐτὰς τὰ εἶδη, μνήμης ἐναργεῖς τινὰς  
 213 εἰκόνας. ἦν γοῦν ἀναγκαῖον εὐξασθαι τῷ | λογικῷ  
 [611] γένει τὸ εὐφυὲς ἄνοσον καὶ ἀθάνατον παρεῖναι.  
 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίου, ὅς ἐστιν ἀψευ-  
 δεστάτη ζωὴ, μετέχουσιν ὀλίγοι, οὐχὶ τῶν ἀγε-  
 λαίων φημί—τούτων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τῆς ἀληθοῦς ζωῆς  
 κεκοινῶνῃκεν,—ἀλλ' εἴ τισιν ἐξεγένετο τὰς τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων φυγεῖν σπουδὰς καὶ θεῷ μόνῳ ζῆσαι.  
 214 παρὸ καὶ λίαν τεθαύμακεν ὁ ἀσκη-  
 τικὸς καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, εἴ τις ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ βίου ποταμῷ  
 φορούμενος ὑπ'<sup>2</sup> οὐδεμιᾶς ῥύμης κατασύρεται,  
 δύναιτο δὲ καὶ πλούτῳ πολλῷ ῥέοντι ἀντισχεῖν  
 καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀμέτρον φορὰν (ἀν)ῶσαι καὶ λαίλαπι  
 215 κενῆς δόξης μὴ ἀναρπασθῆναι. λέγει γοῦν οὐχ ὁ  
 Ἰακώβ τῷ Ἰωσήφ μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος παντὶ  
 τῷ τὸ μὲν σῶμα εὐεκτοῦντι, ἐν ἀφθόνοις δὲ ταῖς  
 εἰς περιουσίαν ὕλαις ἐξεταζομένῳ καὶ πρὸς μηδε-  
 μιᾶς ἀλισκομένῳ. “ἔτι γὰρ σὺ ζῆς”; θαυμαστὸν  
 ἐκφωνήσας λόγον καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ὑπερδεδρα-  
 μηκότα,<sup>3</sup> οἱ μικρὰς πρὸς εὐτυχίαν αὔρας λαβόμενοι,  
 πάντα κάλων ἀνασείσαντες, λαμπρὰ φυσῶμεν καὶ  
 πνεύσαντες μέγα καὶ σύντονον πλησίστιοι πρὸς  
 τὰς ἀπολαύσεις τῶν παθῶν φερόμεθα καὶ οὐ  
 πρότερον στέλλομεν τὰς ἀνειμένας καὶ κεχαλασ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μετὰ . . . μετὰ.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀπ'.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀποδεδραμηκότα.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 212-215

good we see a duly-tempered mixture like smooth wax, neither too solid nor too soft ; a mixture which easily receives all that is seen and heard and itself reproduces perfectly the forms impressed upon it in lifelike copies preserved by memory.<sup>a</sup> Thus he was 213 bound to pray that the nation of reason should possess natural goodness free from disease and death. For the life of virtue, which is LIFE in its truest form, is shared by few, and these few are not found among the vulgar herd, none of whom has part or lot in true life, but are only those to whom it is granted to escape the aims which engross humanity and to live to God alone.

And therefore the Man 214 of Practice and Courage wondered exceedingly that one who was borne along in the midstream of human life is not swept down by any rush of the swirling waters, but can breast the strong current of riches and stem the tide of pleasure's ceaseless urge and keep his feet against the hurricane of vainglory. And so Jacob says to Joseph, though indeed it is 215 rather the holy Word speaking to every man who in addition to bodily welfare is placed amidst abundance of the gear which makes for luxury, yet is proof against it all, "For thou still livest" (Gen. xli. 30). A marvellous utterance, which has travelled beyond the range of the common life which we lead, we who if we but catch a puff of the air of prosperity loosen every reef and let the breeze blow fresh and clear, and then with our strong steady wind to swell our canvas speed on to the enjoyments of the passions, and never do we draw in the loose and slack licence

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Quis Rerum* 181 where the simile is definitely referred to Plato (*Theaetetus* 191 c).



μένας ἀκρατῶς ἐπιθυμίας, ἕως ἂν ἐξοκείλαντες  
ὅλῳ τῷ ψυχῆς ναυαγήσωμεν σκάφει.

- 216 XXXIX. Παγκάλως οὖν τοῦτον τὸν Ἰσμαῆλ  
εὐχομέθα<sup>1</sup> ζῆν. προστίθῃσιν οὖν “ἐνώπιον τοῦ  
θεοῦ ζήτω,<sup>2</sup>” τέλος τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τιθέμενος ἐπι-  
σκόπου καὶ ἐφόρου τοῦ τῶν ὄντων ἀρίστου τὴν  
217 διάνοιαν ἀξιωθῆναι. εἰ γὰρ παιδαγωγοῦ μὲν παρόν-  
τος οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι ὁ ἀγόμενος, ὑφηγητῆς δὲ ἐγγὺς  
ὢν ὠφελεῖ τὸν μανθάνοντα, πρεσβυτέρου δὲ παρα-  
τυγχάνοντος αἰδοῖ καὶ σωφροσύνη κοσμεῖται νέος,  
πατὴρ δὲ ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν μέλλοντα ἀδικεῖν ἐκώλυσαν  
ἐφ’ ἡσυχίας αὐτὸ μόνον ὀφθέντες, ἡλίκαις τισὶν  
ὑπερβολαῖς ἀγαθῶν χρήσεσθαι νομίζομεν τὸν ὑπο-  
λαμβάνοντ’ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ θεωρεῖσθαι; τὸ γὰρ τοῦ  
παρόντος αἰεὶ εἰ περιβλέπεται<sup>3</sup> ἀξίωμα δεδιῶς καὶ  
τρέμων ἀνὰ κράτος τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἀποδράσεται.  
218 Τὸν δὲ Ἰσμαῆλ ὅταν εὐχῇται ζῆν, οὐκ ἀπέγνωκε  
τὴν γένεσιν Ἰσαάκ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἀλλὰ  
πεπίστευκε μὲν τῷ θεῷ \* \* \*<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂ δοῦναι  
θεῷ, ταῦτα καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λαβεῖν δυνατόν, ἐπειδὴ  
τῷ μὲν πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα χαρίσασθαι ῥᾷδιον,  
ἡμῖν δ’ οὐκ εὐμαρὲς τὰς προτεινομένας δέξασθαι  
219 δωρεάς. ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, εἰ τῶν ἐκ πόνου καὶ

<sup>1</sup> So mss.: Wendland εὐχεται. I do not think the change is necessary; see note a on opposite page.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ζῆ.

<sup>3</sup> παρόντος αἰεὶ εἰ περιβλέπεται] this (or perhaps παρόντος εἰ) is my suggestion for ms. παρόντος καὶ περιβλέπεται. Wend. proposes αἰεὶ περιβλεπόμενος, Mangey καὶ προσβλέποντος.

<sup>4</sup> The lacuna might be filled by ἀπιστεῖ δὲ τῷ γεννητῷ, cf. § 201 (rather this than § 178 as Wend.).

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 215-219

of our lusts until we strike the rocks and wreck the whole bark of the soul.

XXXIX. We <sup>a</sup> do well indeed then when we pray <sup>216</sup> that this Ishmael may live. And so he adds "before God," holding that in this lies the crown of happiness—that the mind should be privileged to live under the survey and watchful care of the Supreme Excellence. For when the tutor is present his charge <sup>b</sup> <sup>217</sup> will not go amiss; the teacher at the learner's side brings profit to him; the company of his senior gives to the youth the grace of modesty and self-control; the mere sight of father or mother can silently prevent the son from some intended wrongdoing. Imagine then the vastness of the blessings which we must suppose will be his who believes that the eye of God is ever upon him, for if he reverences the dignity of Him who is ever present, he will in fear and trembling fly from wrongdoing with all his might.

But when he prays that Ishmael may live he does <sup>218</sup> not despair of the birth of Isaac, as I have said before, but while he has trusted in God (he recognizes the weakness of humanity), for the gifts which God can give are not all such as man in his turn can receive, since for Him it is easy to bestow gifts, ever so many, ever so great, but for us it is no light matter to receive the proffered boons. For it is enough for <sup>219</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The objection of Cohn and Wendland to the first person ignores the fact that Philo constantly regards the stories and sayings of the Pentateuch as representing the spiritual experiences of every generation. It is "the holy word speaking to everyone," as just above in § 215. Compare *νοῦς ἡμῶν* in § 16. Good examples appear in *De Som.* i. 143 and 226, ii. 170. Cohn's *εὐχόμεθα* does not fit in well with Philo's use of *παγκάλως* (see note on *De Mig.* 101). There would be no objection to *εὐξόμεθα*, but the change seems unnecessary.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 592.

- μελέτης συντροφῶν καὶ συνηθεστέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐπι-  
 [612] λάχοιμεν, | τῶν δ' ἄνευ τέχνης ἢ συνόλως ἀνθρω-  
 πίνης ἐπινοίας ἀπαυτοματιζόντων καὶ ἐξ ἐτοίμου  
 γινομένων οὐδ' ἐλπίς ἐφικέσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅτε  
 θεῖα ὄντα θειοτέραις καὶ ἀκηράτοις φύσεσιν ἀπ-  
 ηλλαγμέναις θνητοῦ σώματος εὐρίσκειν ἀναγκαῖον.  
 220 ἐδίδαξε<sup>1</sup> δὲ Μωυσῆς κατὰ δύναμιν τῶν χειρῶν τὰς  
 εὐχαρίστους ὁμολογίας ποιεῖσθαι, τὸν ἀγχίνουν  
 ἀνάθημα ἀνατιθέντα τὸ συνετὸν καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον,  
 τὸν λόγιον τὰς ἐν λόγῳ πάσας ἀρετὰς ἀνιεροῦντα  
 διὰ τε ὥδης καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην τοῦ ὄντος  
 ἐγκωμίων, καὶ κατ' εἶδος τὸν φυσικὸν φυσιολογίαν,  
 τὸν ἠθικὸν πᾶσαν τὴν ἠθικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὸν  
 τεχνικὸν καὶ ἐπιστήμονα τὰ θεωρήματα τῶν τεχνῶν  
 221 καὶ ἐπιστημῶν. οὕτως εὐπλοῖαν μὲν ναύτης καὶ  
 κυβερνήτης, εὐφορίαν δὲ καρπῶν γεωπόνος, εὐ-  
 τοκίαν δὲ ζώων ἀγελάρχης, ὑγείαν δὲ καμνόντων  
 ἱατρός, ὁ δ' αὖ στρατείας ἡγεμῶν τοῦ πολέμου  
 κράτος καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς ἢ βασιλικὸς τὴν νόμιμον  
 προστασίαν καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ἀναθήσει, καὶ συνελόντα  
 φράσαι πάντων ὅσα ἢ ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος ἢ τῶν  
 ἐκτὸς ἀγαθὰ ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ φίλαυτος αἴτιον ἀποφανεῖ  
 222 τὸν ἀψεудῶς μόνον αἴτιον θεόν. μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν  
 ἀφανεστέρων καὶ ταπεινοτέρων εἶναι δοκούντων  
 ἐλπίδος ἀπογνώσει τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀποκνησάτω  
 ἱκέτης εὐχάριστος γενέσθαι θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν  
 ἔτι προσδοκᾷ τῶν μειζόνων, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὧν  
 ἔλαχεν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν εὐχαριστεῖτω.  
 223 μυρίων δ' ἔλαχε, γενέσεως, ζωῆς, τροφῆς, ψυχῆς,  
 αἰσθήσεως, φαντασίας, ὀρμῆς, λογισμοῦ. λογισμὸς  
 δὲ βραχὺ μὲν ὄνομα, τελειότατον δὲ καὶ θειότατον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔδειξε.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 219-223

us to obtain the good fruits of toil and effort, those more familiar gifts which grow up with us, but such as spring up independently without art or any form of human devising, which come ready-made to the recipient, we cannot even hope to attain. These are gifts of God, and therefore to discover them is the inevitable destiny of natures closer to God and undefiled and released from the mortal body. Yet 220 Moses taught us to make our acknowledgements of thanks according to the power of our hands (Num. vi. 21), the man of sagacity dedicating his good sense and prudence, the master of words consecrating all the excellences of speech in praises to the Existent in poem or prose, and from others offerings after their kind, natural philosophy, ethical philosophy, the lore of the arts and sciences from the several students of the same. In this way the sailor 221 will dedicate success of voyage, the husbandman fruitfulness of crops, the herdsman the teeming increase of his livestock, the physician the health of his patients, or again the general his victory in war, the statesman or crowned head his lawful pre-eminence or sovereignty, and in short he who is not self-centred will avow as the cause of all goods of the soul or body or outside the body Him who in very truth is the one sole Cause of aught. Let none 222 then of the lowly or obscure in repute shrink through despair of the higher hope from thankful supplication to God, but even if he no longer expects any greater boon, give thanks according to his power for the gifts which he has already received. Vast is the number 223 of such gifts, birth, life, nurture, soul, sense-perception, mental picturing, impulse, reasoning. Now "reasoning" as a name is but a little word, but as

## PHILO

- ἔργον, τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῆς ἀπόσπασμα ἢ, ὅπερ  
 ὀσιώτερον εἰπεῖν τοῖς κατὰ Μωυσῆν φιλοσοφοῦσιν,  
 224 εἰκόνος θείας ἐκμαγεῖον ἐμφερές. XL. ἐπαινεῖν  
 ἄξιον καὶ τῶν κατασκόπων τοὺς ἐπιχειρήσαντας  
 μὲν αὐτόπρεμνον τὸ ἀρετῆς ὅλον ἀνασπάσαι καὶ  
 βαστάσαι στέλεχος, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἡδυνήθησαν, κλη-  
 ματίδα γοῦν καὶ ἕνα βότρυν λαβόντας, δεῖγμα καὶ  
 μέρος τῆς συμπάσης, ὃ φέρειν αὐτὸ μόνον ἴσχυον.  
 225 εὐκτὸν μὲν ἀθρόω τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐγ-  
 χορεύειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρωπίνην  
 φύσιν, ἀγαπῶμεν, εἴ τω ἐξεγένετο μιᾷ τινι τῶν  
 [613] κατὰ μέρος | ἐντυχεῖν, σωφροσύνη ἢ ἀνδρεία ἢ  
 δικαιοσύνη ἢ φιλάνθρωπία. φερέτω γὰρ ἕν<sup>1</sup> τι  
 ἀγαθὸν ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ τικτέτω, μὴ πάντων ἄφορος  
 226 καὶ στεῖρα γινέσθω.                      σὺ δὲ τοιαῦτα ἐπι-  
 τάγματα ἐπιτάξεις υἱεὶ τῷ σεαυτοῦ; εἰ μὴ τοῖς  
 οἰκέταις ἡμέρως χρῆ, μηδὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις κοινω-  
 νικῶς· εἰ μὴ κοσμίως γυναικί, μηδὲ γονεῦσι τιμη-  
 τικῶς· εἰ μητρὸς ὀλιγωρεῖς καὶ πατρός, ἀσέβει  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον. εἰ χαίρεις ἡδονῇ, μη(δὲ)· φιλ-  
 αργυρίας ἀποστῆς. ἐφίεσαι πολυχρηματίας; καὶ  
 227 κενοδοῶς. τί γάρ; οὐ μετριάζειν ἐν ἐνίοις ἀξιοῖς,  
 εἰ μὴ ἐν πᾶσι δύνασαι; οὐκ ἂν οὖν εἴποι ὁ υἱός·  
 τί λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ; ἢ τέλειον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τέλειον  
 κακὸν βούλει σοι τὸν υἱὸν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐνός.

a fact it is something most perfect and most divine, a piece torn off from the soul of the universe, or, as it might be put more reverently <sup>a</sup> following the philosophy of Moses, a faithful impress of the divine image. XL. Well may we commend those members 224 of the scouting party who tried to pluck up by the roots the trunk of virtue and carry it away, and when they could not, took at least a branch and a single cluster, which was all they could carry (Num. xiii. 24), as a specimen and part of the whole. We should 225 indeed pray that our course may lie amid the collected body of the many virtues. But if this be too great for human nature, let us be content whenever it be granted to consort with one of the specific virtues, with temperance, or courage, or justice or humanity. Let the soul carry in its womb and bring to the birth one good thing at least and not be unfruitful and barren of them all.

Would 226 you lay upon your own son such injunctions as these? If you do not treat your servants kindly, neither must you have neighbourly dealings with your equals. If you do not behave well to your wife, you must not honour your parents either. If you despise your father and mother, you must also shew impiety towards God. If you delight in pleasure, you must not refrain from covetousness. Do you covet great riches? Then also give way to vain conceit. What, 227 I would ask, do you mean that it is wrong to use self-control in some things if you cannot do so in all? The son would surely reply, What do you mean, father? Would you have your son become either completely bad or completely good, and will you not

phrase ἡ τοῦ παντὸς ψυχῇ, cf. *De Mig.* 179 and note on *Leg. All.* i. 91.

- ἀγαπήσεις, εἰ πρὸ τῶν ἄκρων τὰ μέσα ἔλοιτο;  
 228 οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 Σοδομιτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ πεντηκον-  
 τάδος εἰς δεκάδα<sup>1</sup> τελευτᾷ, ποτνιῶμενος καὶ ἰκε-  
 τεύων, ἵν', εἰ μὴ εὐρίσκοιτο ἐν γενέσει ἡ παντελής  
 εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἄφεις, ἥς σύμβολον ὁ πεντηκοστός  
 λόγος ἱερός, ἡ μέση παιδεία παραληφθῇ δεκάδι  
 229 ψυχῆς μελλούσης ἀπόλυσιν; τῶν ἀναγῶγων οἱ  
 πεπαιδευμένοι καὶ τῶν ἀλύρων καὶ ἀμούσων οἱ  
 (ἐγ)κεχορευκότες τῇ ἐγκυκλίῳ μουσικῇ πλείους  
 ἀφορμὰς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸ αὔξεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> σχεδὸν ἐκ  
 παίδων τοῖς περὶ καρτερίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ  
 ἀρετῆς πάσης λόγοις ἐπαντληθέντες. διὸ εἰ καὶ  
 μὴ παντελῶς ἐξερρύναντο καὶ ἀπελούσαντο τὸ  
 ἀδικεῖν φαιδρυνόμενοι δέ,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ μετρίως γοῦν καὶ  
 230 μέσως ἐρρύναντο. τὸ παραπλήσιον ὁ  
 Ἡσαῦ λέγειν ἔοικε τῷ πατρί· “μὴ εὐλογία σοι  
 μία ἐστί, πάτερ; εὐλόγησον καὶ ἐγώ, πάτερ.” ἄλλαι  
 γὰρ ἄλλοις ἀποκεκρίσθωσαν, τελείοις μὲν τέλειαι,  
 μέσαι δὲ ἀτελέσιν, ὡς ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματῶν·  
 ὑγιαινόντων γὰρ καὶ νοσοῦντων ἕτερα μὲν γυμνάσ-  
 ματα, ἕτεραι δὲ τροφαί, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα περὶ δίαιταν,  
 οὐ τὰ αὐτά, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν τὰ πρόσφορα, ἵνα μηδ'  
 ὅλως νοσήσωσι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ οἰκεία, ὅπως πρὸς  
 231 τὸ ὑγιεινότερον μεταβάλωσι. πολλῶν οὖν ἀγαθῶν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πεντάδα.<sup>2</sup> MSS. εὕξεσθαι.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀρετῆς.

<sup>4</sup> Clearly corrupt: Mangey proposed δῆ, Wendland τελείως. The simplest correction would be οἶδε, if this can stand so at the end of a clause. (It does so stand in *De Conf.* 87, but in the sense of “the following.”)

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 227-231

be satisfied if he chooses the midway course in preference to the extremes? It was 228 such a feeling that made Abraham, in the case of the destruction of Sodom, begin with fifty and end with ten (Gen. xviii. 24 f.) when he besought and supplicated that if the means of complete release to liberty (Lev. xxv. 10), which is symbolized by fifty, be not forthcoming in created beings, the lower training, which is numerically reckoned as ten, may be accepted to respite the soul which stands on the verge of condemnation.<sup>a</sup> The trained have the 229 advantage over the untrained, and those who are familiar with the culture of the schools over minds untuned to the muse; they start with better opportunities for growth, because as a rule from boyhood they have been bathed in a stream of ideas which deal with endurance and self-control and every virtue. And therefore if these have not entirely scoured and washed away their iniquity in the cleansing process, they are in a moderate and half-way degree purged. Esau's words to his 230 father seem to have a like meaning: "Hast thou one blessing, my father? bless me also, O my father" (Gen. xxvii. 38). For different blessings should be set apart for different persons: perfect blessings for the perfect, half-way for the imperfect, just as we find with men's bodies: for the healthy and the sick require different exercises and different diet, and in all other matters which affect their way of living the same treatment is impossible. The healthy need what agrees with them to prevent their falling sick at all, and the sick need what fits their condition to bring them round to better health. Since then the 231

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Sac.* 122.



- ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸ δοκοῦν ἐφαρμόττειν μοι τοῦτο χάρισαι, καὶ μικρότατον ἤ, στοχασάμενος ἐκείνου μόνου, εἰ δυνήσομαι τὸ δοθὲν φέρειν εὐμαρῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπειπῶν ὁ
- 232 δυστυχῆς ὀκλάσω. τί δ' οἰόμεθα ἐμφαίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ· “μὴ χεὶρ κυρίου οὐκ ἐξαρκέσει”; ἄρ' οὐχὶ τὸ πάντῃ τὰς τοῦ ὄντος φθάνειν δυνάμεις ἐπ' εὐεργεσία μὴ μόνον τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν
- [614] ἀφανεστέρων εἶναι | δοκούντων; οἷς τὰ ἀρμόττοντα χαρίζεται πρὸς τὰ τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς σταθμήματα καὶ μέτρα σταθμώμενος καὶ διαμετρῶν ἰσότητι παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ ἀνάλογον ἐκάστοις.
- 233 XLI. Καταπλήττει με οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ὁ τεθεὶς νόμος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκδυομένοις τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ μεταγινώσκειν δοκοῦσι. κελεύει γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἱερεῖον προσάγειν θῆλυ πρόβατον ἄμωμον. “ἐὰν δὲ” φησί “μὴ ἰσχύῃ ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἱκανὸν εἰς πρόβατον, οἷσει περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἥς ἡμαρτε δύο τρυγόνας ἢ δύο νεοσσούς περιστερῶν,
- 234 ἓνα περὶ ἁμαρτίας καὶ ἓνα εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὗρίσκη ἡ χεὶρ αὐτοῦ ζεύγος τρυγόνων ἢ δύο νεοσσούς περιστερῶν, οἷσει τὸ δῶρον τὸ δέκατον οἷφι σεμίδαλιν. οὐκ ἐπιχεεῖ<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἔλαιον οὐδ' ἐπιθήσει ἐπ' αὐτὸ λίβανον, ὅτι περὶ ἁμαρτίας ἐστί. καὶ οἷσει αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ δραξάμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλήρη τὴν δράκα τὸ μνημόσυνον
- 235 ἐπιθήσει ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.” οὐκοῦν τρισὶ μετανοίας τρόποις ἱλάσκεται τοῖς εἰρημένοις, κτήνεσιν ἢ πτηνοῖς ἢ λευκοπύροις, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> So LXX: MSS. ἐπιχρίσει.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 231-235

goods which nature has to bestow are many, grant me, O Lord, that which befits me in Thy sight, though it be but the smallest, looking to one thing only, that the gift be such as I can bear with ease, not one that slight as it is will bring me, poor weakling, fainting to the ground. And what do we suppose is 232 meant by the words, "Shall not the hand of the Lord suffice?" (Num. xi. 23). Surely this, that the powers of the Existent reach everywhere to benefit not only the highly placed but also those of lowlier reputation. And on these He bestows what befits them, according to the soul-measurements and appraisements of each, measuring and appraising in Himself<sup>a</sup> by the rule of equality the due proportion to each.

XLI. I am profoundly struck by the law enacted 233 for those who put off their sins and appear to be repentant. It bids them bring first as the victim a ewe without blemish, but "if his hand," it continues, "have not strength for a sheep, he shall bring for the sin which he has committed two turtledoves or two young pigeons, one for sin and one for a burnt offering. But if his hand does not find a pair of turtledoves 234 or two young pigeons, he shall bring for his gift fine flour the tenth of an ephah. He shall not pour upon it oil, nor put upon it frankincense, because it is a sin offering, and shall bring it to the priest, and the priest shall take from it a complete handful and lay the memorial upon the altar" (Lev. v. 7 ff.). Moses, then, employs for propitiation 235 the three methods of repentance here mentioned, beasts or birds or wheaten flour, adapted doubtless

<sup>a</sup> Or (reading *ισότητι* <τῇ> *παρ' ἐαυτῷ*) "the equality inherent in Himself."

## PHILO

- καθαιρομένον καὶ μετανοοῦντος δῆπου δύναμιν· οὔτε γὰρ μικρὰ μεγάλων οὔτε μεγάλα μικρῶν δεῖται καθαρσίων, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀνάλογον ἴσων
- 236 καὶ ὁμοίων. τί δῆποτ' οὖν διὰ τριῶν ἢ κάθαρσις, ἄξιον ἐρευνῆσαι. σχεδὸν τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὰ κατορθώματα συμβέβηκεν ἐν τρισὶν ἐξετάζεσθαι, διανοία, λόγοις, πράξειςιν. οὗ χάριν καὶ τοῖς προτρεπτικοῖς Μωυσῆς διδάσκων, ὅτι ἡ ἀγαθοῦ<sup>1</sup> κτήσις οὐτ' ἀδύνατός ἐστιν οὔτε
- 237 δυσθήρατος, φησὶν· οὐκ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπτῆναι δεῖ οὐδ' ἄχρι περάτων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν σύλληψιν αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐστὶν “ἐγγύς, καὶ σφόδρα ἐγγύς”—εἰτα μόνον οὐκ ὀφθαλμοφανῶς δεικνύς<sup>2</sup>—“πᾶν ἔργον” φησί “τῷ στόματί σου καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ταῖς χερσί,” συμβολικῶς ἐν λόγοις, ἐν βουλαῖς, ἐν ἔργοις· ἐκ γὰρ εὐβουλίας καὶ εὐλογίας καὶ εὐπραξίας τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην εὐδαιμονίαν συνίστασθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν ἐκ τῶν
- 238 ἐναντίων. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τό τε κατορθοῦν καὶ ἁμαρτάνειν χωρίοις ἐστί, καρδίᾳ, στόματι, χειρί· καὶ γὰρ βουλευόνται τινες εὐγνωμονέστατα καὶ
- [615] λέγουσιν ἄριστα καὶ πράττουσι | τὰ πρακτέα. τριῶν δὲ ὄντων κουφότατόν ἐστι τὸ βουλευέσθαι ἢ μὴ χρή, βαρύτερον δὲ τὸ χειρουργεῖν τὰ ἄδικα,
- 239 μέσον δὲ τὸ λέγειν ἢ μὴ δεῖ. συμβαίνει δὲ τὸ κουφότατον δυσapoτριπτότατον εἶναι· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ψυχῆς τροπὴν εἰς ἡρεμίαν ἀγαγεῖν, καὶ θᾶπτον ἂν τις χειμάρρου φορὰν ἐπίσχοι ἢ ψυχῆς τροπὴν ρέουσιν ἀκατασχέτως· ἀμύθητα γὰρ ἐνθύμια ἄλλα

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀγαθῇ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. δεικνύσει. The correction is mine and I have also

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 235-239

to the capacity of the penitent who is purified, for small things do not need great, nor great things small purifications, but such as are like and equal on the principle of proportion. Why then there 236 should be three ways of repentance is worth inquiry. Practically cases both of sinning and of achieving righteousness fall into three classes, thoughts and words and deeds. And therefore in his Exhortations Moses, when he is shewing that the acquisition of the good is neither impossible nor hard to pursue, says, "You need not fly up to heaven nor go to the ends 237 of earth and sea to lay hold of it, but near and very near (and with the next words he shews the nearness as it were almost visible to the eye) is every work to thy mouth and heart and hands" (Deut. xxx. 12 ff.). In these three words he figures words, thoughts and intentions, deeds. For good thinking and intending, good speaking and good doing make up, he means, human happiness just as their opposites make up unhappiness, since achievement of righteousness and 238 sinning are found in all these three places, heart, mouth and hand. For indeed some think and intend with excellent judgement and speak what is best and do what they should do. Of the three wrong thinking and intending is the least serious, and actually carrying out injustice is the most serious, while saying what we should not stands midway between the two. Yet in practice the least serious proves to 239 be the most difficult to rid ourselves from, for it is a hard matter to bring to a standstill the soul's changing movements. Their irresistible stream is such that we could sooner stem the rush of a torrent, for thoughts

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removed the full stop at ἐγγύς. The quotation, though free, goes on continuously.

- ἐπ' ἄλλοις τρικυμίας τρόπον ἐπιτρέχει, φοροῦντα καὶ κυκῶντα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν βιαίως ἀνατρέποντα.
- 240 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄριστον τῆς καθάρσεως καὶ τελεώτατον τοῦτ' ἐστί, μηδ' ἐνθυμείσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων, ἀλλ' εἰρήνη καὶ εὐνομία, ὣν ἡγεμὼν ἐστι δικαιοσύνη, πολιτεύσασθαι· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον, λόγοις μὴ διαμαρτάνειν ψευδόμενον ἢ ψευδορκοῦντα ἢ ἀπατῶντα ἢ σοφίζόμενον ἢ συκοφαντοῦντα ἢ συνόλως στόμα καὶ γλῶτταν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τινῶν ἀνιέντα,<sup>1</sup> οἷς χαλινὸν ἦν ἄμεινον περιθεῖναι καὶ
- 241 δεσμὸν ἄρρηκτον. XLII. διὰ τί δὲ τὸ λέγειν τοῦ νοεῖν τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα βαρύτερον ἀμάρτημα, ῥᾶον ἰδεῖν. ἐνθυμεῖται μὲν τις οὐ παρ' ἑαυτὸν ἔστιν ὅτε, ἀλλ' ἀβουλῶν· ὣν γὰρ οὐ θέλει λαμβάνειν ἐννοίας ἀναγκάζεται, τῶν δ' ἀκουσίων
- 242 οὐδὲν ὑπαίτιον. λέγει δέ τις ἐκῶν, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ εὖφημον προῖεται φωνήν, ἀδικεῖ κακοδαιμονῶν, ὃ μὴδ' ἐκ τύχης ἐθέλων τι τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων φθέγγασθαι· ὧ λυσιτελὲς τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἡσυχίαν δεξιοῦσθαι· κἄπειτα μὴ ἡσυχάζων τις δύναται
- 243 δῆπου βουλευθεῖς σιωπᾶν. τὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦ λέγειν βαρύτερον ἀμάρτημα ἢ ἄδικος πρᾶξις ἐστι· “λόγος γὰρ ἔργου” φασί “σκιᾶ,” σκιᾶς δὲ βλαπτούσης πῶς οὐ τὸ ἔργον βλαβερώτερον; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς τὴν μὲν γνώμην ἐγκλημάτων καὶ ἐπιτιμίων ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀκουσίοις τὰ πολλὰ μεταβολαῖς χρωμένην καὶ τροπαῖς καὶ πάσχουσιν μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπεισφοιτῶντων νοημάτων ἕξωθεν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνέντα.

<sup>a</sup> Or “silence.” See App. p. 592.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 592.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 239-243

after thoughts in countless numbers pour on like a huge breaker and drive and whirl and upset its whole being with their violence. This then is 240

the best and most perfect form of purification, never even to admit any heinous thoughts, but to live with our fellow-citizens in peace and law observance, that order of which justice is the guiding influence. And the second best is to abstain from sinfulness of word, either by lying or perjury or subtlety or calumny, and in general from aiming at the ruin of others by giving a free rein to the mouth and tongue which it were better to bridle and bind with chains of adamant.

XLII. It is easy to see why 241 wrong-speaking is a graver matter than wrong-thinking. A man's thoughts are sometimes not due to himself, but come without his will. He is compelled to admit ideas on subjects which he has no wish to consider, and where there is no will no blame is due. But speaking is voluntary, so that if a man 242 gives utterance to language which offends, he is wronging others, unhappy in this, that even when there is an opportunity of speaking something of a kinder nature he is not willing to use it. Such a person would do best to court complete freedom from disturbance,<sup>a</sup> and if he has not this freedom he can surely if he wills it keep silence. But 243

the unjust action is a more grievous sin than any speaking, for the word is the shadow of the act,<sup>b</sup> men say, and if the shadow be harmful, the act must be more harmful. And therefore Moses exempts mere intention from accusation and penalty. He knew that it was largely subject to involuntary changes and swervings, and rather the passive victim of the thoughts which flock into it than an active agent.

- ἡ δρῶσαν· τὰ δ' ὅσα ἂν ἐξέλθῃ διὰ τοῦ στόματος, ταῦτ' εἰς ἀπόλογον καὶ εὐθύνας ἄγει, ὡς ἂν δὴ τοῦ
- 244 λέγειν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχοντος. ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν λόγων εὐθυναὶ μετριώτεραι, αἱ δ' ὑπαιτίων<sup>1</sup> ἔργων ἀργαλεώτεραι. μεγάλας γὰρ τάττει τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλα ἀδικούσι καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξιοῦσιν ἃ γνώμη μὲν ἀγνώμονι ἐβουλεύσαντο, προπετεία δὲ γλώττης
- 245 ἐξελάλησαν. XLIII. τὰ δὲ καθάρσια | τῶν τριῶν, [616] διανοίας, λόγου, πράξεως, εἴρηκεν [οὖν] πρόβατον καὶ ζευγος τρυγόνων ἢ περιστερῶν καὶ σεμιδάλεως ἱεροῦ μέτρου δέκατον, ἀξιῶν προβάτῳ μὲν διάνοιαν καθαίρεσθαι, λόγον δὲ τοῖς πτηνοῖς, σεμιδάλει δὲ
- 246 πρᾶξιν. διὰ τί; ὅτι, καθάπερ ἐν ἡμῖν ἄριστον ὁ νοῦς, καὶ ἐν ζώων ἀλόγων γένει τὸ πρόβατον ἅτε ἡμερώτατον ὑπάρχον καὶ καρπὸν ἐτήσιον ἀνατέλλον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν<sup>2</sup> ὁμοῦ καὶ κόσμον ἀνθρώπων· ἐσθῆς γὰρ τὰς ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους ἀνείργει βλάβας καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς φύσεως ἐπισκιάζουσα πρὸς εὐκοσμίας τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐστί.
- 247 σύμβολον οὖν ἔστω τῆς τοῦ ἀρίστου καθάρσεως, διανοίας, τὸ ζώων ἄριστον, τὸ πρόβατον, λόγου δὲ τὰ πτηνά· κοῦφόν τε γὰρ ὁ λόγος καὶ πτηνὸν φύσει, βέλους θάπτον φερόμενος καὶ πάντῃ διάττων. τὸ γὰρ ἅπαξ λεχθὲν ἀναδραμεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔξω δὲ φερόμενον, τάχει πολλῶ
- 248 ἐρχόμενον εὐθύς ἤχῃ. δίδυμος δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὁ μὲν ἀληθής, ὁ δὲ ψευδής· οὗ μοι δοκεῖ χάριν ζεύγει τρυγόνων ἢ περιστερῶν ἐξομοιωθῆναι.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπαίτιαι.

<sup>2</sup> Or ἀσφάλειαν as Mangey; cf. § 111, also ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐκοσμίαν *Quis Rerum* 125.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 243-248

But all that issues through the mouth he requires to make its defence and stand its trial on the principle that our speech is in our own power. But in these 244 trials words are judged more leniently, culpable actions more severely, for he appoints great penalties for the authors of great misdeeds, those who carry into actual execution what their ill-intended intentions have planned or their reckless tongues have uttered.

XLIII. For the purgation of these three, thought, 245 speech and action, he has named the sheep, the pair of doves or pigeons and the tenth of an ephah, the sacred measure, of fine flour, holding that thought should be purged with the sheep, speech with the birds, action with the fine flour. Why? Because just as 246 the mind is the best element in us, so the sheep takes the same place among the unreasoning animals considered as a whole, in virtue of its superior gentleness and the annual produce which it raises by itself, to benefit men and adorn them at the same time. For raiment averts mischief from frost and heat, and by veiling what nature would have hidden promotes decency in the wearers.

Let us take then 247 the best animal, the sheep, as representing in a figure the purging of our best part, the mind, and similarly the birds as representing speech. For speech is light and winged by nature, moving swifter than an arrow, and flashing its way in every direction. For the word once spoken cannot return, but when carried outside races at a high speed, strikes the ears, and passing right through the whole region of hearing straightway turns into sound.

Also 248 speech is twofold, partly true and partly false, and thence I think its comparison to a pair of doves or



- τῶν δὲ πτηνῶν τὸ μὲν περὶ ἁμαρτίας φησὶ δεῖν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ὀλοκαύτωμα θύειν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν μὲν ἀληθῆ λόγον ὅλον δι' ὅλου συμβέβηκεν εἶναι ἱερόν <τε καὶ> τέλειον, τὸν δὲ ψευδῇ διημαρτηθῆναι τε
- 249 καὶ ἐπανορθώσεως δεῖσθαι. πράξεως δέ, ὡς ἔφην, σύμβολον ἢ σεμίδαλις· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην συμβέβηκεν οὐκ ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ ἐπινοίας καθαίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ σιτοπόνων, ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ πρᾶγμα πεποιηκότων, διακρίνεται. διὸ καὶ φησι. “δραζάμενος ὁ ἱερεὺς πλήρη τὴν δράκα τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> ἀνοίσει,” διὰ τῆς δρακὸς τὸ
- 250 ἐγχείρημα καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐμφαίνων. ἄγαν δ’ ἐξητασμένως ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ κτήνους εἶπεν. “ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἰσχύῃ ἢ χεὶρ τὸ ἱκανὸν εἰς πρόβατον,” ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πτηνῶν. “ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὐρίσκη.” διὰ τί; ὅτι μεγάλης μὲν ἰσχύος καὶ ὑπερβαλλούσης δυνάμεώς ἐστι καταλῦσαι τὰς τῆς διανοίας τροπάς, οὐ μεγάλης
- 251 δὲ ρώμης τὰ λόγων ἐπισχεῖν ἁμαρτήματα. πάντων γὰρ ἀλεξίκακον τῶν διὰ φωνῆς ἁμαρτανομένων, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡσυχία, ἢ παντὶ τῷ ῥάδιον χρῆσθαι· πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ λάλον καὶ ἀμετροεπὲς οὐχ εὐρίσκουσι πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ λόγῳ.
- 252 XLIV. Ταύταις καὶ ταῖς παραπλησίαις τομαῖς καὶ διαστολαῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐντραφεῖς καὶ ἐνασκηθεῖς ὁ ἀστείος ἄρ’ οὐκ εἰκότως εὐχεσθαι ἂν δόξαι τὸν Ἰσμαῆλ ζῆν, εἰ μὴ δύναται κυοφορῆσαι
- 253 πῶ | τὸν Ἰσαάκ; τί οὖν ὁ χρηστὸς θεός; ἐν [617] αἰτησαμένῳ δύο δίδωσι καὶ τὸ ἔλαττον εὐξαμένῳ

<sup>1</sup> So LXX: MSS. αὐτῶν.

<sup>a</sup> κυοφορῆσαι rather strangely used for γεννᾶν. Has ἀρετή fallen out?

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 248-253

pigeons. Moses directs that one bird should serve as a sin offering, and that the other should be offered by fire in its entirety, because it is a condition of true speech that it is entirely holy and perfect while false speech is the product of sin and needs reformation.

The fine flour is, as I have said, the symbol 249 of action, for it is a condition of flour that it is not brought into a pure state without art and contrivance but is sifted by the hands of corn-grinders, who have made a practice of this process. It accords with this when he says: "The priest shall take a complete handful and offer its memorial"—by the handful bringing out the thought of handiwork and action. And he makes a very careful contrast in 250 speaking of the beasts and the birds. Of the first he says "If his hand be not strong enough for the sheep," and of the second "If his hand do not find." Why is this? Because it needs great strength and a very high degree of power to suppress the changing movements of the mind, but it needs no great might to restrain trespasses of speech. For against tres- 251 passes committed with the voice there is a remedy as I have said before in quietude, of which everyone can easily avail himself, though many through their loquacity and measureless chattering do not find any limit to put upon their words.

XLIV. These and similar ways of analysing and 252 distinguishing things become familiar to the man of virtue through breeding and practice, and does it not therefore seem natural that he should pray that Ishmael may live, if he cannot as yet be the parent<sup>a</sup> of Isaac? What then does God in His kindness do? 253 Abraham had asked for one thing, God gives him two.

χαρίζεται τὸ μείζον. “εἶπε” γάρ φησι “τῷ  
 Ἀβραάμ· ναί, ἰδοὺ Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου τέξεται σοι  
 υἱόν”. εὐθυβόλος γε ἡ συμβολικὴ ἀπόκρισις ἡ ναί.  
 τί γὰρ ἐμπρεπέστερον ἢ τὰγαθὰ ἐπινεύειν θεῷ<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 254 ταχέως ὁμολογεῖν; ἀλλ’ οἷς ἐπινεύει τὸ θεῖον,  
 ἅπας ἄφρων ἀνανένευκε. τὴν γοῦν Λείαν μισου-  
 μένην εἰσάγουσιν οἱ χρησμοί· διὸ καὶ τοιαύτης  
 ἔτυχε προσρήσεως· ἐρμηνευθεῖσα γάρ ἐστὶν ἀνα-  
 νευομένη καὶ κοπιῶσα διὰ τὸ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀρετὴν  
 ἀποστρέφεισθαι καὶ κοπῶδη νομίζειν ἐπιτάγματα  
 255 οὐχ ἡδέα πολλάκις ἐπιτάττουσαν. ἀλλὰ τοσαύτης  
 ἀποδοχῆς ἡξίωται παρὰ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος,<sup>2</sup> ὥστε  
 τὴν μήτραν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διοιχθεῖσαν σπορὰν θείας<sup>3</sup>  
 γονῆς παραδέξασθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπι-  
 τηδευμάτων καὶ πράξεων γένεσιν. μάθε  
 οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, ὅτι καὶ “Σάρρα,” ἡ ἀρετή, “τέξεται  
 σοι υἱόν,” οὐ μόνον Ἀγαρ, ἡ μέση παιδεία·  
 ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἔγγονον διδακτόν, ταύτης δὲ  
 256 πάντως αὐτομαθές ἐστι. μὴ θαυμάσης <δ’>, εἰ  
 πάντα φέρων σπουδαῖα ὁ θεὸς ἤνεγκε καὶ τοῦτο  
 τὸ γένος, σπάνιον μὲν ἐπὶ γῆς, πάμπολυ δ’ ἐν  
 οὐρανῷ. μάθοις δ’ ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐξ ὧν  
 συνέστηκεν ἄνθρωπος. ἄρα γε οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ διδαχ-  
 θέντες ὁρῶσι; τί δ’; οἱ μυκτῆρες ὀσφραίνονται  
 μαθήσει; ἅπτονται δ’ αἱ χεῖρες ἢ οἱ πόδες προΐασι  
 257 κατ’ ἐπιτάγματα ἢ παραινέσεις ὑψηλῶν; αἱ δ’  
 ὁρμαὶ καὶ φαντασίαι—πρῶται δ’ εἰσὶν αὗται κινή-  
 σεις καὶ σχέσεις<sup>4</sup> ψυχῆς—διδασκαλία συνέστησαν;

<sup>1</sup> MSS. θεοῦ ὅτ θεόν.<sup>3</sup> MSS. θείου.<sup>2</sup> MSS. τῶν ἡγεμόνων.<sup>4</sup> MSS. πελίσσεις.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 253-257

He had prayed for the less, God grants him the greater. He said to him, we read, "Yes, Sarah thy wife shall bear a son" (Gen. xvii. 19). How significant is that answer "Yes," fraught as it is with inner meaning. For what can be more befitting to God than to grant and promise His blessings in a moment and with a sign of assent? Yet those who receive a sign of assent from God are refused assent by every fool. Thus the oracles represent Leah as hated and for this reason she received such a name.<sup>a</sup> For by interpretation it means "rejected and weary," because we all turn away from virtue and think her wearisome, so little to our taste are the commands she often lays upon us. But from the Ruler of all she was awarded such acceptance that her womb which He opened received the seed of divine impregnation (Gen. xxix. 31), whence should come the birth of noble practices and deeds.

Learn then, soul of man, that Sarah also, that is virtue, shall bear thee a son, as well as Hagar, the lower instruction. For Hagar's offspring is the creature of teaching, but Sarah's learns from none other at all than itself. And wonder not that God, who brings about all good things, has brought into being this kind also, and though there be few such upon earth, in Heaven vast is their number. You may learn this truth from the other elements, out of which man is constituted. Have the eyes been taught to see, do the nostrils learn to smell, do the hands touch or the feet advance in obedience to the orders or exhortations of instructors? As for our impulses and mental pictures, which are the primal conditions of the soul, according as it is in motion or at rest, are they made what they are by

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Cher.* 41.

παρὰ δὲ σοφιστὴν φοιτήσας ὁ νοῦς ἡμῶν νοεῖν  
καὶ καταλαμβάνειν ἔμαθε; πάντα ταῦτ' ἀφειμένα<sup>1</sup>  
διδασκαλίας ἀπαυτοματιζούσῃ φύσει χρήται πρὸς  
258 τὰς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας. τί οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζεις, εἰ καὶ  
ἀρετὴν ἀπονον καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον ὁ θεὸς ὀμβρήσει  
μηδεμιᾶς δεομένην ἐπιστασίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
ὀλόκληρον καὶ παντελεῇ; εἰ (δὲ) καὶ μαρτυρίαν  
βούλει λαβεῖν, Μωυσέως ἀξιοπιστοτέραν εὐρήσεις;  
ὅς φησι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ γῆς εἶναι  
τὰς τροφάς, μόνῳ δὲ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τῷ ὁρατικῷ.  
259 ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ ἀνθρώποι γεωπόνοι συν-  
εργοῦσι, τὰς δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ νίφει χωρὶς συμ-  
πράξεως ἐτέρων ὁ μόνος αὐτουργὸς θεός. καὶ  
μὴν λέγεται. "ἴδου ὕψω ὑμῖν ἄρτους ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ."  
τίνα οὖν ἀπ' (οὐρανοῦ) τροφήν<sup>2</sup> ἐνδίκως ὕεσθαι  
260 λέγει, ὅτι μὴ τὴν οὐράνιον | σοφίαν; ἣν ἀνωθεν  
[618] ἐπιπέμπει ταῖς ἡμερον ἀρετῆς ἐχούσαις ψυχαῖς ὁ  
φρονήσεως εὐθηνίαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν χέων<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ ὅλα  
ἄρδων καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἱερᾷ ἐβδόμῃ, ἣν σάββατον  
καλεῖ. τότε γὰρ τὴν τῶν αὐτομάτων ἀγαθῶν φορὰν  
ἔσεσθαί φησιν, οὐκ<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ὅλης τέχνης ἀνατελλόντων,<sup>4</sup>  
ἀλλ' αὐτογενεῖ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖ φύσει βλαστανόντων  
καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους φερόντων καρπούς.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐφειμένα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀποτροφήν.

<sup>3</sup> So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἔχων.

<sup>4</sup> I should be inclined to correct to οὐδ' and perhaps to ἀνατελούντων, in which case the phrase, which Mangey and Wend. would emend by substituting respectively ὑλικῆς (?) and ἀνθρωπίνης for ὅλης, would not, I think, present any difficulty. Another possibility would be ἐκ πολλῆς.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 257-260

teaching? Does our mind attend the school of the professor of wisdom and there learn to think and to apprehend? All these exempt from teaching make use of self-worked independent nature for their respective activities. Why then need you still wonder 258 that God showers virtue without toil or trouble, needing no controlling hand but perfect and complete from the very first? And if you would have further testimony of this can you find any more trustworthy than Moses, who says that while other men receive their food from earth, the nation of vision alone has it from heaven? The earthly food is produced with 259 the co-operation of husbandmen, but the heavenly is sent like the snow by God the solely self-acting, with none to share his work. And indeed it says "Behold I rain upon you bread from heaven" (Ex. xvi. 4). Of what food can he rightly say that it is rained from heaven, save of heavenly wisdom which is sent from 260 above on souls which yearn for virtue by Him who sheds the gift of prudence in rich abundance, whose grace waters the universe, and chiefly so in the holy seventh (year) which he calls the Sabbath?<sup>a</sup> For then he says there will be a plentiful supply of good things spontaneous and self-grown, which even all the art in the world could never raise, but springing up and bearing their proper fruit through self-originated, self-consummated nature.

Sabbath. The reference is clearly to the Sabbatical year of Lev. xxv. 4, 5, definitely called "Sabbath," on which he has dwelt in *De Fug.* 170 ff. *ἡ ἐβδόμη* seems to be used for *ἐβδομάς* in *De Decal.* 159 and *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 40, as well as in § 144 above. Presumably *νό* noun but *ἡμέρα* can be understood, but by frequent use it has come to be a noun, which Philo can extend to cover any sacred period, day, month, or year.

- 261 XLV. Τέξεται οὖν σοι ἡ ἀρετὴ υἱὸν γενναῖον  
 ἄρρενα, παντὸς ἀπηλλαγμένον θήλεος πάθους, καὶ  
 καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πάθος, ὅπερ ἂν ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ πάθῃ, πείσῃ δὲ πάντως χαράν· ὥστε καὶ τὸ  
 262 σύμβολον αὐτῆς ὄνομα θήσεις, γέλωτα. καθάπερ  
 λύπη καὶ φόβος ἰδίας ἀναφθέγγεις ἔχουσιν, ἃς ἂν τὸ  
 βιασάμενον καὶ κρατῆσαν ὀνομα(το)ποιήσῃ πάθος,  
 οὕτως εὐβουλία καὶ εὐφροσύνη φυσικαῖς ἐκφω-  
 νήσεσιν ἀναγκάζουσι χρῆσθαι, ὧν οὐκ ἂν εὖροι τις  
 κυριωτέρας καὶ εὐθυβολωτέρας κλήσεις, κἂν τυγ-  
 263 χάνῃ περὶ τὰς κλήσεις σοφός. διὸ φησιν· “εὐλό-  
 γηκα αὐτόν, αὐξήσω αὐτόν, πληθυνῶ, δώδεκα ἔθνη  
 γεννήσει,” τὸν κύκλον καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἅπαντα τῶν  
 σοφιστικῶν προπαιδευμάτων. “τὴν δὲ διαθήκην  
 μου στήσω πρὸς Ἰσαάκ,” ἢ ἐκατέρας ἀρετῆς τὸ  
 ἀνθρώπων μεταποιῆται γένος, διδακτῆς τε καὶ  
 αὐτομαθοῦς, τὸ μὲν ἀσθενέστερον διδασκομένης,  
 ἐτοιμῆς δὲ τὸ ἐρρωμένον.
- 264 XLVI. “Εἰς δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον τέξεται  
 σοι,” φησὶν, ἡ σοφία χαράν. ποῖον, ὃ θαυμασιώ-  
 τατε, δεικνύεις καιρὸν; ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ γενέσεως  
 ἄδεικτον μόνον; ὁ γὰρ ἀληθὴς αὐτὸς (ἂν) εἴῃ  
 καιρὸς, ἀνατολὴ τῶν ὅλων, ἡ εὐπραξία καὶ εὐ-  
 καιρία γῆς, οὐρανοῦ, τῶν μεταξὺ φύσεων, ζώων  
 265 ὁμοῦ καὶ φυτῶν ἀπάντων. ὅθεν καὶ Μωυσῆς  
 ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀποδεδρακόσι καὶ μὴ θέλουσι  
 τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἄρασθαι πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντι-  
 τεταγμένους· “ἀφέστηκεν ὁ καιρὸς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, ὁ  
 δὲ κύριος ἐν ἡμῖν.” μόνον γὰρ οὐκ ἄντικρυς ὁμο-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Post.* 122, where however the *καιρός* is the false god who deserts his votaries.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 261-265

XLV. Virtue then shall bear thee a true-born, 261  
male child, one free from all womanish feelings, and  
thou shalt call his name by the feeling which he raises  
in thee, which feeling is most surely joy. And there-  
fore thou shalt give him a name significant of joy,  
even laughter. Just as fear and grief have their own 262  
special ejaculations, which the overpowering force of  
emotion coins, so moods of happy planning or of  
gladness compel us to break out into natural utter-  
ances, as aptly and exactly expressing our meaning  
as any which an adept in the study of names could  
devise. Therefore he says: "I have blessed him, I 263  
will increase and multiply him: he shall beget twelve  
nations (that is, the whole round and train of the  
early branches of the professional schools), but my  
covenant will I establish with Isaac" (Gen. xvii. 20 f.).  
Thus both forms of virtue, one where the teacher is  
another, one where teacher and learner are the  
same, will be open to human kind. And where man  
is weak he will claim the former, where he is strong  
the latter which comes ready to his hands.

XLVI. "But at this season," he continues, "she shall 264  
bear to thee," that is, wisdom shall bear joy. What is  
the season you set before us, Master? Wonder of  
wonders! Is it not the season which is as no other,  
which no created being can set forth? For the true  
season, the dayspring of the universe, when all is  
well and seasonable with earth and heaven, and the  
intermediate natures, both living creatures and plants,  
can be no other than Himself. And therefore Moses 265  
feared not to say to the fugitives from danger who  
shrank from waging the war for virtue against their  
antagonists, "The season hath departed from them,  
but the Lord is among you" (Num. xiv. 9).<sup>a</sup> Here he



λογεῖ τὸν θεὸν καιρόν, ὃς παντὸς μὲν ἀσεβοῦς  
μακρὰν ἀφέστηκεν, ἀρετώσαις δ' ἐμπεριπατεῖ  
266 ψυχαῖς. “ περιπατήσω ” γὰρ φησιν “ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ  
ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός.” οἱ δὲ τὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους  
καιροὺς εἶναι λέγοντες οὐ κυρίως καταχρῶνται τοῖς  
[619] ὀνόμασιν, ἅτε μὴ πάντῃ | τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγ-  
μάτων ἡκριβωκότες, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ εἰκῇ μετ-  
έχοντες.

267 XLVII. Ἐπιτείνων δὲ τὸ κάλλος τοῦ γεννω-  
μένου φησὶν αὐτὸ “ ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἑτέρῳ ”  
γεννηθήσεσθαι, ἐνιαυτὸν ἕτερον οὐ <τὸ> τοῦ  
χρόνου μηνῶν διάστημα, ὃ ταῖς σεληνιακαῖς ἢ  
ἡλιακαῖς ἀναμετρεῖται περιόδοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔκτοπον  
καὶ ξένον καὶ καινὸν ὄντως, ἕτερον τῶν ὀρωμένων  
καὶ αἰσθητῶν, ἐν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ νοητοῖς ἐξεταζό-  
μενον, ὅπερ τὸ χρόνου παράδειγμα καὶ ἀρχέτυπον  
εἴληχεν, αἰῶνα. αἰὼν δὲ ἀναγράφεται τοῦ νοητοῦ  
268 βίος κόσμου, ὡς αἰσθητοῦ χρόνος. ἐν ᾧ ἐνιαυτῷ  
καὶ “ τὴν ἑκατοστεύουσαν εὕρισκει κριθὴν ” ὃ τὰς  
θεοῦ χάριτας ἐπὶ γενέσει πλειόνων σπείρας ἀγαθῶν,  
ἢ ὡς πλείστοι τῶν ἐπαξίων τυχεῖν μεταλάβωσιν.  
269 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῷ σπείραντι καὶ θερίζειν ἔθος· ὃ δ'  
ἔσπειρε μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενος τὴν ἐχθρὰν φθόνου καὶ  
κακίας ἀρετὴν, εὐρεῖν δέ, ἀλλ' οὐ θερίσαι λέγεται·  
ὃ γὰρ στάχυν ἀδρότερον τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ  
πλήρη πεποιηκὼς ἕτερος ἦν, ὃς<sup>1</sup> εὐτρεπισάμενος  
καὶ ἐτοιμασάμενος ἐλπίδας μείζους καὶ πλείους  
δωρεὰς προὔθηκε τοῖς ζητοῦσιν εἰς εὐρεσιν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὁ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 265-269

acknowledges with hardly any disguise that God is the Season which departs far away from all the impious, but walks in rich and fertile souls. "For I will 266 walk among you," he says, "and will be your God" (Lev. xxvi. 12). But they who say that season means the changes of the year strain the terms from their proper meaning, for they have not carefully studied the real natures of things but are deeply tainted with looseness of thought.

XLVII. He goes on to say—thereby heightening 267 the glory of the child to be—that he will be born "in the other year" (Gen. xvii. 21). And by other year he does not mean an interval of time which is measured by the revolutions of sun and moon, but something truly mysterious, strange and new, other than the realm of sight and sense, having its place in the realm of the incorporeal and intelligible, and to it belongs the model and archetype of time, eternity or aeon.<sup>a</sup> The word aeon signifies the life of the world of thought, as time is the life of the perceptible. In 268 this same year, too, is "the hundredfold crop of barley found" (Gen. xxvi. 12) by him who sows the gifts of God to produce an increase of blessings, and thereby increases to the uttermost the number of those who shall deservedly partake of it. But note that the sower generally reaps. Yet he, though he 269 sowed, and thereby displayed the virtue which hates envy and vice, is not said to reap but to find. For He who ripened the ear of His benefits and filled it with corn was Another, even He who prepares and matures higher hopes and more abundant bounties and puts them forth to be found by those who seek.

<sup>a</sup> From *Timaeus* 37 D, as also in *Quis Rerum* 165, *Quod Deus* 32, where see note.

270 XLVIII. Τὸ δὲ “ συνετέλεσε λαλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἐτελείωσε κενὸν ὄντα σοφίας πρότερον καὶ ἀθανάτων λόγων ἐπλήρωσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλειος ὁ μαθητῆς ἐγένετο, “ ἀνέβη ” <φησὶ> “ κύριος ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ ” δηλῶν, οὐχ ὅτι διεζεύχθη—φύσει γὰρ θεοῦ ὁπαδὸς ὁ σοφός,—ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκούσιον τοῦ μαθητοῦ βουλόμενος παραστήσαι, ἵν', ὅπερ<sup>2</sup> ἔμαθε, μηκέτι ἐφ' εστῶτος τοῦ διδάσκοντος χωρὶς ἀνάγκης αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἐθελουργῶ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστω προθυμία χρώμενος, ἐνεργῇ δι' ἑαυτοῦ. δίδωσι γὰρ ὁ διδάσκαλος τῷ μαθόντι τόπον πρὸς τὴν ἄνευ ὑποβολῆς ἐκούσιον μελέτην, ἀλήστου μνήμης ἐγχαράττων βεβαιότατον εἶδος.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps αὐτοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὥπερ.

## ON THE CHANGE OF NAMES, 270

XLVIII. The words "he completed talking to 270 him" (Gen. xvii. 22) are equivalent to "He perfected the hearer himself," who before was devoid of wisdom, and filled him with thoughts that cannot die. And when the learner had become perfect, "the Lord went up from Abraham," says Moses (*ibid.*). He does not mean that Abraham was parted from Him, for by his very nature the sage is God's attendant, but he wished to shew the independence of the learner. His purpose is that when the superintendence of the master is withdrawn, and no compulsion is applied, the pupil may make an exhibition of his own powers, and shewing a diligence which is voluntary and self-imposed may work out by his own efforts what he has learnt. For it is the way of a teacher to give his pupil opportunity of independent practice without suggestions from himself, and thus set upon him the stamp of indelible memory in its surest form.



ON DREAMS, THAT THEY ARE  
GOD-SENT  
(QUOD A DEO MITTANTUR SOMNIA  
OR MORE BRIEFLY  
DE SOMNIIS)



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK I

THIS treatise, as we learn from its opening section is really the second of those which deal with dreams. The first, which is lost, treated of dreams in which the dreamer's own thoughts had no part. This second treatise is concerned with dreams in which the mind is inspired and can thus foresee the future. The two examples of this kind are taken from the history of Jacob. The first is the familiar story of the heavenly ladder at Bethel, and this with introductions and digression occupies §§ 2-188. The second is the dream of Genesis xxxi. in which he sees the different markings of his flock and is bidden to return to his native land. This takes up the rest of the treatise. The first of these dreams is quoted in § 3, the second in § 189.

Philo, after noting the difference of subject between this treatise and the preceding and quoting the substance of the vision (1-3), finds it necessary to discuss the verses which lead up to it. "And Jacob went out from the well of the oath and journeyed to Haran, and he met with a place. For the sun was set, and he took one of the stones of the place and set it at his head and slept in that place" (4-5). The first question is, What is the well? A well is knowledge, which like the well water is hidden and can only be gained by toil (6-8). But from this particular well Isaac did



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not find water, and this means that full knowledge is beyond us. The more we learn the more we find remains to be learnt (8-11).

But why the "well of the oath"? Because this impossibility of obtaining full knowledge is a truth which everyone can safely affirm without fear of perjury (12-13). But we observe that while Isaac digs four wells it is only the fourth which receives this name (14). So too in the universe and in the man we find three things which can be known in a sense and a fourth which cannot. The world has four constituents—earth, air, water, heaven. We can give some account of the first three, but on the fourth all sorts of theories are held. And here he takes the occasion to mention various views as to the nature of the sun, moon, and stars, nearly all of which can be illustrated from earlier writers (15-24). So, too, with man. Here the four are body, senses, speech and mind, and our partial knowledge of the first three, compared with our complete ignorance of the fourth, is treated in the same way (25-32). The thought may be illustrated from the phrase in Leviticus that "the fourth year is holy and for praise," for heaven with its music of the spheres and the human mind alike have been created to praise their maker (33-38). This meditation concludes with a censure of those who suppose that the story of the four wells can be taken in its literal sense (39-40).

Haran, as explained already elsewhere,<sup>a</sup> signifies the land of the senses, and it is only right and natural that the soul should sometimes leave the well of boundless knowledge, the world of mind, and take Haran for its refuge, but not for its lasting home (41-45). That is

<sup>a</sup> *De Mig.* 176 ff.

## ON DREAMS, I.

only for the Laban soul, which is contrasted with Jacob as Terah is with Abraham. For while Abraham came out of Haran, Terah died there (45-48). This leads Philo to further thoughts on the subject of Terah. His name means "observer of scent," and the second part of the name suggests the thought of those who like the hound scent the distant virtue but do not win it, a condition inferior to the best, yet not without value (48-51). The other part of the name, "observer," reminds us that Terah dwelt in Chaldea before he came to Haran, *i.e.* that his observation concerned itself with the vanities of astrology, whereas his migration to Haran shews the conversion of the soul to the Socratic principle of "Know Thyself" (52-58). But Terah goes no further, and it is only Abraham who leaves Haran for the highest quest of all (59-60).

And now what is the place which he "lights upon" or "meets"? "Place" apart from the ordinary sense may indicate either the Logos which God fills and in which He stands, or God Himself (61-64). After a short discussion of the text in the story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, "he came to the place . . . and saw the place from afar," in which he finds an inconsistency requiring explanation (64-67), he lays down with confidence that in the Jacob story the place is the Logos (68-71).

"The sun was set." Here the sun is God Himself, whose setting in the mind leaves room for the inferior influence of "words" <sup>a</sup> to take the lead, and some illustration of the symbolism in which the sun or at least light stands for God is given (72-76). But we must note, however, in passing that elsewhere the

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 72.

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sun is a figure for other things. Sometimes it stands for the mind (77-78), even for such inferior light as that of the senses, and he reminds us that the sunlight hides the glory of the stars as sense hides the light of true knowledge (79-84). Again it stands sometimes for the Logos (85-86). Yet on the whole the thought of the sun representing God holds the field, and two illustrations of this follow. In the first of these the phrase "expose" (or "hang") the malefactor "before the sun" is understood to mean that the confession of sin to the all-seeing God is the necessary preliminary to repentance and forgiveness (87-91). The second leads to one of those curious diatribes in which Philo tries to shew that a simple and indeed humane ordinance of the law cannot be accepted literally.<sup>a</sup> The text is that in which the creditor, who has taken the debtor's cloak as security, is bidden to return it at sunset (92). Various objections to a literal interpretation are raised. Is it worthy of God to legislate on such a trivial matter? (93-94). Why should not the creditor keep the cloak, and what is it a security for? (95-98). Why should it not be restored in the daytime also (99), and even the wording of the ordinance is declared to be absurd if taken literally (99-101). We are therefore driven to the allegorical interpretation that the garment stands for speech or reason, and that those who deprive themselves or others of reason must restore it before the divine sun sets in their hearts (102-114). So then, applying this interpretation to the story, we see the Practiser sometimes illumined by the sun-like rays of God Himself, sometimes left to the less brilliant light of the Logos and finding in that a sufficient blessing

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Agr.* 148 ff.

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(115-117). Before closing this part of the discussion Philo notes that some, while agreeing that the place is the Logos, take the sun to mean mind and sense together, and construe the setting of these as meaning the humble acknowledgement of the inability of human faculties to attain real truth (118-119).

“ He took of the stones of the place and slept.” Before we consider the allegorical meaning of this we may note how the story in its literal sense inculcates the duty of simple living, and Philo takes the occasion to deliver one of his frequent commonplaces against luxury (120-126). Allegorically, however, the stones of the place are Logoi, here definitely regarded as spiritual beings, and one stone, apparently the divine Logos itself, serves him for the pillow of his mind, the head of his soul (127-128). From this thought he passes for a moment to compare the story of the same Logos as the instructor and rewarder of Jacob in the wrestling story of Genesis xxxii., and the lesson to be learnt from the incident of his numbed or shrinking thigh. This concludes the commentary on the incidents which lead up to the dream of the ladder (129-132).

We now pass on to the interpretation of the vision itself. The ladder from one point of view symbolizes the air, the habitation of unbodied souls, some of whom descend into human bodies and become engrossed in earthly things, while others rise above all such. And again, there are higher spiritual beings, the angels, who act as intermediaries between God and man (133-145). But in another sense, the ladder is the soul on which the divine words move up and down—up to draw it upwards, down to help it in its abasement (146-149). Or again, the ladder may show

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the life of the Practiser, with its perpetual advancing and back-sliding (150-152), or, once more, the oscillations of fortune as we see them in ordinary life (153-156).

“The Lord ‘stood firmly,’ or was established, on the ladder.” These words naturally suggest to Philo his favourite “thought” of the divine “standing” which alone establishes all things (157-159), and he goes on to consider the phrase : “I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of Isaac.” Why “the Lord God” in one case and “God” in the other? Philo, as usual, assuming that Lord represents the sovereign and God the creative and beneficent potency, argues that the Abraham-nature which learns through teaching needs both these, while the Isaac-nature of the self-taught needs only the latter (160-163); and this thought gives him an occasion to extol such allegorical interpretations and to call upon devout souls to seek for them (164-165). Another point in the phrase is that Abraham is called Jacob’s father, while Isaac is not. Again the same principle of the three types, teaching, nature, practice, will help us. While Jacob is still Jacob the supplanter and embodies practice, he is more akin to Abraham. When he becomes Israel who sees God, he will have Isaac for his father (166-172). Other phrases in the divine speech are commented on shortly with devout reflections, of which the most characteristically Philonic are those on the words, “In thee shall all tribes of the earth be blessed,” and “I will turn thee back to this land.” From the first he draws the lesson that the “tribes” in the individual, the senses, are blessed by the virtuous mind within, while the tribes in the wider sense are inevitably influenced for

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good by the lover of wisdom. On the second he points out that it may refer to the immortality of the soul, which, released from the body, returns to the heaven from which it came.

He now turns to Jacob's waking words and feelings. A difficult and fantastic explanation is given, of which the main points are (1) that his fear is caused by realizing that God is not in any place, (2) that in the words, "This is none other than the House of God," "this" is the visible world of sense which is also the gate of heaven, because it is only through our experience of it that we get our knowledge of the world of mind (182-188).

If Philo's treatment of the ladder dream may seem in parts a feeble perversion of one of the most familiar and beautiful stories in Genesis, his treatment of the dream which follows brings out his gift for extracting striking ideas from the most unpromising material. After quoting the passage Gen. xxxi. 11-13 in full (189), he begins by pointing out that a vision may be granted to men by the ministers of God, as well as by God Himself (190), and that God speaks in different terms, according as He speaks as a sovereign or a teacher or a friend. That Jacob is a friend appears from His addressing him by name, as Moses and Abraham are addressed (191-196). Passing on to the substance of the dream, the rams and he-goats who mount the sheep and goats are two *logoi*, here no longer spiritual beings but thoughts or ways of thinking which impregnate tender souls inspiring either repentance or a desire for positive well-doing (197-200). These *logoi* are described as pure white, speckled or varied, ashy-spotted or sprinkled. At the first of these he glances at present only for a

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moment, and passes on to a consideration of "variegation" as it is shewn in the pageant of the universe and in the world of learning, where the student gathers from each branch of knowledge its various parts and weaves them into a gaily coloured piece of work such as Bezaleel the "variegator" made (201-207). As for the ashy-spotted, while recognizing that literally this means marked with ash-coloured spots, he turns it for the purpose of his allegory into sprinkled with ashes and water, the ritual of purification, thus signifying the abasement of the humble soul (208-210). He notes how all three are symbolized in the high priest, who must first purify himself with ashes and water, who wears both the varied breastplate and the white linen robe, which represents a higher type of detachment from human aims and deceptions (213-218). In contrast with this is the Joseph soul, with its coat of varied colours, which of the three types has only variegation, and even that in a lower sense (219-224). Let us avoid variegation of this kind, and thus frustrate Laban whose wiles are shewn in the next verse of the text, "I have seen all that Laban does to thee," and that he will be frustrated is shewn by the continuation, "I am the God Who appeared to thee in God's place" (224-227). These last words carry Philo away on to the distinction between "the God" and "God" or "a God," the conclusion of which seems to be that, just as in condescension to human weakness God allows Himself to be spoken of in anthropomorphic terms, so He reveals Himself in the form of angels or "gods" (232-236).<sup>a</sup>

The next words are: "Where thou anointedst Me a pillar." Philo for the moment ignores "anointedst,"

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 230.

## ON DREAMS, I.

and fastens on the word "pillar," taking it in the sense of a monumental slab. Such a slab is erected or made to stand, is inscribed and is dedicated ; and he enlarges on these three ideas, particularly on dedication. The dedication must be to God, and those who dedicate a pillar to themselves are blasphemously affirming the stability of human things, and will, like Lot's wife, become themselves lifeless "pillars" of salt (244-248). He now deals with the word "anointedst": since ἀλείφειν means also train for the arena, and the ἀλείπτῃς is a trainer, he easily gets the thought that to anoint the pillar is spiritually to train in the soul the doctrine which the pillar represents, namely the stability of God. Such a training will also dedicate the soul (249-251), and so also the words "Thou didst vow a vow" is a dedication of the maker of the vow (252-254). The treatise concludes with an exhortation to the soul to learn all these lessons from the Practiser's story, and thus, as is promised in the last words of the text, return to the land of its nativity (255-end).



## ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΕΜΠΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΥΣ

### Α

[620] I. | Ἡ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης γραφὴ περιεῖχε τῶν θεο-  
<sup>1</sup> πέμπτων ὀνείρων τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδος ταπτο-  
 μένους, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ θεῖον ἐλέγομεν κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν  
 ἐπιβολὴν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἐπιπέμπειν φαντασίας.  
 ἐν ταύτῃ δ', ὡς ἂν οἷόν τε ἦ, δηλώσομεν τοὺς  
<sup>2</sup> ἐφαρμοττοντας τῷ δευτέρῳ. δεύτερον δ' εἶδος, ἐν  
 ᾧ ὁ ἡμέτερος νοῦς τῷ τῶν ὄλων συγκινούμενος  
 ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ κατέχεσθαι τε καὶ θεοφορεῖσθαι δοκεῖ,  
 ὡς ἱκανὸς εἶναι προλαμβάνειν καὶ προγινώσκειν τι  
 τῶν μελλόντων. ὅναρ δ' ἐστὶ πρῶτον  
 οἰκείον εἶδει τῷ σημαινομένῳ τὸ φανέν ἐπὶ τῆς  
<sup>3</sup> οὐρανοῦ κλίμακος τόδε· “καὶ ἐνυπνιάσθη· καὶ ἰδὼν  
 κλίμαξ ἐστηριγμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἥς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφ-  
 ικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ  
 ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ κύριος  
 ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ εἰμι<sup>1</sup> ὁ θεὸς  
 Ἀβραάμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ· μὴ  
 φοβοῦ· ἡ γῇ, ἐφ' ἥς σὺ καθεύδεις, σοὶ δώσω αὐτήν  
 καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, καὶ ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου  
 ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς γῆς, καὶ πλατυνθήσεται<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> So MSS., and also LXX. But perhaps ἐγὼ κύριος as in §§ 159, 166, and 173. See the argument based on this in § 160.

# ON DREAMS

## BOOK I

I. The treatise before this one embraced that first 1  
class of heaven-sent dreams, in which, as we said, the  
Deity of His own motion sends to us the visions which  
are presented to us in sleep. In the present treatise  
we shall, to the best of our ability, bring before our  
readers dreams which find their right place under our  
second head. The second kind of dreams is that in 2  
which our own mind, moving out of itself together  
with the Mind of the Universe, seems to be possessed  
and God-inspired, and so capable of receiving some  
foretaste and foreknowledge of things to come.<sup>a</sup>

The first dream belonging to the class  
thus indicated is that which appeared to the dreamer  
on the stairway of Heaven: "And he dreamed, and 3  
behold a stairway set up on the earth, of which the  
top reached to heaven, and the angels of God were  
ascending and descending upon it. And the Lord  
stood firmly on it; and He said, 'I am the God  
of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac;  
fear not; the land whereon thou sleepest, to thee  
will I give it, and to thy seed; and thy seed shall  
be as the sand of the earth, and shall spread abroad

<sup>a</sup> For this classification of dreams see App. pp. 593 f.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *πληθυνθησέ(ου)ται*. But *πλατ.* as LXX in § 175.

θάλασσαν καὶ λίβα καὶ βορρᾶν καὶ ἀνατολάς· καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ <ἐν> τῷ σπέρματί σου· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μετὰ σοῦ, διαφυλάσσω σε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πάσῃ, ἣ ἂν πορευθῇς· καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ὅτι οὐ μὴ σε ἐγκαταλίπω, ἕως τοῦ ποιῆσαί με

[621] πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησά σοι.” | προκατα-  
 4 σκευὴ δ’ ἐστὶ τῆς φαντασίας ἀναγκαία, ἣν ἀκριβώ-  
 σαντες εὐμαρῶς ἴσως δυνησόμεθα καὶ τὰ δηλού-  
 μενα ὑπὸ τῆς φαντασίας καταλαβεῖν. τίς οὖν  
 ἢ προκατασκευή; “ καὶ ἐξῆλθε ” φησὶν “ Ἰακώβ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς  
 Χαρράν, καὶ ἀπήντησε τόπῳ· ἔδν γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος·  
 καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἔθηκε  
 πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ  
 ἐκείνῳ ”· κάπειτ’ εὐθύς ἐστι τὸ ὄναρ.

5 οὐκοῦν ἄξιον ἐν ἀρχῇ ταυτὶ τρία διαπορῆσαι· ἐν  
 μὲν τί τὸ τοῦ ὄρκου φρέαρ καὶ διὰ τί οὕτως ὠνο-  
 μάσθη, δεύτερον δὲ τίς ἢ Χαρράν καὶ διὰ τί ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ λεχθέντος φρέατος ἐξελθὼν εἰς Χαρράν ἔρχεται  
 εὐθύς, τρίτον τίς ὁ τόπος καὶ διὰ τί, ὅταν γένηται  
 κατ’ αὐτόν, ὁ μὲν ἥλιος δύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ κοιμάται.

6· II. Σκοπῶμεν οὖν αὐτίκα τὸ πρῶτον. ἐμοὶ  
 τοίνυν δοκεῖ σύμβολον εἶναι τὸ φρέαρ ἐπιστήμης·  
 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπιπόλαιος αὐτῆς ἢ φύσις, ἀλλὰ πάνυ  
 βαθεῖα· οὐδ’ ἐν φανερώ πρόκειται, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀφανεί  
 που κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ· οὐδὲ ῥαδίως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ  
 πολλῶν πόνων καὶ μόλις ἀνευρίσκεται. καὶ ταυτ’

<sup>a</sup> Or “the next thing is that he comes to Haran.” Of course in the narrative Jacob does not come at once to Haran, nor is the scene of the vision in Haran. But, since both Well and Haran are to Philo conditions of soul, the

## ON DREAMS, I. 3-6

to the west and the south and the north and the east ; and in thee shall be blessed all the tribes of the earth, and in thy seed. And, behold, I am with thee, guarding thee in every way by which thou goest, and will bring thee back into this land, for I will by no means forsake thee, until I have done all things whatsoever I have spoken unto thee ' ' (Gen. xxviii. 12-15).

The vision is introduced 4 by a prefatory passage necessary for its understanding, and if we study this in detail we shall perhaps be able easily to grasp the meaning of the vision. What then is this prefatory passage ? It runs thus : " And Jacob went out from the Well of the Oath, and made his journey to Haran ; and he met with a place ; for the sun set ; and he took one from the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and he slept in that place " (*ibid.* 10 f.) ; and then at once follows the dream.

It is worth while, then, at the 5 outset to investigate these three points, firstly, what " the Well of the Oath " is and why it was so called ; secondly, what " Haran " is, and why it is that on coming out from the Well aforesaid he comes at once <sup>a</sup> to Haran ; thirdly, what " the place " is, and why, when he reaches it, the sun sets, and he himself goes to sleep.

II. Let us consider the first to begin with. To me, 6 then, the Well seems to be a symbol of knowledge ; for the nature of knowledge is to be very deep, not superficial ; it does not display itself openly, but loves to hide itself in secrecy ; it is discovered not easily but with difficulty and with much labour. And all statement that he journeys from one to the other with no mention of any intervening place (for the τόπος of the vision is no place in the ordinary sense) implies that the second soul state is the immediate successor to the first.

οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλα καὶ ἀμύθητα ὅσα θεωρή-  
 7 ματα ἔχουσῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων  
 θεωρεῖται. ἦν γοῦν ἄν ἐθέλῃς ἐλοῦ τῶν τεχνῶν,  
 μή μοι τὴν ἀρίστην, ἀλλὰ τὴν πασῶν ἀφανεστάτην,  
 ἦν ἐλεύθερος μὲν ἴσως οὐδεὶς ἐν πόλει τραφεῖς  
 ἐκὼν ἐπιτηδεύσειεν ἄν, ἐν ἀγρῷ δὲ μόλις ἄκων  
 οἰκέτης δυσκόλῳ καὶ δυστρόπῳ παλαίων δεσπότῃ  
 8 βιαζομένῳ πολλὰ δρᾶν τῶν ἀβουλήτων. εὐρεθή-  
 σεται γὰρ οὐχ ἀπλοῦν, ἀλλὰ ποικίλον τὸ πρᾶγμα,  
 οὐ θατέρᾳ ληπτόν,<sup>1</sup> δυσεύρετον, δυσπεριγένητον,  
 ἐχθρὸν μὲν ὅκνῳ καὶ ἀμελείᾳ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ, σπουδῆς  
 δὲ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἰδρώτων τε καὶ φροντίδων μεστόν.

οὗ χάριν οὐδ' ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ φρέατι  
 τούτῳ φασὶν οἱ ὀρύττοντες εὐρεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τέλη  
 τῶν ἐπιστημῶν οὐ δυσεύρετα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 9 ἀνεύρετα παντελῶς εἶναι συμβέβηκε. γραμματι-  
 κώτερος δὲ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γεωμετρικώτερος ἕτερος  
 ἐτέρου γίνεται τῷ τὰς ἐπιτάσεις καὶ παραυξήσεις  
 ἀμήχανον εἶναι ὅροις περιγραφῆναι· πλείω γὰρ αἰὲ  
 τῶν εἰς μάθησιν ἡκόντων τὰ ἀπολειπόμενα ἐκδέ-  
 χεται καὶ ἐφεδρεύει, ὥς καὶ τὸν ἄπτεσθαι περάτων  
 ἐπιστήμης ὑπολαμβανόμενον ἡμιτελῆ παρ' ἐτέρῳ  
 κριτῇ νομίζεσθαι, παρὰ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ δικαζούσῃ καὶ  
 10 ἄρτι ἄρχεσθαι δοκεῖν. “βραχὺς μὲν γὰρ ὁ βίος,”  
 ἔφη τις, “ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρά,” ἥς ἀριστα κατα-

<sup>1</sup> mss. θήρᾳ (some θηρατοῦ) ληπτόν (some μεμπτόν). The correction to θατέρᾳ is mine. See note to *De Mig.* 220, where grounds are given for retaining against Wend. the τῇ ἐτέρᾳ of the mss., and for reading οὐ θατέρᾳ in *De Sac.* 37, in accordance with the Papyrus. This proverbial phrase quoted in Plato, *Soph.* 226 a seems for some reason to have eluded both scribes and editors.

## ON DREAMS, I. 6-10

this may be seen not only in branches of knowledge which contain a whole multitude of important problems, but in the simplest<sup>a</sup> studies as well. Just 7 choose any art you please, not the best of them I beg of you, but the most ignoble of them all, which perhaps no free man whatever brought up in a city would voluntarily practise, and even in the country a servant who has to grapple with a harsh and ill-conditioned master, who forces him to many a distasteful task, would only undertake reluctantly. For it will be found to be not a simple but a subtle 8 matter, one "which needs both hands to take it," hard to discover and hard to master, a foe to hesitation and negligence and indifference, demanding abundance of zest and enthusiasm, of hard toil and anxious thought. This is why the diggers of this well say that they found no water in it (Gen. xxvi. 32), inasmuch as the ends pursued in the different branches of knowledge prove to be not only hard to reach, but absolutely beyond finding. That is why 9 one man is a better scholar or geometrician than another, because no limit can be set to the extensions and enlargements of his subject in all directions. For what still remains is always waiting to engage us in fuller force than what we have already learned; so that the man who is supposed to have reached the very end of knowledge, is considered in the judgement of another to have come half way; while if Truth give her verdict, he is pronounced to be just beginning. For "life is short," said one, "and art 10 is long"<sup>b</sup>; and he best apprehends its greatness

<sup>a</sup> Or "meanest" = ἀφανεστάτην below.

<sup>b</sup> The well-known opening aphorism of Hippocrates, though there ἡ τέχνη is the art (of medicine).

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[622] λαμβάνει τὸ μέγεθος ὁ ἀψευδῶς ἐμβαθύνων αὐτῇ  
καὶ ὥσπερ φρέαρ | αὐτὴν ὀρύττων. διὸ

καὶ τελευτώντά τινα πολὺν ἤδη καὶ ὑπέργηρων  
λόγος ἔχει δακρύειν, οὐ δι' ἀνανδρίαν φόβῳ θανάτου,  
ἀλλὰ διὰ παιδείας ἡμερον ὡς νῦν πρῶτον εἰς αὐτὴν  
11 εἰσιόντα, ὅτε πανύστατ' ἔξεισιν. ἀνθεὶ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ  
πρὸς ἐπιστήμην, ὁπότε αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἀκμαὶ  
χρόνου μήκει μαραίνονται. πρὶν οὖν ἡβῆσαι καὶ  
ἐννεάσαι τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκριβεστέρα κατα-  
λήψει, χαλεπὸν ὑποσκελισθῆναι. τὸ δὲ πάθος  
τοῦτο κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἐστὶ τῶν φιλομαθῶν, οἷς  
νέα ἐπὶ παλαιοῖς ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀναλάμπει θεωρή-  
ματα, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὁπότε μὴ στείρα  
καὶ ἄγονος εἶη, τικτούσης, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς φύσεως  
ἀτεκμάρτως ἐκ ταυτομάτου προφαινούσης τοῖς  
διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκούσι.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιστήμης φρέαρ ὅρον καὶ τελευτὴν  
12 οὐκ ἔχον τοιοῦτον<sup>1</sup> ἀπεδείχθη. διὰ τί δὲ ὅρκος<sup>2</sup>  
ὠνομάσθη, λεκτέον· τὰ ἐνδοιαζόμενα τῶν πραγ-  
μάτων ὅρκῳ διακρίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀβέβαια βεβαιοῦται  
καὶ τὰ ἄπιστα λαμβάνει πίστιν· ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνο συν-  
άγεται, ὅτι περὶ οὐδενὸς ἂν τις οὕτως βεβαιώσαιτο,  
ὡς περὶ τοῦ τὸ σοφίας γένος ἀπερίγραφον καὶ  
13 ἀτελεύτητον εἶναι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνωμότῳ  
διεξιόντι περὶ τούτων συνεπιγράφεσθαι· ὁ δὲ μὴ  
λίαν εἰς συναίνεσιν<sup>3</sup> εὐχερῆς ἐνωμότῳ γενομένῳ  
συναινείτω. μηδεὶς δὲ ὁμνῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον ὅρκον

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps τοιοῦτον <δν>.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὅρκου.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. σύνεσιν.

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<sup>a</sup> The plural ὧν is due to the threefold form of the statement in the preceding clause, but the logic of what follows  
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## ON DREAMS, I. 10-13

who honestly sounds its depths, and digs it like a well.

So there is a story that a grey-haired man of great age shed tears when dying, not in any cowardly fear of death, but by reason of his yearning for education, and the thought that he is now first entering upon it, when he takes his final leave of it. For the soul is just blossoming into knowledge, 11 when the body's bloom is withering away through the passing of years. So it is a hard fate to be tripped up by the heels before one has attained the prime of youthful strength to apprehend things more accurately. This experience is common to all who love to learn, who see new results of thought and study rise like a shining light in addition to the old. Many of these does the soul, if it be not cursed with barrenness, bring forth ; many does Nature of herself shew to those whose understanding is sharp-sighted, without giving any sign beforehand of their coming.

So then the well of knowledge, the well without limit or ending, has been shewn to be such as I have described. Why it was named " Oath " I must now 12 tell you. Matters that are in doubt are decided by an oath, insecure things made secure, assurance given to that which lacked it. From this we conclude that there is nothing which can be asserted with <sup>a</sup> greater certainty than that wisdom is essentially without end or limit. While then it is well to agree with one who 13 discourses on these truths even if he takes no oath, let anyone who is not very prone to assent do so when the speaker is on his oath. And no one need shrink from taking such an oath, for he may rest assured that is not clear. Presumably the thought is that since the oath creates certainty, the name of oath given to the well gives absolute certainty that the well is such as we have found it to be.



ἀναδυέσθω σαφῶς εἰδώς, ὅτι ἐν εὐόρκων γραφῇ-  
σεται στήλαις.

- 14 III. Ἄλις μὲν δὴ τούτων. ἐπόμενον δ' ἂν εἴη  
σκέψασθαι, διὰ τί τεττάρων ὀρυττομένων φρεάτων  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τὸ τέταρτον  
15 καὶ τελευταῖον “ὄρκος” προσερρήθη. μήποτ'  
οὖν δι' ὑπονοιῶν ἐκεῖνο βούλεται παραστήσαι, ὅτι  
κἂν τῷ παντὶ τεττάρων ὄντων, ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκεν  
ὁδε ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἰσαρίθμων, ἐξ ὧν  
διαπλασθέντες εἰς ἀνθρωπόμορφον εἶδος ἐτυπώ-  
θημεν, τὰ μὲν [οὖν] τρία πέφυκεν ἀμηγέπη κατα-  
λαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἀκατάληπτον πᾶσι  
16 τοῖς κριταῖς ἐστίν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ κόσμῳ γῆν καὶ  
ὔδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν τέτταρα τὰ πάντα εἶναι  
συμβέβηκεν· ὧν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κἂν δυσευρέτου, ἀλλ'  
οὐκ εἰσάπαν ἀνευρέτου μοίρας ἡξίωται.  
17 καὶ γὰρ γῆν, ὅτι ἐστὶ σῶμα βαρὺ καὶ ἀδιάλυτον  
καὶ στερέμνιον καὶ τεμνόμενον εἰς ὄρη καὶ πεδιάδας  
χώρας καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ θαλάττῃ διαιρούμενον, ὥς  
τὰ μὲν νησιάζειν, τὰ δὲ ἡπειροῦσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸ  
μὲν αὐτῆς λεπτόγεων, τὸ δὲ βαθύγειον, καὶ τὸ  
μὲν τραχὺ καὶ στρυφνὸν καὶ λιθῶδες καὶ εἰσάπαν  
ἄγονον, τὸ δὲ λείον καὶ μαλακὸν καὶ γονιμώτατον, |  
18 καὶ μυρία πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα καταλαμβάνομεν·  
[623] καὶ πάλιν ὔδωρ ὅτι πολλά τε τῶν  
εἰρημένων ἔχει κοινὰ πρὸς γῆν καὶ ἐξαίρετα ἕτερα·  
τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλυκύ, τὸ δ' ἄλμυρόν, τὸ δ'  
ἄλλαις διακεκριμένον ἰδέαις· καὶ τὸ μὲν πότιμον,  
τὸ δ' οὐ πότιμον—καὶ ἐκάτερον οὐ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς  
θάτερον, οὐ τὸ ἕτερον, καὶ οἷς μὴ θάτερον, πάντως

<sup>a</sup> For the general sense of §§ 12, 13 cf. *De Plant.* 82.

## ON DREAMS, I. 13-18

his name will appear on the register of those who have sworn truly.<sup>a</sup>

III. Enough on these points. The next thing to 14 inquire is why, when four wells are dug by Abraham and Isaac and those about them (Gen. xxi. 25, xxvi. 19-23), the fourth and last received as its name "Oath." Probably Moses wishes to shew us alle- 15 gorically that while both the constituents of which the universe is composed, and those from which we ourselves were moulded and so fashioned into human shape, are four in number, three of them are such as can in one way or another be apprehended, but the fourth is universally held to be beyond our powers of apprehension. In the world, then, we find the 16 constituents that make up the whole to be four, earth, water, air, heaven. To three of these properties have been allotted, the discovery of which may be difficult, but is not wholly impossible.

For, as 17 regards earth, we perceive that it is a body, heavy, indissoluble, firm, cut up into mountain-ranges and level plains, divided by rivers and sea, so that parts of it are islands, part continents ; that some of it has a light thin soil, some of it a deep soil ; some of it rough, stiff, stony, and altogether barren, some level and soft and very fertile. These and a thousand other points we apprehend.

As to water 18 again, we perceive that it has several of the properties just enumerated in common with land, and others peculiar to itself ; for some of it is sweet, some brackish, other parts marked by other differences ; some water is fit to drink, other water unfit. We know too it has not either of these properties alike for all ; one kind of water is drinkable by some but not by others, and what is undrinkable by some is

- τὸ ἕτερον,—καὶ τὸ μὲν φύσει ψυχρόν, τὸ δὲ φύσει  
 19 θερμόν—εἰσὶ γὰρ μυρίαὶ πολλαχόθι πηγαὶ ζέον  
 ὕδωρ ἐκδιδούσαι, οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 κατὰ θάλατταν· ἥδη γοῦν ἐφάνησαν φλέβες ἀν-  
 ομβροῦσαι ζέον ὕδωρ ἐν μέσοις πελάγεσιν, ἃς ἡ  
 τοσαύτη τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ πελαγῶν ἀνάχυσις ἐξ αἰῶνος  
 ἐπικλύζουσα οὐκ ἴσχυσε σβέσαι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ  
 20 ποσὸν ἀνεῖναι — καὶ πάλιν ὅτι ὁ ἀῆρ ἔχει φύσιν  
 εἴκουσαν ἀντιπερισταμένους<sup>1</sup> τοῖς σώμασιν, ὄργανον  
 ὦν ζωῆς, ἀναπνοῆς, ὁράσεως, ἀκοῆς, τῶν ἄλλων  
 αἰσθήσεων, πυκνότητος καὶ μανότητος κινήσεις  
 τε καὶ ἡρεμίας ἐνδεχόμενος, τροπὰς καὶ μεταβολὰς  
 παντοίας τρεπόμενός τε καὶ μεταβάλλων, χειμῶνας  
 καὶ θέρη γεννῶν καὶ τὰς μετοπωρινὰς καὶ ἑαρινὰς  
 ὥρας, ἐξ ὧν ὁ ἐνιαυτοῦ κύκλος πέφυκε περατοῦσθαι.  
 21 IV. Τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων αἰσθανόμεθα, ὁ δ'  
 οὐρανὸς ἀκατάληπτον ἔχει τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ  
 σαφὲς γνῶρισμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλας. τί γὰρ  
 ἂν εἴποιμεν; ὅτι πεπηγὼς ἐστὶ κρύσταλλος, ὥς  
 ἡξιώσαντινες; ἢ ὅτι πῦρ τὸ καθαρώτατον; ἢ  
 ὅτι πέμπτον κυκλοφορικὸν σῶμα, μηδενὸς τῶν  
 τεττάρων στοιχείων μετέχον; τί δ'; ἢ ἀπλανὴς  
 καὶ ἐξωτάτῳ σφαῖρα πρὸς τὸ ἄνω βάθος ἔχει ἢ  
 αὐτὸ μόνον ἐστὶν ἐπιφάνεια βάθους ἐρήμη, τοῖς  
 22 ἐπιπέδοις σχήμασιν ἔοικυῖα; τί δ'; οἱ ἀστέρες  
 πότερον γῆς εἰσιν ὄγκοι πυρὸς πλήρεις—ἄγκεα γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Wend. with most mss. ἀντιπεριστάμενος.

## ON DREAMS, I. 18-22

quite drinkable by others ; and that some is by nature cold, some by nature hot : for there are a 19 thousand springs, in many places giving forth boiling water, and that not only on land, but in the sea. Yes, there have before now appeared veins emitting boiling water in mid ocean, which all the force of the surrounding seas pouring over them from time immemorial has been powerless to quench or even in any measure to check. Again we perceive that the 20 air has a nature which gives way to the pressure of the objects around it ; that it is the instrument of life, of breathing, of sight, hearing and the other senses ; that it admits of density and rarity, of motion and stillness, that it undergoes all kinds of change ; that it is the source of winter and summer, and of the autumn and spring seasons, that is, of the constituent parts that fix the limits of the year's cycle.

IV. All these we perceive ; but heaven has sent 21 to us no sure indication of its nature, but keeps it beyond our comprehension.<sup>a</sup> For what can we say ? That it is a fixed mass of crystal, as some have thought ? Or that it is absolutely pure fire ? Or that it is a fifth substance, circular in movement, with no part in the four elements ? Again, we ask, has the fixed and outmost sphere upward-reaching depth, or is it nothing but a superficies, without depth, resembling plane geometrical figures ? Again : are 22 the stars lumps of earth full of fire ? Some people

<sup>a</sup> For these theories about the heavenly bodies see App. p. 594.

- καὶ νάπας καὶ μύδρους<sup>1</sup> διαπύρους εἶπον αὐτοὺς εἶναί τινες, αὐτοὶ δεσμωτηρίου καὶ μύλωνος, ἐν οἷς τὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ὄντες ἐπάξιοι—ἢ συνεχῆς καί, ὡς εἶπέ τις, πυκνὴ ἁρμονία, πιλήματα ἀδιάλυτα αἰθέρος; ἔμψυχοι δὲ καὶ νοεροὶ ἢ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀμέτοχοι; προαιρετικὰς δὲ ἢ κατηναγκασμένας αὐτὸ μόνον κινήσεις
- 23 ἔχοντες; τί δέ; σελήνη πότερον γνήσιον ἢ νόθον ἐπιφέρεται φέγγος ἡλιακαῖς ἐπιλαμπόμενον ἀκτίσιν
- [624] ἢ καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἰδίᾳ τούτων οὐδέτερον, | τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὡς ἂν ἐξ οἰκείου καὶ ἀλλοτρίου πυρὸς κρᾶμα; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀρίστου τε καὶ τετάρτου τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ σώματος ὄντα, οὐρανοῦ, ἄδηλα καὶ ἀκατάληπτα, στοχασμοῖς καὶ εἰκασίαις, οὐ παγίῳ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐφορμούντα· ὥστε κἂν ὁμόσαι τινὰ θαρρήσαντα, ὅτι θνητὸς οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἰσχύσει τούτων ἐναργῶς καταλαβεῖν οὐδέν. ὅρκος διὰ τούτ' ὠνομάσθη τὸ τέταρτον καὶ ξηρὸν φρέαρ, ἢ τοῦ τετάρτου τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ζήτησις ἀτελεύτητος καὶ πάντῃ δυσεύρετος,<sup>2</sup> οὐρανοῦ.
- 25 V. Ἰδωμεν δέ, ὃν τρόπον καὶ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τέταρτον διαφερόντως καὶ κατ' ἐξαίρετον λόγον ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι πέφυκεν. οὐκοῦν τέτταρα τὰ ἀνωτάτω τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἐστί, σῶμα, αἴσθησις, λόγος, νοῦς· τούτων μὲν δὴ τὰ τρία οὐ κατὰ πάσας

<sup>1</sup> Several mss. *δρυμοὺς*, which at first sight may seem to fit *ἀγκα* καὶ *νάπας* better, but see note below and App. p. 594.

<sup>2</sup> mss. *δυσόρατος*.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Aet.* 47, where the theory that the stars are *μύδροι* is ascribed to *ἐνιοι τῶν οἷα περὶ δεσμωτηρίου φλυαρούντων*

have declared them to be dells and glades and masses of fiery metal, for which they themselves deserve a prison and mill-house, in which such instruments are kept to punish impiety.<sup>a</sup> Or are the stars an unbroken, and, as one has said, "close" harmony, indissoluble compresses of ether? Are they living and intelligent, or devoid of intelligence and conscious life? Are their motions determined by choice or simply by necessity? Does the moon contribute a <sup>23</sup> light of its own or a borrowed light caused by the rays of the sun shining on it? Or is it neither the one nor the other by itself absolutely, but the combined result of both, a mixture such as we might expect from a fire partly its own, partly borrowed? Yes, all these and suchlike points pertaining to heaven, that fourth and best cosmic substance, are obscure and beyond our apprehension, based on guess-work and conjecture, not on the solid reasoning of truth; so much so that one may confidently take <sup>24</sup> one's oath that the day will never come when any mortal shall be competent to arrive at a clear solution of any of these problems. This is why the fourth and waterless well was named "Oath," being the endless and altogether baffling quest of the fourth cosmic region, heaven.

V. Let us see in what way that which occupies the <sup>25</sup> fourth place in ourselves too is of such a nature as to be eminently and peculiarly incomprehensible. The factors in us of highest significance are four, body, sense-perception, speech, mind. Three of these are τοῦ σύμπαντος οὐρανοῦ. Whether such a form of torture was actually used in prisons in Philo's time I do not know. There is probably some allusion to the story that Anaxagoras was prosecuted for declaring the sun to be a μύδρος διάπυρος, Diog. Laert. ii. 12.

- ἀδηλα τὰς ἰδέας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἔχει τινὰ δείγματα ἐν  
 26 ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ καταλαμβάνεσθαι. τί δ' ἔσθ' ὃ φημι;  
 ὅτι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τριχῇ διαστατὸν καὶ ἐξαχῇ  
 κινητόν, ἴσμεν, διαστάσεις μὲν τρεῖς ἔχον, μῆκος,  
 βάθος, πλάτος, κινήσεις δὲ τὰς διπλασίας ἕξ, τὴν  
 ἄνω, τὴν κάτω, τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, τὴν ἐπὶ εὐώνυμα,  
 τὴν πρόσω, τὴν εἰς τὸ κατόπιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι  
 ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἀγγεῖον, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι  
 ἡβᾶ, φθίνει, γηράσκει, τελευτᾷ, διαλύεται, σαφῶς  
 27 ἴσμεν. καὶ πρὸς αἰσθησιν μέντοι γε οὐ  
 παντάπασιν ἀμβλεῖς καὶ πηροὶ γεγόναμεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ πενταχῇ σχίζεται καὶ ὄργανα  
 ἐκάστης ἐστὶν ὑπὸ φύσεως δημιουργηθέντα οἰκεῖα,  
 ὁράσεως μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, ἀκοῆς δὲ ὠτα, ῥῖνες δὲ  
 ὁσφρήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ οἷς ἐναρμόζεται,  
 καὶ ὅτι ἄγγελοι διανοίας εἰσὶ διαγγέλλουσαι χρώ-  
 ματα, σχήματα, φωνάς, ἀτμῶν καὶ χυλῶν ιδιότητας,  
 συνόλως σώματα καὶ ὅσαι ποιότητες ἐν τούτοις,  
 καὶ ὅτι δορυφόροι ψυχῆς εἰσιν, ὅσα ἂν ἴδωσιν ἢ  
 ἀκούσωσι δηλοῦσαι κἂν εἴ τι βλαβερόν ἕξωθεν  
 ἐπίοι προορώμεναί τε καὶ φυλαττόμεναι, ὥς μὴ  
 28 λάθρα παρειαρενὲν αἴτιον ζημίας ἀνηκέστου τῇ  
 δεσποίνῃ γένηται. καὶ φωνὴ δ' οὐκ  
 εἰσάπαν ἀποδιδράσκει τὴν ἡμετέραν κρίσιν, ἀλλ'  
 ἴσμεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν ὀξεῖα, ἡ δὲ βαρεῖα, καὶ ἡ μὲν  
 ἐμμελής καὶ ἐναρμόνιος, ἡ δὲ ἀπωδὸς καὶ λίαν  
 ἀνάρμοστος, καὶ πάλιν ἡ μὲν μείζων, ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων·  
 διαφέρουσι καὶ ἄλλοις μυρίοις, γένεσι, χρώμασι,  
 διαστήμασι, συνημμέναις στάσεσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ διεξευγμέναις,

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. τάσεσι, which Mangey and Wend. adopt. See App. p. 595.

## ON DREAMS, I. 25-28

not obscure in all their aspects, but contain in themselves some indications by which they can be understood. What do I mean? We know that the body 26 is threefold in dimensions and sixfold in movements, having three dimensions, length, depth, breadth, and twice as many, namely six, movements, upward, downward, to the right, to the left, forward, backward. Nor are we ignorant that it is a vessel for the soul, and we are perfectly aware that it comes to maturity, wears out, grows old, dies, is dissolved.

With respect to sense-perception, also, 27 we are not wholly dim-sighted, and blind, but we are able to say that it is divided into five parts, and that each part has its special organs fashioned by Nature, eyes for seeing, ears for hearing, nostrils for smelling, and for the others the organs in which they find their fit place,<sup>a</sup> and that they are understanding's messengers, bringing to it reports of colours, forms, sounds, distinct scents and savours, in a word, of material substances and their qualities, and that they are bodyguards of the soul, making known all that they have seen or heard. And should any hurtful thing approach from without, they are aware of it beforehand, and on their guard against it, lest it should stealthily make its way in and cause incurable damage to their mistress.

Sound, too, does not 28 entirely elude our discernment. We know that one sound is shrill, another deep, one tuneful and melodious, another discordant and most unmusical, and again, one louder and another softer. They differ also in countless other respects, in genera, tone colours, intervals, conjunct or disjunct systems, and har-

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the mouth, and for touch "the whole structure of the body," *De Mig.* 188.



- ταῖς διὰ τεττάρων, ταῖς διὰ πέντε, ταῖς διὰ πασδν  
 29 συμφωναίαις. καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν-  
 άρθρου φωνῆς, ἣν μόνος ἐκ πάντων ζώων ἔλαχεν  
 ἄνθρωπος, ἔστιν ἃ γνωρίζομεν· οἶον ὅτι ἀπὸ  
 διανοίας ἀναπέμπεται, ὅτι ἐν τῷ στόματι ἀρ-  
 θροῦται, ὅτι ἡ γλῶσσα πλήττουσα<sup>1</sup> τῇ τῆς φωνῆς  
 τάσει τὸ ἔναρθρον ἐνσφραγίζεται καὶ λόγον, ἀλλ'  
 [625] οὐ ψιλὴν | αὐτὸ μόνον φωνὴν ἀργὴν καὶ ἀδιατύ-  
 πωτον ἦχον ἀπεργάζεται, ὅτι κήρυκος ἡ ἐρμηνέως  
 ἔχει τάξιν πρὸς τὸν ὑποβάλλοντα νοῦν.
- 30 VI. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς,  
 ὃ ἡγεμὼν νοῦς, καταληπτὸς ἔστιν; οὐ δῆπου. τί  
 γὰρ αὐτὸν οἰόμεθα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι; πνεῦμα  
 ἢ αἷμα ἢ σῶμα συνόλως—ἀλλ' οὐ σῶμα, ἀσώματον  
 δὲ λεκτέον—ἢ πέρας ἢ εἶδος ἢ ἀριθμὸν ἢ ἐνδελέχειαν<sup>2</sup>
- 31 ἢ ἁρμονίαν ἢ τί τῶν ὄντων; γεννώμενον<sup>3</sup> δ' εὐθύς  
 ἢ<sup>4</sup> ἔξωθεν εἰσκρίνεται ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος  
 ἢ ἔνθερμος ἐν ἡμῖν φύσις οἷα σίδηρος ἐν χαλκῆως  
 πεπυρωμένος ὕδατι ψυχρῷ πρὸς τὸ κραταιότατον  
 στομοῦται; διότι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ψῦξιν ὠνομάσθαι  
 ψυχὴν δοκεῖ. τί δέ; τελευτώντων σβέννυται καὶ  
 συμβθεῖρται τοῖς σώμασιν ἢ πλείστον ἐπιβιοῖ  
 32 χρόνον ἢ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἄφθαρτόν ἐστι; ποῦ  
 δ' ἐμπεφύλευκεν ὁ νοῦς αὐτῷ<sup>5</sup>; ἄρα οἶκον κεκλή-  
 ρωται; οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀν-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read πλάττουσα. Cf. *Quod Deus* 84 τυποῦται ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δημιουργοῦ τινος γλώττης.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps ἐντελέχειαν. See App. p. 596.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps read γεννωμένων, cf. τελευτώντων below.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps ἢ.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ is difficult. To refer it to σῶμα understood from σώμασι as in the translation is possible, but strange. Mangey αὐτός. Perhaps αὐτῶν as one ms., partitive gen. after ποῦ. Or it may be an insertion from αὐτῷ below. (So G. H. W.)

## ON DREAMS, I. 28-32

monies of the fourth, the fifth, the octave.<sup>a</sup>

In articulatesound, moreover, an advantage possessed 29  
by man alone of all living creatures, there are particularsof which we are aware; as, for example, that it is sent up from the understanding, that it is in the mouth that it acquires articulation, that it is the beat or stroke of the tongue that imparts articulation and speech to the tension of the voice, but does not produce simply just an idle sound and unshapen noise, since it holds to the suggesting mind the office of its herald and interpreter.

VI. Is, then, the fourth element in ourselves, the 30  
dominant mind, capable of being comprehended? <sup>b</sup>  
By no means. For what do we suppose it to be essentially? Breath or blood or body in general? Nay, we must pronounce it no body but incorporeal. Do we regard it as boundary-line, or form, or number, or continuity, or harmony, or what amongst all that exists? At our birth is it at once introduced into us 31  
from without? Or does the air which envelops it impart intense hardness to the warm nature within us, such as the red-hot iron receives when plunged at the smithy into cold water? The name of "soul" would seem to have been given to it owing to the "cooling" which it thus undergoes. Again: when we die, is it quenched and does it share the decay of our bodies, or live on for a considerable time, or is it wholly imperishable? And where in the body 32  
has the mind made its lair? Has it had a dwelling assigned to it? Some have regarded the head, our body's citadel, as its hallowed shrine, since it is about

<sup>a</sup> For these terms *cf.* *De Cong.* 76 and other reff. there given. For "genera" and "systems" see App. p. 595.

<sup>b</sup> For illustration of these theories about the mind see App. pp. 596 f.

## PHILO

- ἰέρωσαν αὐτῷ κεφαλὴν, περὶ ἣν καὶ αἱ αἰσθήσεις  
 λοχῶσιν, εἰκὸς εἶναι νομίσαντες ἐγγὺς οἶα μεγάλου  
 βασιλέως ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς δορυφόρους· οἱ δ' ὑπὸ  
 καρδίας αὐτὸν ἀγαλματοφορεῖσθαι διανοηθέντες  
 33 γνωσιμαχοῦσιν. αἰεὶ δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἀκατάληπτον,  
 οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐν κόσμῳ παρὰ τὴν ἀέρος καὶ γῆς  
 καὶ ὕδατος φύσιν, νοῦς δὲ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ σῶμα  
 καὶ αἴσθησιν καὶ τὸν ἐρμηνέα λόγον.  
 μήποτε μέντοι καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος “ ἅγιον καὶ  
 αἰνετὸν ” ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς αἰτίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
 34 ἀναγραφαῖς δηλοῦται· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γεγονόσιν  
 ἅγιον οὐρανὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν κόσμῳ, καθ' ὃν αἱ  
 ἄφθαρτοι καὶ μακραίωνες φύσεις περιπολοῦσιν, ἐν  
 ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ νοῦς, ἀπόσπασμα θεῖον ὢν, καὶ  
 μάλιστα κατὰ Μωυσέα λέγοντα· “ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς  
 τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ  
 35 ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.” καὶ ἐκάτερον δὲ  
 αἰνετὸν οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ μοι δοκεῖ προσειρηθῆναι·  
 τὰ γὰρ δυνάμενα τοὺς ἐπαίνους καὶ ὕμνους καὶ  
 εὐδαιμονισμοὺς ἐκτραγωδεῖν τοῦ γεννήσαντος πα-  
 τρὸς ταῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐρανός τε καὶ νοῦς. ἄνθρωπος  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐξαιρέτου παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα γέρως ἔλαχε,  
 θεραπεύειν τὸ ὄν, ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς αἰεὶ μελωδεῖ, κατὰ  
 τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν πάμμουσον ἀρμονίαν  
 36 ἀποτελῶν· ἥς εἰ συνέβαινε τὴν ἡχὴν εἰς τὰς  
 ἡμετέρας φθάνειν ἀκοάς, ἔρωτες ἂν ἀκάθεκτοι καὶ  
 λελυττηκότες ἡμεροὶ καὶ ἄπαστοι καὶ μανιώδεις |  
 [626] ἐγίνοντο οἴστροι, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπέχεσθαι

<sup>a</sup> i.e. for giving praise, as the sequel shews that Philo understood the word rather than “praiseworthy.” So also in his treatment of the same passage in *De Plant.* 117 ff., where, however, he quotes the text more correctly, “in the fourth year all its fruit shall be ἅγιος καὶ αἰνετός.”

## ON DREAMS, I. 32-36

the head that the senses have their station, and it, seems natural to them that they should be posted there, like bodyguards to some mighty monarch. Others contend pertinaciously for their conviction that the heart is the shrine in which it is carried. So 33 in every case it is the fourth of the series that is beyond comprehension. In the universe it is the heaven in contrast with the nature of air and earth and water ; in man it is mind over against the body, and sense-preception, and the speech which gives expression to thought. It may well be that it is for this reason that the fourth year is designated in the sacred documents " holy and for praise <sup>a</sup>," (Lev. xix. 24) ; for among created things, that which 34 is holy is, in the universe, the heavens, in which natures imperishable and enduring through long ages have their orbits ; in man it is mind, a fragment of the Deity, as the words of Moses in particular bear witness, " He breathed into his face a breath of life, and man became a living soul " (Gen. ii. 7). And 35 each of these appears to me to be correctly spoken of as " for praise." For it is in the heaven and in the mind that capacity resides to set forth in solemn strains hymns of praise and blessing in honour of the Father who is the author of our being. For man is the recipient of a privilege which gives him distinction beyond other living creatures, that, namely, of worshipping Him that is ; while the heaven is ever melodious, producing, as the heavenly bodies go 36 through their movements, the full and perfect harmony. If the sound of it ever reached our ears, there would be produced irrepressible yearnings, frantic longings, wild ceaseless passionate desires, compelling to abstain even from necessary food, for no longer

- τρεφομένους μηκέθ' ὥς θνητοὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς  
 διὰ φάρυγγος, ἀλλ' ὥς οἱ μέλλοντες ἀπαθανατί-  
 ζεσθαι δι' ὧτων μουσικῆς τελείας ἐνθέοις ᾠδαῖς·  
 ὧν ἀκροατὴν Μωυσὴν ἀσώματον γενόμενον λόγος  
 ἔχει τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς ἴσας νύκτας  
 μήτε ἄρτου μήτε ὕδατος ψαῦσαι τὸ παράπαν.
- 37 VII. ὁ τοίνυν οὐρανός, τὸ μουσικῆς ἀρχέτυπον  
 ὄργανον, ἄκρως ἡρμόσθαι δοκεῖ δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον  
 ἢ ἵνα οἱ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ τῶν ὄλων πατρὸς ἀδόμενοι  
 ὕμνοι μουσικῶς ἐπιψάλλωνται. καὶ τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν μέντοι Λεῖαν ἀκούομεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ τετάρ-  
 του γενέσεως υἱοῦ μηκέτι τίκτειν δυναμένην, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπέχουσαν ἢ ἐπεχομένην τὰς γονάς· εὑρίσκει γάρ,  
 οἶμαι, πᾶσαν τὴν γένεσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ξηράν τε καὶ  
 στεῖραν, ἡνίκα Ἰούδαν, τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν, τὸν
- 38 τέλειον καρπὸν, ἦνθησε. διαφέρει δ' οὐδὲν τὸ  
 λέγειν “ἴστασθαι τίκτουσαν” τοῦ μὴ εὐρίσκειν  
 ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ φρέατι τοὺς παῖδας Ἰσαὰκ ὕδωρ,  
 ἐπειδήπερ ἐξ ἐκατέρου τῶν συμβόλων ἐμφαίνεται  
 τὸ πάντα διψῆν θεοῦ, παρ' ὃν αἱ γενέσεις καὶ
- 39 τροφαὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἄρδονται. μικρο-  
 πολῖται μὲν οὖν τινες ἴσως ὑπολήφονται περὶ  
 φρεάτων διορυχῆς τὸν τοσοῦτον εἶναι λόγον τῷ  
 νομοθέτῃ, οἱ δὲ δὴ μείζονι ἐγγραφέντες πατρίδι,  
 τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ, τελειοτέρων φρονημάτων ὄντες,<sup>1</sup>  
 εἴσονται σαφῶς, ὅτι περὶ τεττάρων ἐστίν, οὐ  
 φρεάτων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῦ παντὸς μερῶν ἢ ζήτησις  
 τοῖς ὁρατικοῖς καὶ φιλοθεάμοσι, γῆς, ὕδατος,

<sup>1</sup> This genitive of quality is doubtful Greek. Wend. suggests ἐπιλαχόντες.

## ON DREAMS, I. 36-39

should we take in nourishment from meat and drink through the throat after the fashion of mortals, but, as beings awaiting immortality, from inspired strains of perfect melody coming to us through our ears. To such strains it is said that Moses was listening, when, having laid aside his body, for forty days and as many nights he touched neither bread nor water at all (Ex. xxiv. 18). VII. It seems, then, that the 37 heaven, the original archetype of all musical instruments, was tuned with consummate skill for no other purpose than that the hymns sung in honour of the Universal Father may have a musical accompaniment.

And further we hear of Leah or Virtue being no longer capable of bearing children after the birth of her fourth son. She stayed, or rather was stayed, from childbirth, for she found, I imagine, all giving birth on her part dried up and unproductive, when she had put forth the bloom of "Judah," or Confession of thankfulness, which is the perfect fruit. To say that she "stood still from bearing" (Gen. 38 xxix. 35) differs not at all from saying that the servants of Isaac found no water in the fourth well (Gen. xxvi. 32), since what is brought out by each of the figures is that all things are athirst for God, through Whom the birth of things, and their food when born, is watered into fruitfulness.

It may be 39 that men of narrow citizenship will suppose that the lawgiver delivers this very full discourse about digging wells, but those who are on the roll of a greater country, even this whole world, men of higher thought and feeling, will be quite sure that the four things propounded as a subject of inquiry to the open-eyed lovers of contemplation are not four wells, but the four parts of this universe, land, water, air, heavens.

- 40 *ἀέρος, οὐρανοῦ. ὧν ἕκαστον ἐπινοίαις εἰς ἄκρον πεποιημέναις<sup>1</sup> διεξελθόντες ἐν μὲν τοῖς τρισὶν εὐρόν τινα καταληπτὰ—διὸ καὶ τρία ὀνόματα ἐπεφήμισαν τοῖς εὐρεθείσιν, ἀδικίαν, ἔχθραν, εὐρυχωρίαν,—ἐν δὲ τῷ τετάρτῳ τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, οὐρανῷ, καθάπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἔδηλώσαμεν· τὸ γὰρ τέταρτον φρέαρ ἄνδρον καὶ ξηρόν εὐρίσκεται καὶ ὄρκος διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν προσαγορεύεται.*
- 41 VIII. *Τὰ δὲ ἐπόμενα ζητήσωμεν ἐρευνῶντες, τίς ἢ Χαρρὰν καὶ διὰ τί ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος ἐξελθὼν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεται. ἔστι τοίνυν, ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, Χαρρὰν μητρόπολις τις αἰσθήσεων. ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ τοτὲ μὲν ὀρυκτὴ, τοτὲ δὲ τρώγλαι, δι' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑνὸς δηλουμένου*
- 42 *πράγματος. τὸ γὰρ σῶμα ἡμῶν εἰς τὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄργανα τρόπον τινὰ ἐξορώρυκται, καὶ γέγονεν ἕκαστον τῶν ὀργάνων ἐκάστης ὁπῇ τις*
- [627] *αἰσθήσεως, ἐν ἣ πέφυκε φωλεύειν. | ὅταν οὖν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος, ὃ καλεῖται ὄρκος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ λιμένος ἐξαναχθῇ, παραγίνεται εὐθύς εἰς Χαρρὰν ἀναγκαίως· τὸν γὰρ ἀποδημίαν στελλόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀορίστου<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀπειρομεγέθους ἐπιστήμης χωρίου κατ' ἀναγκαῖον αἰσθήσεις ἄνευ ξεναγῶν ὑποδέχον-*
- 43 *ται. κινεῖται γὰρ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πολλάκις μὲν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς, ὅλον τὸν σωματικὸν ὄγκον ἐκδύσα καὶ τὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὄχλον ἀποδρᾶσα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπαμπισχομένη. τὴν μὲν οὖν γυμνὴν κίνησιν*

<sup>1</sup> So mss. and Wend.: Mangey *πεποιημένας*.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey: mss. and Wend. *ἀρίστου*.

<sup>a</sup> That Philo takes the trouble to record these three names suggests that he attaches some allegorical meaning to them. Possibly remembering that in the narrative the

## ON DREAMS, I. 40-43

On each of these they bring to bear powers of 40 thought of finest perfection, and find in three of them certain things within their comprehension, and to these discoveries of theirs they give three names, "injustice," "enmity," "spaciousness" <sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxvi. 20 ff.). In the fourth, the heavens, as we pointed out not long ago, they find nothing whatever comprehensible. For the fourth well is found to be dry and waterless, and is entitled "oath" for the reason which has been mentioned.

VIII. Let us now examine the following context, 41 and inquire what Haran is and why one who goes away from the well comes to it (Gen. xxviii. 10). Haran is, then, as it seems to me, a sort of mother-city of the senses. For it is rendered sometimes "dug," sometimes "holes," one thing being signified by both words. For our body has after a fashion 42 been dug out to make places for the organs of the senses, and each of the organs has been constituted a kind of "dug-out" of each sense, which nature provides for its lair. Whenever, therefore, a man has put out from the well which is called "Oath," as it were from a port, of necessity he forthwith arrives <sup>b</sup> at Haran. For the man who sets forth on a journey from the place of knowledge, boundless and illimitable in its vastness, needs no escorting guides, but is without fail received by the senses. For our 43 soul moves often by itself, stripping itself of the entire encumbrance of the body and escaping from the noisy pack of the senses, and often again when clad in these wrappings. What is apprehensible first two record the quarrels over the wells, he means that land and sea are the scene of human strife. The name of "spaciousness" fits air quite well.

<sup>b</sup> See on § 5 above.



## PHILO

- αὐτῆς τὰ νοήσει μόνη καταληπτὰ ἔλαχε, τὴν δὲ  
 44 μετὰ σώματος τὰ αἰσθητά. εἴ τις οὖν ὁμιλεῖν  
 εἰσάπαν ἀδυνατεῖ διανοία μόνη, δευτέραν κατα-  
 φυγὴν αἰσθησιν εὐρίσκεται, καὶ ὅστις ἂν σφαλῇ  
 τῶν νοητῶν, αὐτίκα πρὸς τὰ αἰσθητὰ κατασύρεται·  
 δεύτερος γὰρ αἰεὶ πλοῦς ὁ πρὸς αἰσθησιν τοῖς  
 μὴ δυνηθεῖσι πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν εὐπλοῆσαι.  
 45 καλὸν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ γενομένους μὴ  
 καταγῆράσαι καὶ διαιωνίσαι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν ξένῃ  
 διατρίβοντας παροίκων τρόπον αἰεὶ μετανάστασιν  
 ζητεῖν καὶ ἐπάνοδον εἰς τὴν πατρίαν γῆν. Λάβαν  
 μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἶδος, οὐ γένος, οὐκ ἰδέαν, οὐκ  
 ἐννόημα, οὐκ ἄλλο τῶν νοήσει μόνη καταλαμβανο-  
 μένων οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς εἰδώς, ἡρτημένος δὲ τῶν  
 ἐμφανῶν, ἅπερ εἰς ὅψεις καὶ ἀκοὰς καὶ τὰς συγ-  
 γενεῖς δυνάμεις ἔρχεται, πατρίδος ἡξίωται Χαρράν,  
 ἣν ὡς ξένην ὁ φιλάρετος Ἰακώβ πρὸς ὀλίγον οἰκεῖ  
 46 χρόνον, τῆς οἴκαδε ἐπανόδου διαμεμνημένος. φησὶ  
 γοῦν ἢ μήτηρ, ἢ ὑπομονή, Ῥεβέκκα πρὸς αὐτόν·  
 “ἀναστὰς ἀπόδραθι πρὸς Λάβαν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου  
 εἰς Χαρράν, καὶ οἴκησον μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινάς.”  
 ἄρα οὖν κατανοεῖς, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπομένει ὁ ἀσκητῆς ἐν  
 τῇ χώρα τῶν αἰσθήσεων καταβιῶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας  
 ὀλίγας καὶ βραχύν τινα χρόνον διὰ τὰς τοῦ συνδέτου  
 σώματος ἀνάγκας,<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ μακρὸς αἰὼν αὐτῷ καὶ  
 βίος ἐν τῇ νοητῇ πόλει ταμιεύεται;

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests the addition of *παροικεῖ*, but *βιῶναι* can easily be understood out of *καταβιῶναι*.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 597.

## ON DREAMS, I. 43-46

by intellect only is the lot of its unclad movement, while to that accompanied by the body fall the objects of sense-perception. If therefore a man is absolutely incapable of holding intercourse with the understanding by itself, he wins in sense-perception a second-best refuge, and a man who has been balked of the things of the intellect is forthwith swept down to those of sense-perception. For those who have failed to make a good voyage under the sails of the sovereign mind can always fall back upon the oars of sense-perception.<sup>a</sup>

But it is an excellent course even when you have fallen into this plight not to grow old and live your life in it, but feeling that you are spending your days in a foreign country as sojourners to be ever seeking for removal and return to the land of your fathers. For it is Laban, a man without knowledge of species or genus or archetypal form, or conception or of any whatever of the objects of solely intellectual apprehension, but dependent wholly on things patent and palpable, which are cognizable by seeing and hearing and the powers akin to them,—he it is that has been deemed worthy of having Haran for his country, in which Jacob the lover of virtue dwells as in a foreign land for a little while, with his mind ever set on the return to his home. We recognize this in the words spoken to him by Rebecca, or Patience, his mother: “Be up and off,” she says, “to Haran to my brother Laban, and dwell with him for some days” (Gen. xxvii. 43 f.). Do you mark, then, that the Practiser does not brook to spend a lifetime in the territory of the senses, but a few days and a short time in compliance with the necessities of the body to which he is tied, but that it is in the city discerned by the intellect that a life-long

- 47 IX. παρό μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, Ἀβραὰμ ὄνομα, μὴ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπομείναι τῇ Χαρράν ἐνδιατρίψαι. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “Ἀβραὰμ ἦν ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ Χαρράν,” καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Θάρρα, ὃς ἐρμηνεύεται κατασκοπὴ ὁσμῆς, μέχρι τελευτῆς
- 48 ἐν αὐτῇ βιώσαντος. ῥητῶς γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
[628] ἀναγραφαῖς | δηλοῦται, ὅτι “ἀπέθανε Θάρρα ἐν Χαρράν”· κατάσκοπος γὰρ ἦν ἀρετῆς, οὐ πολίτης, καὶ ὁσμαῖς ἀλλ’ οὐ τροφῶν ἀπολαύσεσιν ἐχρήτο, μήπω ἱκανὸς ὢν ἐμπίπλασθαι φρονήσεως, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γεύεσθαι, τοῦτο δ’ αὐτὸ μόνον ὁσφραίνεσθαι.
- 49 καθάπερ γὰρ τοὺς θηρατικούς τῶν σκυλάκων λόγος ἔχει καὶ τὰ πορρωτάτω τῶν θηρίων πτώματα ῥινηλατοῦντας ἀνευρίσκειν ἡκονημένους ὑπὸ φύσεως διαφερόντως τὴν περὶ τὰς ὁσμάς αἴσθησιν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὴν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἀναδιδομένην ἡδέϊαν αὔραν ὁ παιδείας ἐραστῆς ἰχνηλατεῖ καὶ ποθεῖ μὲν ἐκείναις ἐντυχεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἀναδίδεται τὸ θαυμασιώτατον γάνωμα τοῦτο, μὴ δυνάμενος δ’ ἐν κύκλῳ κενὴν περιάγει τὴν κεφαλὴν, ὁσφραϊνόμενος αὐτὸ μόνον καλοκάγαθίας [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> σιτίων ἱερωτάτης κνίσσης· οὐ γὰρ ἀρνεῖται
- 50 λίχνος ἐπιστήμης καὶ φρονήσεως εἶναι. μακάριοι μὲν οὖν οἷς ἐξεγένετο τῶν σοφίας φίλτρων ἀπὸνασθαι καὶ τῶν θεωρημάτων καὶ δογμάτων αὐτῆς ἐστιαθῆναι καὶ ἐνευφρανθεῖσιν<sup>2</sup> ἔτι διψῆν, ἅπληστον

<sup>1</sup> [καὶ]: so Wend. suggests (or as an alternative ἀρετῶν for σιτίων), though he retains καὶ in the text.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀνευφρανθεῖσιν.

<sup>a</sup> See notes on *Quod Deus* 92 and *De Sac.* 43; see further, App. pp. 597 f.

enduring is in store for him ?

IX. Owing 47

to this, as it seems to me, the grandfather also of his knowledge,<sup>a</sup> called Abraham, did not brook a prolonged stay in Haran. For we read "Abraham was seventy-five years old when he went forth from Haran" (Gen. xii. 4), although his father lived there until his death. His father's name was "Terah," which means "scent-exploring." Thus it is expressed in plain 48 words in the sacred records that "Terah died in Haran" (Gen. xi. 32): for he was there as a spy or explorer of virtue, not as a holder of its franchise, and he had recourse to scents, not to enjoyment of nourishing foods, not being capable as yet of being filled with sound sense, nay, not even of tasting it, but simply and solely of smelling it. For just as we are told that 49 hounds used in the chase have by nature the sense of smell especially keen, so that by following the scent they can track out and find the dead bodies of wild animals at the greatest distance, in the same way does the man who is enamoured of discipline follow the path of the sweet effluvium given forth by justice and other virtues. Fain would he reach them, so wondrously delicious is the fragrance they give forth, but since he cannot, he turns his baffled<sup>b</sup> head this way and that, and snuffs, for he can do no more, at the exhalation of nobility, the holiest of meats<sup>c</sup>: for he does not deny that he is greedy of knowledge and sound sense. Blessed indeed are those to whom it is granted 50 to have joy of the love-charms of wisdom, and to banquet on the truths she has discovered, and after revelling in these delights still to be athirst, bringing

<sup>b</sup> Or "unfed," *i.e.* the mouth is empty.

<sup>c</sup> Or *λερωδέτης* may agree with *κνίσσης* "the holiest exhalation of the viands of nobility."

- καὶ ἀκόρεστον ἐπιφερομένοις ἡμερον ἐπιστήμης.  
 51 δεύτερα δ' οἷσονται, οἷς ἀπολαῦσαι μὲν οὐκ ἐξεγένετο τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, κνισσοῦν δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς· αὖραις γὰρ ἀρετῆς οὗτοι ζωπυρρηθήσονται, καθάπερ τῶν καμνόντων οἱ παρειμένοι διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τροφῇ χρῆσθαι τὰς εἰς ἀνάληψιν προσφέρονται ὁσμάς, ᾧς ἰατρῶν παῖδες λιποθυμίας ἄκη  
 52 σωτήρια προευτρεπίζονται. X. καταλιπὼν μέντοι τὴν Χαλδαίαν γῆν εἰς Χαρρὰν λέγεται μετανίστασθαι Θάρρα, τὸν τε υἱὸν Ἀβραὰμ καὶ τοὺς ὁμογνίους<sup>1</sup> τῆς οἰκίας ἐπαγόμενος, οὐχ ἵν' ὥς παρὰ συγγραφέως ἱστορικοῦ μάθωμεν, ὅτι μετανάσται τινὲς ἐγένοντο, τὴν μὲν πατρῶαν γῆν καταλιπόντες, τὴν δὲ ξένην ὥς πατρίδα οἰκήσαντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μάθημα βιωφελέστατον καὶ ἀρμόττον  
 53 ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ ἀμεληθῆναι. τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι; Χαλδαῖοι μὲν ἀστρονομοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ τῆς Χαρρὰν πολῖται περὶ τὸν τῶν αἰσθήσεων τόπον πραγματεύονται. φησὶν οὖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τῷ κατασκόπῳ τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων· τί περὶ ἡλίου ζητεῖς, εἰ ποδιαῖός ἐστιν, εἰ τῆς γῆς μείζων ἀπάσης, εἰ πολλαπλάσιος αὐτῆς; τί δὲ περὶ φωτισμῶν σελήνης, εἰ νόθον ἔχει φέγγος, εἰ γνησίῳ μόνῳ χρῆται; τί δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων φύσεως ἢ περιφορᾶς ἢ συμπαθείας πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ  
 54 τὰπίγεια; τί δὲ βαίνων ἐπὶ γῆς ὑπὲρ νεφέλας πηδᾶς; τί δ' ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἐν αἰθέρι φῆς δύνασθαι

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὁμογνώμονας.

<sup>a</sup> Or "topic." The word probably carries both senses.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 598.

## ON DREAMS, I. 50-54

a craving for knowledge which knows no fullness nor satiety. But those will carry off the second prize, to 51 whom it was given not indeed to win enjoyment of the holy table but to fill their souls with the steam of its viands: for these will be quickened and enkindled with breaths of virtue, even as invalids, who are enfeebled because they cannot take nourishment, inhale the reviving preparations which the schools of physicians make up and have ready as effective remedies for faintness.

X. The informa- 52  
tion that Terah left the land of Chaldaea and migrated to Haran, taking with him his son Abraham and his kindred, is given us not with the object that we may learn as from a writer of history, that certain people became emigrants, leaving the land of their ancestors, and making a foreign land their home and country, but that a lesson well suited to man and of great service to human life may not be neglected. What 53  
is this lesson? The Chaldaeans are astronomers, while the citizens of Haran busy themselves with the place<sup>a</sup> of the senses. Accordingly Holy Writ addresses to the explorer of the facts of nature certain questions—"Why do you carry on investigations about the sun, as to whether it is a foot in diameter,<sup>b</sup> whether it is larger than the whole earth, whether it is many times its size<sup>b</sup>? And about the illuminations of the moon, whether it has a borrowed light, or whether it employs one entirely its own? And why do you search into the nature of the other heavenly bodies, or into their revolutions or the ways in which they affect each other and affect earthly things? And 54  
why, treading as you do on earth, do you leap over the clouds? And why do you say that you are able to lay hold of what is in the upper air, when

προσερριζωμένους χέρσω; τί δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀτεκμάρ-  
των τεκμαίρεσθαι τολμᾶς; τί δὲ πολυπραγμονεῖς  
ἂ μή σε δεῖ, τὰ μετέωρα; τί δὲ τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
μαθήμασιν εὐρεσιλογίαν ἄχρῃς οὐρανοῦ τείνεις; τί  
[629] δ' ἀστρονομεῖς μετεωρολεσχῶν; | μὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ σέ  
καὶ ἄνω, ὧ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐγγὺς σαυτοῦ κατα-  
νόησον, μᾶλλον δὲ σαυτὸν ἀκολακεύτως ἐρευνήσον.

55 πῶς οὖν ἐρευνήσεις; ἴθι νοερῶς εἰς  
Χαρρὰν τὴν ὀρυκτὴν, τὰς τρώγλας καὶ ὅπας τοῦ  
σώματος, καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι ὀφθαλμούς, ὦτα, ῥίνας,  
τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ αἰσθήσεως ὄργανα, καὶ φιλο-  
σόφησον ἀναγκαιοτάτην καὶ πρεπωδεστάτην φιλο-  
σοφίαν ἀνθρώπων, ζητῶν, τί ὄρασις, τί ἀκοή, τί  
γεῦσις, τί ὄσφρησις, τί ἀφή, τί καὶ συνόλως  
αἰσθησις· κἄπειτα τί τὸ ὄρᾶν καὶ πῶς ὄρας, τί  
τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ πῶς ἀκούεις, τί τὸ ὀσφραίνεσθαι  
ἢ γεύεσθαι ἢ ἄπτεσθαι καὶ πῶς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν  
56 εἴωθε γίνεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον καλῶς  
ἐπεσκέφθαι, τὸν τοῦ παντὸς ἐξετάζειν οὐχ ὑπερ-  
βολὴν μανίας; καὶ οὕτω σοι μείζον ἐπίταγμα ἐπι-  
τάττω, τὴν σαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν καὶ τὸν νοῦν, ἐφ'  
ὧ μέγα φρονεῖς· καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐποτε  
57 δυνήσῃ. ἀνάβαινε νῦν εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ κατ-  
αλαζονεύου περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ, μήπω δεδυνημένος  
γινῶναι κατὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν γράμμα

ὅττι τοι ἐν μεγάροισι κακόν τ' ἀγαθόν τε τέτυκται,

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 598.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. while the Haran-life is primarily the exploration of the senses, it does include the exploration of mind (Terah or Socrates) as opposed to the practising (Abraham), which will lead to the highest spiritual knowledge. It is, however, a later stage, and this is signified by οὕτω. So also in *De Mig.*, particularly § 185.

## ON DREAMS, I. 54-57

you are rooted to the ground? Why do you venture to determine the indeterminate? And why are you so busy with what you ought to leave alone, the things above? And why do you extend even to the heavens your learned ingenuity? Why do you take up astronomy and pay such full and minute attention to the higher regions? Mark, my friend, not what is above and beyond your reach but what is close to yourself,<sup>a</sup> or rather make yourself the object of your impartial scrutiny. What form, then, will 55 your scrutiny take? Go in spirit to Haran, 'excavated' land, the openings and cavities of the body, and hold an inspection of eyes, ears, nostrils, and the other organs of sense, and engage in a course of philosophy most vital and most fitting to a human being. Try to find out what sight is, what hearing is, what taste, smell, touch are: in a word what sense-perception is. Next, ask what it is to see and how you see, what it is to hear and how you hear, what it is to smell or taste or handle, and how each function is habitually performed. But before you have made 56 a thorough investigation into your own tenement, is it not an excess of madness to examine that of the universe? And there is a weightier charge which I do not as yet lay upon you,<sup>b</sup> namely to see your own soul and the mind of which you think so proudly: I say 'see,' for to comprehend it you will never be able. Go to! Mount to heaven and brag of what 57 you see there, you who have not yet attained to the knowledge of that of which the poet speaks in the line

All that existeth of good and of ill in the halls of thy homestead."<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* iv. 392. See App. p. 598.



## PHILO

καταγαγὼν δ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τὸν κατάσκοπον καὶ  
ἀντισπάσας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖ ζητήσεως γινώθι<sup>1</sup> σαυτὸν,  
εἶτα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπιμελῶς ἐκπόνησον, ἵνα τῆς ἀν-  
58 θρωπίνης εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιλάβῃς. τὸν τρόπον τοῦ-  
τον Θάρρα μὲν Ἑβραῖοι, Σωκράτην δὲ Ἑλληνες  
ὀνομάζουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνον ἐγγηράσαι φασὶν τῇ  
περὶ τοῦ γινώθι σαυτὸν ἀκριβεστάτῃ σκέψει, μηδὲν  
ἔξω τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν  
ἄνθρωπος ἦν, Θάρρα δ' αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ  
γινῶναί τινα ἑαυτὸν προκείμενος οἶα δένδρον εὐ-  
ερνέστατον, ἵν' ἔχοιεν εὐμαρῶς οἱ φιλάρετοι τὸν περὶ  
ἡθοποιίαν δρεπόμενοι καρπὸν σωτηρίου καὶ ἡδίστης  
59 ἐμπίπλασθαι τροφῆς. τοιοῦτοι μὲν ἡμῖν  
οἱ φρονήσεως κατάσκοποι, τῶν δὲ ἀθλητῶν καὶ  
ἀγωνιστῶν αὐτῆς αἱ φύσεις τελειότεραι· δικαιοῦσι  
γὰρ οὗτοι τὸν περὶ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σύμπαντα λόγον  
ἀκριβῶς καταμαθόντες ἐπὶ τι μείζον ἕτερον χωρεῖν  
θεώρημα, καταλιπόντες τὰς αἰσθήσεως ὁπὰς, αἱ  
60 Χαρρὰν ὀνομάζονται. τούτων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπιδόσεις  
καὶ βελτιώσεις πρὸς ἐπιστήμης ἄκρας ἀνάληψιν  
ἐσχηκῶς Ἀβραάμ· ὅτε γὰρ μάλιστα ἔγνω, τότε  
μάλιστα ἀπέγνω ἑαυτὸν, ἵνα τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
ὄντος εἰς ἀκριβῇ γινῶσιν ἔλθῃ. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως  
ἔχειν· ὁ λίαν καταλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν λίαν ἀπέγνωκε τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read <τὸ> γινώθι.

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<sup>a</sup> Or as Mangey, "drawing away the explorer . . . know thyself." For further discussion of the whole passage see App. pp. 598 f.

But bring the explorer down from heaven and away from these researches draw the "Know thyself,"<sup>a</sup> and then lavish the same careful toil on this too, in order that you may enjoy the happiness proper to man. This character Hebrews call "Terah,"<sup>58</sup> Greeks "Socrates." For they say that "Know thyself" was likewise the theme of life-long pondering to Socrates, and that his philosophy was concerned exclusively with his own self. Socrates, however, was a human being, while Terah was self-knowledge itself, a way of thinking set before us as a tree of great luxuriance, to the end that lovers of virtue might find it easy, as they pluck the fruit of moral knowledge, to take their fill of nourishment saving and most sweet.

Such do we find<sup>59</sup> those to be whose part it is to explore good sense : but more perfect than theirs is the nature with which those are endowed who train themselves to engage in the contest for it. These, when they have thoroughly learned in all its details the whole study of the sense-perceptions, claim it as their prerogative to advance to some other greater object of contemplation, leaving behind them those lurking-places of sense-perception, to which the name of Haran is given. Among these<sup>60</sup> is Abraham who gained much progress and improvement towards the acquisition of the highest knowledge : for when most he knew himself, then most did he despair<sup>b</sup> of himself, in order that he might attain to an exact knowledge of Him Who in reality is. And this is nature's law : he who has thoroughly comprehended himself, thoroughly despairs of him-

<sup>b</sup> The play on  $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$  )(  $\alpha\pi\epsilon\gamma\nu\omega$  is unavoidably lost in the English.

[630] ἐν πᾶσι τοῦ | γεννητοῦ σαφῶς προλαβὼν οὐδένεϊαν,  
ὁ δ' ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν γινώσκει τὸν ὄντα.

61 XI. Τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ Χαρρὰν καὶ διὰ τί ὁ  
ἀπολείπων τὸ τοῦ ὅρκου φρέαρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἔρχεται,  
δεδήλωται. σκεπτέον δὲ τὸ τρίτον καὶ ἀκόλουθον,  
τίς ὁ τόπος, ᾧ ὑπαντᾷ· λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι “ἀπ-  
62 ἦντησε τόπῳ.” τριχῶς δὲ ἐπινοεῖται τόπος, ἅπαξ  
μὲν χώρα ὑπὸ σώματος πεπληρωμένη, κατὰ δεύ-  
τερον δὲ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὃν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν  
ὅλον δι’ ὅλων ἀσωμάτοις δυνάμεσιν αὐτὸς ὁ θεός.  
“εἶδον” γάρ φησι “τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ  
θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ,” ἐν ᾧ μόνῳ καὶ ἱεουργεῖν  
ἐφῆκεν ἀλλαχόθι κωλύσας· διείρηται γὰρ ἀνα-  
βαίνειν εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριος ὁ  
θεός, κακεῖ θύειν τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰ σωτήρια  
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀμύμους θυσίας ἀνάγειν.

63 κατὰ δὲ τρίτον σημαινόμενον αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς καλεῖται  
τόπος τῷ περιέχειν μὲν τὰ ὅλα, περιέχεσθαι δὲ  
πρὸς μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς, καὶ τῷ καταφυγῇ τῶν συμ-  
πάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ αὐτός ἐστι  
χώρα ἑαυτοῦ, κεχωρηκῶς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐμφερόμενος  
64 μόνῳ ἑαυτῷ. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἰμι τόπος, ἀλλ’  
ἐν τόπῳ, καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ὁμοίως· τὸ γὰρ  
περιεχόμενον διαφέρει τοῦ περιέχοντος, τὸ δὲ θεῖον  
ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς περιεχόμενον ἀναγκαίως ἐστὶν αὐτὸ  
τόπος ἑαυτοῦ. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι λόγιον  
τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπὶ Ἀβραὰμ τόδε· “ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Conf.* 96 and note.

## ON DREAMS, I. 60-64

self, having as a step to this ascertained the nothingness in all respects of created being. And the man who has despaired of himself is beginning to know Him that is.

XI. What Haran is and why the man who leaves 61 the Well of the Oath comes to it, has been made evident. We must consider the point which naturally comes next, our third point, namely what the place is which he lights upon or meets, for we read "he met a place" (Gen. xxviii. 11). Now "place" has a 62 threefold meaning, firstly that of a space filled by a material form, secondly that of the Divine Word, which God Himself has completely filled throughout with incorporeal potencies; for "they saw," says Moses, "the place where the God of Israel stood" (Ex. xxiv. 10).<sup>a</sup> Only in this place did he permit them to sacrifice, forbidding them to do so elsewhere: for they were expressly bidden to go up "to the place which the Lord God shall choose" (Deut. xii. 5), and there to sacrifice "the whole burnt offerings and the peace offerings" (Ex. xx. 24) and to offer the other pure sacrifices.

There is a third 63 signification, in keeping with which God Himself is called a place, by reason of His containing things, and being contained by nothing whatever, and being a place for all to flee into, and because He is Himself the space which holds Him; for He is that which He Himself has occupied, and naught encloses Him but Himself. I, mark you, am not a place, but in a place; 64 and each thing likewise that exists; for that which is contained is different from that which contains it, and the Deity, being contained by nothing, is of necessity Itself Its own place.

Witness is borne to what I am saying by this oracle delivered in Abraham's

τόπον ὃν εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεός· καὶ ἀναβλέψας τοῖς  
 65 ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε τὸν τόπον μακρόθεν.” ὁ ἔλθων εἰς  
 τὸν τόπον, εἰπέ μοι, μακρόθεν αὐτὸν εἶδεν; ἀλλὰ  
 μήποτε δυεῖν πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὁμωνυμία δια-  
 φερόντων, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον θεῖός ἐστι λόγος, τὸ  
 66 δὲ ἕτερον ὁ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεός. ὁ δὲ ξεναγηθεὶς  
 ὑπὸ σοφίας εἰς τὸν πρότερον ἀφικνεῖται τόπον,  
 εὐράμενος τῆς ἀρεσκείας κεφαλὴν καὶ τέλος τὸν  
 θεῖον λόγον, ἐν ᾧ γενόμενος οὐ φθάνει πρὸς τὸν  
 κατὰ τὸ εἶναι θεὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ὁρᾷ μακρόθεν·  
 μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἐκείνον θεωρεῖν  
 ἱκανός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μακρὰν τὸν θεὸν εἶναι πάσης  
 γενέσεως αὐτὸ μόνον ὁρᾷ καὶ τὸ πορρωτάτω τὴν  
 κατάληψιν αὐτοῦ πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης διανοίας δι-  
 67 ωκίσθαι. μήποτε μέντοι γε οὐδὲ τόπον νῦν ἀλλη-  
 γορῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου παρείληφεν, ἀλλ’ ἔστι τὸ  
 δηλούμενον τοιοῦτον· “ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν τόπον, καὶ  
 ἀναβλέψας τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδεν” αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον,  
 εἰς ὃν ἦλθε, μακρὰν ὄντα τοῦ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ  
 68 ἀρρήτου καὶ κατὰ πάσας ἰδέας ἀκαταλήπτου θεοῦ.  
 [631] XII. | Τούτων προδιωρισμένων, ὅταν εἰς Χαρράν,  
 τὴν αἰσθησιν, ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀσκητής, “ὑπαντᾷ τόπῳ,”  
 οὔτε τῷ ἐκπεπληρωμένῳ ὑπὸ σώματος θνητοῦ—  
 μετέχουσι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ γηγενεῖς ἐκπεπληρω-  
 κότες χώραν καὶ τόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὰναγκαῖον ἐπ-  
 ἔχοντες—οὔτε τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ, οὐ μολὶς ἔννοιαν  
 λαβεῖν ἦν ἀν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος ποιούμενον τὰς δια-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Post.* 17 f.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. the second *τόπος* as well as the first may indicate the Logos, if *μακρόθεν* be taken as meaning “afar” rather than “from afar.”

## ON DREAMS, I. 64-68

case : " He came to the place of which God had told him : and lifting up his eyes he saw the place from afar " (Gen. xxii. 3 f.).<sup>a</sup> Tell me, pray, did he who 65 had come to the place see it from afar ? Nay, it would seem that one and the same word is used of two different things : one of these is a divine Word, the other God Who was before the Word. One who has 66 come from abroad under Wisdom's guidance arrives at the former place, thus attaining in the divine word the sum and consummation of service. But when he has his place in the divine Word he does not actually reach Him Who is in very essence God, but sees Him from afar : or rather, not even from a distance is he capable of contemplating Him ; all he sees is the bare fact that God is far away from all Creation, and that the apprehension of Him is removed to a very great distance from all human power of thought. Nay, it may be that neither in this part of the text <sup>b</sup> 67 does the lawgiver use " place " as a figurative description of the First Cause, but that what is signified is something like this : " he came to the place and looked up and saw with his eyes " the place itself to which he had come, that it was a long way off from God for Whom no name nor utterance nor conception of any sort is adequate.

XII. Having laid down these preliminary defini- 68 tions, we resume our story. When the Practiser comes to Haran, or Sense-perception, he " meets a place." This " place " is not that filled by a mortal body, for of that all earth-born men have their share, for they have filled a space and occupy of necessity some place. Nor is it that best one, the third named above, of which it would hardly have been possible for him to form a conception by dwelling at the well

## PHILO

τριβάς, ὃ προσηγορεύετο ὄρκος, ᾧ τὸ αὐτομαθὲς  
 γένος, Ἰσαάκ, ἐνδιδαιτᾶται μηδέποτε τῆς πρὸς θεὸν  
 πίστεως καὶ ἀφανοῦς ὑπολήψεως ἀφιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ  
 τῷ μέσῳ λόγῳ θείῳ, τὰ ἄριστα ὑφηγουμένῳ καὶ  
 69 ὅσα πρόσφορα τοῖς καιροῖς ἀναδιδάσκοντι. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἀξιῶν<sup>1</sup> ὁ θεὸς εἰς αἴσθησιν ἔρχεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ  
 λόγους ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα τῶν φιλαρέτων ἀποστέλλει·  
 οἱ δ' ἰατρεύουσι καὶ ἐκνοσηλεύουσι τὰ ψυχῆς ἀρρω-  
 στήματα, παραινέσεις ἱερὰς ὥσπερ νόμους ἀκινή-  
 τους τιθέντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τούτων γυμνάσια καλοῦντες  
 καὶ τρόπον ἀλειπτῶν ἰσχὺν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ῥώμην  
 70 ἀνανταγώνιστον ἐμφύοντες. δεόντως οὖν εἰς αἴ-  
 σθησιν ἔλθων οὐκέτι θεῷ, λόγῳ δ' ὑπαντᾷ θεοῦ,  
 καθὰ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ τῆς σοφίας Ἀβραάμ.  
 λέγεται γάρ· “ ἀπῆλθε κύριος, ὡς ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν  
 τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἀβραάμ ἀπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν  
 τόπον αὐτοῦ”· δι' οὗ συνάγεται τὸ λόγοις τοιούτοις  
 ἐντυγχάνειν ἱεροῖς, ὧν ὁ πρὸ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς ἀπ-  
 ῆλλακται, μηκέτι τὰς ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τείνων φαντασίας,  
 ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν μεθ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεων.  
 71 ὑπερφυέστατα δ' ἔχει τὸ μὴ φάναι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν  
 τόπον, ἀλλ' ἀπαντῆσαι τόπῳ· ἐκούσιον μὲν γὰρ  
 τὸ ἔρχεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπαντᾶν πολλάκις ἀκούσιον, ἢν'  
 ἐξαπιναιῶς ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπιφαινόμενος ἀπροσ-  
 δόκητον χαρὰν ἐλπίδος μείζονα ἐρήμη ψυχῇ συνοδοι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπαξιῶν.

<sup>a</sup> The thought is not very clear. Perhaps “even if he had remained in that higher region, which is the permanent home of the Isaac-soul, he could scarcely (or perhaps “only with difficulty”) have reached the apprehension of the divine, which even Isaac saw only dimly.”

## ON DREAMS, I. 68-71

called "Oath," where Isaac has his abode, the self-taught nature that never desists from faith toward God and dim conception of Him.<sup>a</sup> No: the "place" on which he "lights" is the place in the middle sense, the Word of God, shewing, as it does, the way to the things that are best, teaching, as it does, such lessons as the varying occasions require. For 69 God, not deeming it meet that sense should perceive Him, sends forth His Words to succour the lovers of virtue, and they act as physicians of the soul and completely heal its infirmities, giving holy exhortations with all the force of irreversible enactments, and calling to the exercise and practice of these and like trainers implanting strength and power and vigour that no adversary can withstand. Meet and right then is it that Jacob, having come 70 to Sense-perception, meets not now God but a word of God, even as did Abraham, the grandfather of his wisdom.<sup>b</sup> For we are told that "the Lord departed, when He ceased speaking to Abraham, and Abraham returned to his place" (Gen. xviii. 33). By "returning to his place" is implied the meeting with sacred Words of a kind from which the God Who is prior to all things has withdrawn, ceasing to extend visions that proceed from Himself, but only those that proceed from the potencies inferior to Him. There is an extraordinary fitness in saying not that 71 he came to the place, but that he met with a place; for coming is a matter of choice, but there is often no exercise of choice in meeting. Thus should the divine Word, by manifesting Itself suddenly and offering Itself as a fellow-traveller to a lonely soul, hold out to it an unlooked-for joy—which is greater

<sup>b</sup> See § 47 above.



## PHILO

πορεῖν μέλλων προτείνει. καὶ γὰρ Μωυσῆς “ ἐξάγει τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν συνάντησιν τοῦ θεοῦ,” σαφῶς εἰδὼς ἐρχόμενον αὐτὸν ἀοράτως πρὸς τὰς ποθοῦσας ψυχὰς ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ.

72 XIII. Τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρει, δι’ ἣν τόπω ὑπ-  
ήνητησεν. “ ἔδω ” γάρ φησιν “ ὁ ἥλιος,” οὐχ ὁ φαινό-  
μενος οὗτος, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀοράτου καὶ μεγίστου  
θεοῦ περιφεγγέστατον καὶ περιανγέστατον φῶς.  
τοῦθ’ ὅταν μὲν ἐπιλάμψῃ διανοία, τὰ δεύτερα λόγων  
δύεται φέγγη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ αἰσθητοὶ τόποι  
πάντες ἐπισκιάζονται· ὅταν δ’ ἐτέρωσε χωρήσῃ.

73 πάντ’ εὐθὺς ἀνίσχει καὶ ἀνατέλλει. μὴ θαυμάσης  
δέ, εἰ ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἀλληγορίας κανόνας  
ἐξομοιοῦται τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνι τῶν συμπάντων·  
θεῷ γὰρ ὅμοιον πρὸς ἀλήθειαν μὲν οὐδέν, ἃ δὲ δόξῃ  
venόμισται, δύο μόνα ἐστίν, ἀοράτον τε καὶ ὁρατόν,

[632] 74 ψυχὴ μὲν ἀοράτον, ὁρατόν δὲ ἥλιος. τὴν | μὲν  
οὖν ψυχῆς ἐμφέρειαν δεδήλωκεν ἐν ἑτέροις εἰπών·  
“ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ  
ἐποίησεν αὐτόν,” καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἀνδροφόνων  
τεθέντι νόμῳ πάλιν· “ ὁ ἐκχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου  
ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται, ὅτι ἐν εἰκόνι  
θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον,” τὴν δὲ ἡλίου διὰ  
75 συμβόλων μεμήνηκε. ῥάδιον δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλως ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ τοῦτο κατιδεῖν, ἐπειδὴ

<sup>a</sup> Or simply “greater than it hoped for.” But see the contrast between *χαρά* and *ἐλπίς* in *De Mut.* 163 f.

<sup>b</sup> Note how Philo, having already reduced *λόγος* from the Divine Logos to God’s *λόγοι*, here reduces it still further to “words” in general.

<sup>c</sup> Philo here seems to abandon his regular interpretation

## ON DREAMS, I. 71-75

than hope.<sup>a</sup> For Moses too, when he "leads out the people to meet God" (Ex. xix. 17), knows full well that He comes all unseen to the souls that yearn to come into His presence.

XIII. The lawgiver further states the reason why 72 Jacob "met" a place: "for the sun was set," it says (Gen. xxviii. 11), not this sun which shews itself to our eyes, but the light of the supreme and invisible God most brilliant and most radiant. When this shines upon the understanding, it causes those lesser luminaries of words<sup>b</sup> to set, and in a far higher degree casts into shade all the places of sense-perception; but when it has gone elsewhere, all these at once have their dawn and rising. And marvel not if the 73 sun, in accordance with the rules of allegory, is likened to the Father and Ruler of the universe: for although in reality nothing is like God, there have been accounted so in human opinion two things only, one invisible, one visible, the soul invisible, the sun visible. The soul's likeness to God the lawgiver has 74 shewn elsewhere, by saying "God made man, after the image of God made He him" (Gen. i. 27),<sup>c</sup> and again, in the law enacted against murderers, "he that sheddeth man's blood, in requital for his blood shall there blood be shed, because in the image of God made I man" (Gen. ix. 6); while the sun's likeness to God he has indicated by figures.

In other ways also it is easy to discern this by a 75 process of reasoning.<sup>d</sup> In the first place: God is of *κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ* as "made in the likeness of the image," i.e. of the Logos. (See e.g. *Leg. All.* iii. 96.)

<sup>a</sup> This "reasoning," in which, though the term "sun" is not applied to God, it may be inferred from the context, goes on to the end of § 76. The "figurative" use of the word in this sense is given in §§ 87 ff.

- πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεὸς φῶς ἐστὶ—“ κύριος γὰρ φωτισμός μου καὶ σωτήρ μου ” ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄδεται—καὶ οὐ μόνον φῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὸς ἐτέρου φωτὸς ἀρχέτυπον, μᾶλλον δὲ παντὸς ἀρχετύπου πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀνώτερον, λόγον ἔχον παραδείγματος <παραδείγματος>.<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὲν γὰρ παράδειγμα ὁ πληρέστατος ἦν αὐτοῦ λόγος, φῶς—“ εἶπε ” γάρ φησιν “ ὁ θεός· γενέσθω φῶς,”—αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδενὶ
- 76 τῶν γεγονότων ὅμοιος. ἔπειθ' ὡς ἥλιος ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα διακρίνει, οὕτως φησὶ Μωυσῆς τὸν θεὸν φῶς καὶ σκότος διατειχίσαι· “ διεχώρισε γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκοτόυς ”· ἄλλως τε ὡς ἥλιος ἀνατείλας τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτως καὶ ὁ θεὸς τὰ πάντα γεννήσας οὐ μόνον εἰς τοῦμφανές ἤγαγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ πρότερον οὐκ ἦν, ἐποίησεν, οὐ δημιουργὸς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὢν.
- 77 XIV. Λέγεται δὲ πολλαχῶς κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον ἐν ὑπονοίαις ἥλιος, ἅπαξ μὲν ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ὃν οἰκοδομοῦσιν ὡς πόλιν καὶ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ γένεσιν πρὸ τοῦ ἀγενήτου θεραπεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι, ἐφ' ὧν εἴρηται ὅτι “ ὠκοδόμησαν πόλεις ὀχυράς τῷ Φαραώ, τήν τε Πειθώ,” τὸν λόγον ᾧ τὸ πείθειν ἀνάκειται, “ καὶ Ῥαμεσσή,”

<sup>1</sup> <παραδείγματος>. This is my own insertion. The text, as it stands in the mss.—(1) God is above all archetypes; (2) He is the “model,” i.e. archetype; (3) the Logos is the archetype and in this is contrasted with God—seems incoherent. For παράδειγμα παραδείγματος cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 96 ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος . . . οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, and *De Op.* 25 εἰκὼν εἰκόνας.

light, for there is a verse in one of the psalms, " the Lord is my illumination and my Saviour " (Ps. xxvii. [xxvi.] 1). And He is not only light, but the archetype of every other light, nay, prior to and high above every archetype, holding the position of the model of a model. For the model or pattern was the Word which contained all His fullness—light, in fact<sup>a</sup>; for, as the lawgiver tells us, " God said, ' let light come into being ' " (Gen. i. 3), whereas He Himself resembles none of the things which have come into being.

Secondly : as the sun makes day 76 and night distinct, so Moses says that God kept apart light and darkness ; for " God," he tells us, " separated between the light and between the darkness " (Gen. i. 4). And above all, as the sun when it rises makes visible objects which had been hidden, so God when He gave birth to all things, not only brought them into sight, but also made things which before were not, not just handling material as an artificer, but being Himself its creator.

XIV. In the course of sacred revelation " Sun " is 77 used in several figurative senses. To begin with, it is used of the human mind, which is erected and set up as a city by those who under compulsion serve creation in preference to the uncreated One. Of them we read that " they built strong cities for Pharaoh, namely Peitho," speech, to which persuading is dedicated, " and Raamses," sense-perception, by

<sup>a</sup> The word *φῶς* here puzzled Mangey, who suggested its omission, which would make the quotation pointless. I think the text may stand. The Logos *is* light, for if God said " let there be light," this was a *λόγος* in the sense of a saying. Cf. note on *De Fug.* 95. The straining would be lessened if we suppose that the next three words of the quotation, *καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς*, have fallen out.

- τὴν αἴσθησιν, ὑφ' ἧς ὥσπερ ὑπὸ σέων ἡ ψυχὴ  
 διεσθίεται—ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ σεισμὸς σητός,—“καὶ  
 τὴν Ὠν,” τὸν νοῦν, ἣν Ἡλίου πόλιν ὠνόμασεν,  
 ἐπειδὴ καθάπερ ἥλιος τοῦ παντός ἡμῶν ὄγκου τὴν  
 ἡγεμονίαν ἀνῆπται καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις ὥσπερ  
 78 ἀκτῖνας εἰς ὅλον τείνει. τὸν δὲ ἱερέα καὶ θερα-  
 πευτὴν τοῦ νοῦ πενθερὸν ἐπιγράφεται πᾶς ὁ τὴν  
 τοῦ σώματος πολιτείαν ἀναψάμενος, ὄνομα Ἰωσήφ.  
 “ἔδωκε” γάρ φησιν “αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα  
 79 Πετεφρῇ ἱερέως Ἡλίου πόλεως.” |  
 [633] δεῦτερον δὲ ἥλιον καλεῖ συμβολικῶς τὴν αἴσθησιν,  
 ἐπειδὴ τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντα δείκνυσιν διανοίᾳ. περὶ  
 ἧς λελάληκεν ὧδε· “ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος αὐτῷ, ἡνίκα  
 παρῆλθε τὸ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ”· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ταῖς  
 ἱερωτάταις ἰδέαις καὶ ὡς ἂν εἰκόσιν ἀσωμάτοις  
 ὅταν μηκέτι δυνώμεθα συνδιατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρωσε  
 τρεπόμενοι μεταχωρήσωμεν, ἄλλω φωτὶ τῷ κατὰ  
 αἴσθησιν χρώμεθα σκότους πρὸς τὸν ὑγιῆ λόγον  
 80 οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς διαφέροντι· ὅπερ ἀνατείλαν ὄρασιν  
 μὲν καὶ ἀκοήν, ἔτι δὲ γεῦσιν καὶ ὄσφρησιν καὶ  
 ἀφὴν ὥσπερ κοιμωμένας ἀνήγειρε, φρόνησιν δὲ<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ σοφίαν ἐγρη-  
 81 γορυίας εἰς ὕπνον ἔτρεψεν. οὐ χάριν ἀγνεύειν  
 οὐδένα πρὸ ἐσπέρας φησὶν ὁ ἱερός λόγος δύνασθαι,  
 τῆς διανοίας ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' αἴσθησιν κινήσεων ἔτι  
 παρευημερουμένης. ἄφυκτον δὲ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἱερεῦσι νόμον ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τε.<sup>a</sup> Because the Senses are Mind's daughters, *vide* § 88.<sup>b</sup> Or “statement.” See below on § 101. The future indicative instead of the imperative indicates a spiritual fact, *viz.*

## ON DREAMS, I. 77-81

which the soul is eaten through as though by moths : the name means " moth-shock " ;—" and On," the mind, which Moses called Sun-city (Ex. i. 11), since the mind, like a sun, has assumed the leadership of our entire frame and bulk, and makes its forces reach, like the sun's rays, to every part of it. And everyone 78 who has accepted the citizenship of the body, and the name of such is Joseph, chooses for his father-in-law the priest and devotee of Mind.<sup>a</sup> For Moses says that Pharaoh " gave him Asenath, daughter of Poti- phera, priest of Heliopolis " (Gen. xli. 45).

Secondly, Moses uses " sun " figuratively for sense- 79 perception, inasmuch as it shews all objects of sense to the understanding. It is of sense-perception that Moses has spoken on this wise : " the sun arose upon him when he passed by the appearance of God " (Gen. xxxii. 31) ; for in truth, when we are no longer able to remain in company with holiest forms, which are as it were incorporeal images, but turn in a different direction and go elsewhere, we are led by another light, even that which answers to sense-perception, a light, as compared with sound reason, differing no whit from darkness. When this sun has 80 risen it wakes up sight and hearing, yea taste and smell and touch, from their seeming sleep, but sound sense and justice and knowledge and wisdom, which it finds awake, it plunges in sleep. This is why the 81 sacred word says that no one can be clean until the even (Lev. xi. *passim*), the understanding being till then at the mercy of the movements of sense-perception.

For the priests too he lays down an inexorable law, in the form of a prediction,<sup>b</sup> in the

that whoever is not cleansed cannot really partake of holy things.

## PHILO

τίθῃσιν, ἐπειδὴν λέγει· “ Οὐκ ἔδεται ἀπὸ τῶν  
 ἁγίων, ἐὰν μὴ λούσῃται τὸ σῶμα ὕδατι καὶ δύῃ  
 82 ὁ ἥλιος καὶ γένῃται καθαρός.” δηλοῖ γὰρ σαφέ-  
 στατα διὰ τούτων, ὅτι εὐαγῆς εἰσάπαν οὐδεὶς ἐστίν,  
 ὡς ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἱεροπρεπέσι χρῆσθαι τελεταῖς,  
 ᾧ τὰς αἰσθητὰς τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου λαμπρότητας ἔτι  
 τετιμῆσθαι συμβέβηκεν. εἰ δέ τις αὐτὰς οὐκ ἀπο-  
 δέχεται, κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον τῷ φρονήσεως ἐπι-  
 λάμπεται φέγγει, δι’ οὗ δυνήσεται τὰς τῶν κενῶν  
 83 δοξῶν ἐκνίπτεσθαι καὶ ἀπολούεσθαι κηλίδας. ἢ  
 τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι τὰναντία καὶ ἀνα-  
 τέλλων καὶ δυσόμενος ἐργάζεται; ἐπειδὴν γὰρ  
 ἀνίσχη, τὰ μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἅπαντα περιλάμπεται,  
 τὰ δὲ κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἀποκρύπτεται· δύντος δ’  
 ἔμπαλιν οἱ μὲν ἀστέρες προφαίνονται, τὰ δὲ περί-  
 84 γεια συσκιάζεται. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν,  
 ὅταν μὲν τὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων φέγγος ὡς ἥλιος  
 ἀνατείλῃ, τὰς ὀλυμπίους καὶ οὐρανίους ὡς ἀληθῶς  
 ἐπιστήμας κρύπτεσθαι συμβέβηκεν· ὅταν δὲ πρὸς  
 δυσμὰς γένῃται, τὰς ἀστεροειδεστάτας καὶ θειο-  
 τάτας ἀναφαίνεσθαι ἀρετῶν αὐγὰς, ὅτε καὶ καθαρὸς  
 ὁ νοῦς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς κρυπτόμενος αἰσθητοῦ γίνεται.  
 85 XV. κατὰ δὲ τὸ τρίτον σημαινόμενον  
 ἥλιον καλεῖ τὸν θεῖον λόγον, τὸ τοῦ κατ’ οὐρανὸν  
 περιπολοῦντος, ὡς πρότερον ἐλέχθη, παράδειγμα,  
 ἐφ’ οὗ λέγεται· “ ὁ ἥλιος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,  
 καὶ Λῶτ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Σηγῶρ, καὶ κύριος ἔβρεξεν  
 86 ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ.” ὁ γὰρ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ γεῶδες ἡμῶν σύστημα

## ON DREAMS, I. 81-86

words : " He will not eat of the holy things unless he have washed his body with water, and the sun be set, and he have become clean " (Lev. xxii. 6 f.). For he 82 makes it perfectly evident by this declaration that no one is absolutely free from pollution, so as to celebrate the holy and reverend mysteries, by whom the splendours of this mortal life, objects as they are of sense-perception, are still held in honour. But if a man disdains them, the consequence is that he is shone upon by the light of sound sense, and by means of it he will be able completely to purge and wash out of himself the defilements of vain opinions. Or look 83 at the sun itself. Do you not see that the effect of its rising is the reverse of that of its setting ? When it has risen, all things on earth are lit up, while those in the heavens are obscured : on the contrary, when it has set the stars appear, and earthly objects are hidden. It is precisely the same with us. When the 84 light of our senses has risen like a sun, the various forms of knowledge, so truly heavenly and celestial, disappear from sight : when it reaches its setting, radiances most divine and most star-like sent forth from virtues come into view : and it is then that the mind also becomes pure because it is darkened by no object of sense.

XV. The third meaning 85 in which he employs the title sun is that of the divine Word, the pattern, as has been already mentioned, of the sun which makes its circuit in the sky. It is of the divine Word that it is said, " The sun went forth upon the earth, and Lot entered into Zoar, and the Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire " (Gen. xix. 23 f.). For the Word of God, when 86 it arrives at our earthy composition, in the case of



- ἀφίκηται, τοῖς μὲν ἀρετῆς συγγενέσι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποκλίνουσιν ἀρήγει καὶ βοηθεῖ, ὡς καταφυγὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς πορίζειν παντελῇ, τοῖς δὲ ἀντιπάλοις ὀλεθρον καὶ φθορὰν ἀνίατον ἐπι-
- 87 πέμπει. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τέταρτον σημαίνόμενον ἥλιος μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμὼν, ὡς εἶπον ἡδὴ, δι' οὗ τὰ ἀνίατα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων
- [634] ἀνακαλύπτεται συσκιάζεσθαι δοκοῦντα· | πάντα γὰρ ὡς δυνατά, οὕτως καὶ γνώριμα θεῷ.
- 88 παρὸ καὶ τοὺς καταλυθέντας τῶν τόνων τῶν ψυχικῶν, ἀκολάστως καὶ λαγνίστερον ὁμιλοῦντας ταῖς νοῦ θυγατράσιν, αἰσθήσεσιν, ὡς χαμαιτύπαις καὶ
- 89 πόρναις, ἐνδειχθησομένους πρὸς ἥλιον ἄγει. φησὶ γάρ· “καὶ κατέλυσεν ὁ λαὸς ἐν Σαττὶν”—ἄκανθαι δ' ἐρμηνεύεται, παθῶν κεντούντων καὶ τιτρωσκόντων ψυχὴν σύμβολον,—“καὶ ἐβεβηλώθη” φησὶν “ἐκπορνεῦσαι εἰς τὰς θυγατέρας Μωάβ”—αἱ δὲ εἰσιν αἱ αἰσθήσεις, κεκλημέναι νοῦ θυγατέρες· Μωάβ γὰρ ἐκ πατρὸς ἐρμηνεύεται,—καὶ προστίθησι· “λάβε πάντας τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ παραδειγμάτισον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπέναντι τοῦ ἡλίου, καὶ ἀποστραφήσεται ὀργὴ κυρίου ἀπὸ Ἰσραήλ.”
- 90 οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐμφανῇ γενέσθαι βουλόμενος ταῖς ἡλιακαῖς περιέλαμβεν ἀκτίσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ συμβόλων ἥλιον τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὄλων ἐκάλεσεν, ᾧ πάντα προὔπτα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μυχοῖς τῆς διανοίας ἀοράτως ἐπιτελεῖται· γενομένων δ' ἐμφανῶν ἰλεώ φησιν ἔσσεσθαι τὸν

\* An allusion to the interpretation of Lot's name as ἀπόκλις “sometimes from what is good, sometimes from what is bad,” *De Mig.* 148. There is a similar allusion below, § 246, but there to the wrong kind of ἀπόκ.

## ON DREAMS, I. 86-90

those who are akin to virtue and turn away <sup>a</sup> to her, gives help and succour, thus affording them a refuge and perfect safety, but sends upon her adversaries irreparable ruin.

In a fourth sense, as I 87 have already said, the title of "Sun" is applied to the Ruler of the Universe Himself, through Whose agency irremediable sins, when apparently concealed, are disclosed. For to God all things are known, even as all things are possible.

In accordance 88 with this we see Him bringing to the sun to be laid bare those energies of the soul that have been unstrung by lewd and licentious intercourse with Mind's daughters, the senses, as though they were common strumpets. For he says "and the people abode in 89 Shittim"—the meaning of this name is "thorns," a symbol of passions pricking and wounding the soul—"and was defiled to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab"—these are the senses, entitled daughters of Mind; for the translation of "Moab" is "from a father." The lawgiver adds the command given him: "Take all the chiefs of the people and set them up publicly <sup>b</sup> unto the Lord before the sun, and the anger of the Lord shall be turned away from Israel" (Num. xxv. 1, 4). It was not only that, in 90 his desire that the hidden deeds of unrighteousness should be made manifest, he caused the rays of the sun to shine about them. More than this, he gave the figurative title of "Sun" to the universal Father, to Whose sight all things are open, even those which are perpetrated invisibly in the recesses of the understanding. He says that when they have been made manifest, the One gracious Being will be found

<sup>b</sup> E.V. "hang them up," which the LXX may have meant. Philo, however, interprets it by *ἐμφανή γενέσθαι*.

91 **μόνον** ἴλεω. διὰ τί; ὅτι, ἐὰν ὑπολαβοῦσα διάνοια λήσασθαι τὸ θεῖον ἀδικοῦσα, ὡς μὴ πάντα καθορᾶν δυνάμενον, κρύφα καὶ ἐν μυχοῖς διαμαρτάνη καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴτ' ἐξ αὐτῆς εἴτε καὶ ὑφηγησαμένου τινὸς ἐννοήσῃ, ὅτι ἀμήχανον ἄδηλον εἶναι τι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῆς πράξεις ἀπάσας ἀναπτύξῃ καὶ εἰς μέσον προενεγκοῦσα καθάπερ εἰς ἡλιακὸν φῶς ἐπιδείξῃται τῷ τῶν ὅλων ἐπισκόπῳ φήσασα μετανοεῖν ἐφ' οἷς πρότερον ἀγνώμονι γνώμῃ χρωμένη κακῶς ἐδόξαζε—μηδὲν γὰρ ἄδηλον, γνώριμα δὲ καὶ δῆλα πάντα, οὐ τὰ πραχθέντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ,—κεκάθαρται καὶ ὠφέλῃται καὶ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα κολαστὴν ἔλεγχον ἡμέρων κεν ὀργῇ δικαίᾳ χρώμενον, εἰ τὸ μετανοεῖν ἀδελφὸν νεώτερον ὢν τοῦ μηδ' ὅλως ἀμαρτεῖν ἀποδέχεται.<sup>1</sup>

92 **XVI.** Φαίνεται μέντοι καὶ ἐτέρωθι κατὰ σύμβολον ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰτίου τὸν ἥλιον παραλαμβάνων, ὡς ἐν τῷ γραφέντι νόμῳ περὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐνεχύροις δανειζόντων· λέγε τὸν νόμον· “ἐὰν ἐνεχύρασμα ἐνεχυράσῃς τὸ ἱμάτιον τοῦ πλησίον, πρὸ δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο περιβόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κοιμηθήσεται; ἐὰν οὖν καταβολήσῃ πρὸς μέ, εἰσακούσομαι αὐτοῦ· ἐλεήμων  
93 γάρ εἰμι.” ἄρ' οὐκ ἄξιον τοὺς οἰομένους τὴν τοσαύτην σπουδὴν εἶναι τῷ νομοθέτῃ περὶ ἀμπεχόνῃς, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὀνειδίζειν, ἀλλὰ τοί γε ὑπομιμνή-

<sup>1</sup> Wend. was inclined to insert *μὴ* either before *δικαίᾳ* or *ἀποδέχεται*. I think the text may well stand. The *εἰ* (or possibly *εἰ γὰρ*) clause serves to repeat in a short summary the long series of *ἐὰν* clauses which precede.

## ON DREAMS, I. 91-93

gracious. Why so? Because, if the understanding, 91  
imagining that its wrongdoing will escape the notice  
of God as though He were not able to see all things,  
sin secretly in deep recesses; if subsequently,  
whether of itself or by the leading of another, it come  
to realize that it is impossible that anything should  
be otherwise than clear to God; if it unfold itself and  
all its doings, and bringing them out into the open  
expose them as it were in the sunlight to Him Whose  
eye is upon all things; if it say that it repents of the  
evil opinions which it formerly held in reliance upon  
an ill-judging judgement; if it acknowledge that  
nothing is withdrawn from His sight, but that all  
things are ever known and manifest to Him, not only  
those which have been done already, but the far  
greater body of those which are but contemplated in  
the future;—then has it gained cleansing and benefit  
and has appeased the just wrath of the convicting  
wielder of the lash who was standing over it. So is  
it with the soul if it embraces repentance, younger  
brother of complete guiltlessness.

XVI. There are other cases in which the lawgiver 92  
evidently takes the sun figuratively as applying to the  
First Cause, as in the Law enacted with reference to  
those who lend money on security. Read the Law :  
“ If thou take thy neighbour’s garment to pledge thou  
shalt restore it to him before the setting of the sun; for  
this is his only covering, it is the garment of his shame.  
Wherein shall he sleep? If then he cry unto Me, I will  
hear him, for I am compassionate ” (Ex. xxii. 26 f.).  
Do not those who suppose that the lawgiver feels 93  
all this concern about a cloak deserve, if not reproach,

σκειν φάσκοντας· τί λέγετε, ὦ γενναῖοι; ὁ τῶν ὅλων κτίστης καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐλεήμονα ἑαυτὸν ἐφ' οὕτως εὐτελοῦς πράγματος, ἱματίου μὴ ἀποδοθέντος  
 94 χρεώσῃ | πρὸς δανειστοῦ, καλεῖ; τὸ μέγεθος  
 [635] καθάπαξ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ πάντα μεγάλου θεοῦ μὴ συνεωρακότων τοιαῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπολαμβάνειν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην μικρολογίαν τῇ ἀγενήτῳ καὶ ἀφθάρτῳ καὶ πλήρει μακαριότητος καὶ εὐδαιμονίας φύσει  
 95 παρὰ θέμιν καὶ δίκην προσνεμόντων. τί γὰρ ἄτοπον ποιοῦσιν οἱ τὰ ῥύσια κατέχοντες δανεισταὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἄχρισ ἂν τὰ ἴδια ἀναπράξωνται; πένητες οἱ χρεῶσται, φήσιν τις ἴσως, καὶ ἄξιον ἐλεεῖν αὐτούς. εἴτ' οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν γράφαι νόμον, δι' οὗ τούτους<sup>1</sup> ἐρανιοῦσι μᾶλλον ἢ χρεώστας ἀποφανοῦσιν ἢ ἐπ' ἐνεχύροις τοῦ δανείζειν κωλύσαι<sup>2</sup>; ὁ δὲ ἐφείς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπὶ τοῖς ᾧ ἔλαβον πρὸ καιροῦ μὴ προιεμένοις δυσχεραῖνοι ὡς ἀσεβοῦσι.  
 96 πενίας δ' εἰς αὐτά τις ἐλθὼν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τὰ πέρατα καὶ ῥάκιον ἐν ἀμπεχόμενος δανειστὰς καινοὺς ἐπάγεται τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρώντων παρεῖς ἔλεον, ὃς τοῖς κεχρημένοις ταῖς τοιαύταις κακοπραγίαις κατ' οἰκίαν καὶ παρ' ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν ἀγορᾷ  
 97 καὶ πανταχοῦ προκέχυται; νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ μόνον εἶχε προκάλυμμα αἰδοῦς, ὃ τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρρητα συνεσκίαζε, τοῦτο φέρων προὔτεινε· ῥύσιον ὑπὲρ τίνος, εἰπέ μοι; ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐτέρας ἀμείνονος ἐσθῆτος; τροφῆς μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαίας ἄπορος

<sup>1</sup> So mss.: Mangey and earlier editions *τούτοις*. The accusative seems only found here and once in Antiphon. See L. & S. 1927.

<sup>2</sup> So Mangey with one ms.: Wend. with the rest *κωλύσουσι*, which is ungrammatical. He suggests *τὸ δανείζειν κωλύει*

## ON DREAMS, I. 93-97

at least a reminder, in such terms as, "What are you saying, good sirs? Does the Creator and Ruler of the universe speak of Himself as compassionate in regard to so trifling a matter, a garment not returned to a debtor by a lender of money? To entertain such ideas is a mark of men who have utterly failed to see the greatness of the excellence of the infinitely great God, and against every principle human or divine attribute human pettiness to the Being Who is unoriginate and incorruptible and full of all blessedness<sup>95</sup> and happiness. What is there outrageous in money-lenders keeping the securities in their own hands, until they have got back their own? Someone will say perhaps that the debtors are poor men, and deserve pity. In that case would it not be better to make a law for contributing to the needs of such people instead of making them debtors, or for prohibiting lending upon security? But the legislator who has permitted this cannot reasonably be indignant with those who do not give up before the time what they have received, and treat them as devoid of<sup>96</sup> piety. And does a man who has reached practically the extreme limit of poverty, and is clothed with a single rag, endeavour to attract fresh money-lenders, while he lets pass unheeded the compassion, which goes forth abundantly from all beholders, indoors, at temples, in the market-place, everywhere, to those<sup>97</sup> who experience such misfortunes? But in this case he is supposed to bring and offer the sole covering of his shame, with which he veiled nature's secret parts. And security for *what*? tell me that. Is it for a better garment to take its place? For no one is at

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Μωυσῆς, which I do not understand. I suggest κωλυθήσονται, or preferably κωλύσονται.

- οὐδείς, ἄχρῖς ἂν πηγαὶ μὲν ἀναβλύζωσι, ποταμοὶ  
 δὲ χεῖμαρροι πλημμυρῶσι,<sup>1</sup> γῇ δὲ τοὺς ἔτησίους  
 98 ἀναδιδῶ<sup>2</sup> καρπούς. οὕτω δὲ ἢ βαθύπλουτός τις ἢ  
 λίαν ὠμὸς ὁ δανειστής, ὥς ἢ τετράδραχμον τάχα  
 δὲ καὶ ἔλαττον <μῇ><sup>3</sup> ἐθέλειν τῷ συμβαλεῖν ἢ οὕτω  
 πενιχρῶ δανείζειν ἀλλὰ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι ἢ ὁ μόνον  
 ἦν ἱμάτιον ἐκείνῳ λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπερ ἑτέρῳ  
 ὀνόματι λωποδυτεῖν εἰκότως ἂν λέγοιτο; καὶ γὰρ  
 λωποδύταις ἔθος ἀπαμπίσχουσι τὰς μὲν ἐσθήτας  
 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, γυμνοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀποφαίνειν.  
 99 διὰ τί δὲ νυκτὸς μὲν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀνεί-  
 μονά τινα κοιμηθῆναι προϋνόησεν, ἡμέρας δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦ μὴ ἐγρηγορότα γυμνὸν ἀσχημονεῖν οὐκέθ’  
 ὁμοίως ἐφρόντισεν; ἢ οὐ νυκτὶ μὲν καὶ σκότῳ  
 κρύπτεται πάντα, ὥς ἦττον ἢ μῆδ’ ὅλως αἰδεῖσθαι,  
 ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ φωτὶ ἀνακαλύπτεται, ὥς τότε μᾶλλον  
 100 ἐρυθριαῖν ἀναγκάζεσθαι; διὰ τί δ’ οὐ  
 διδόναι τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἀλλ’ ἀποδιδόναι προσέταξεν;  
 ἀπόδοσις γὰρ ἐπ’ ἄλλοτρίοις γίνεται, τὰ δ’ ἐνέχυρα  
 τῶν δεδανεικόντων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν δεδανεισμένων  
 ἐστίν. ἐκείνο δὲ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ὅτι λαβόντι τῷ  
 χρεώσῃ πρόσκοιτον τὸ ἱμάτιον οὐ προσέταξε μεθ’  
 ἡμέραν περιελεῖν ἀναστάντι καὶ κομίσαι τῷ  
 101 δανειστῇ; καὶ μὴν τῷ γε τῆς ἐρμηνείας  
 ἰδιοτρόπῳ καὶ ὁ βραδύτατος ἕτερόν τι τοῦ ῥήτου  
 [636] κατανοεῖν ἂν | προαχθείη· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἀφορισμῷ

<sup>1</sup> So Wend: the mss. have either ποταμῶν, χεῖμαρροι δὲ πλημ. (in one case ποταμῶν, χεῖμαρροι δὲ ποταμῶν πλημ.) or ποταμοὶ δὲ πλημ. I suggest as an alternative to Wend.’s πότιμοι, χεῖμαρροι δὲ πλημ. <sup>2</sup> mss. ἀναδίδωσι.

<sup>3</sup> <μῇ>: so Mangey: Wend. rejects the insertion, presumably taking the meaning to be “content himself with throwing a farthing to him.”

a loss for the bare necessities of food, so long as springs gush forth, and rivers run down in winter, and earth yields her fruits in their season. And is the creditor 98 either so swallowed up in riches or so exceedingly cruel as to be unwilling to afford a tetradrachm (or less it may be) to anybody, or make a loan rather than a free gift to one so poor, or to take as security the man's only garment, an act which might well be given another name and called coat-snatching? For that is the coat-snatcher's way; when they remove people's apparel they carry it off, and leave the owners naked.

And why did he take 99 thought for night and that no one should sleep without clothing,<sup>a</sup> but shewed no such care for the day and that a man should not be indecent in his waking hours? Or is it not the case that by night and darkness all things are hidden, so that nakedness causes less shame or none at all, whereas by the light of day all things are uncovered, so that then one is more obliged to blush?

And why did he 100 enjoin not the *giving* but the *returning* of the garment? For we *return* what belongs to another, whereas the securities belong to the lenders rather than to the borrowers. And do you not notice that he has given no direction to the debtor, after taking the garment to use as a blanket, when day has come to get up and remove it and carry it to the money-lender?

And indeed the peculiarities of the wording might 101 well lead even the slowest-witted reader to perceive the presence of something other than the literal meaning of the passage: for the ordinance bears the

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 599.



ἡ παραινέσει ἔοικε τὸ διάταγμα. παραινῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶπεν ἄν τις· τὸ ἐνεχυρασθὲν ἱμάτιον, ἐὰν τοῦτ' ἡ μόνον τῷ χρεώσῃ, πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἀπόδος, ἵν' ἔχη νύκτωρ ἀμπεχέσθαι, ἀφορίζομενος δὲ οὕτως, ὡς νῦν ἔχει· “(ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ)<sup>1</sup>· ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο περιβόλαιον αὐτῷ μόνον, τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ἐν τίνι κοιμηθήσεται;”

- 102 XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ῥητῆς πραγματείας σοφιστὰς καὶ λίαν τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότας εἰρήσθω, λέγωμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι τοῖς ἀλληγορίας νόμοις τὰ πρόποντα περὶ τούτων. φαμὲν τοίνυν λόγου σύμβολον ἱμάτιον εἶναι. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ θάλπους εἰωθυίας τῷ σώματι κατασκήπτειν βλάβας ἐσθῆς ἀπωθεῖται καὶ ἐπισκιάζει τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀπόρρητα καὶ ἔστιν
- 103 ἀρμόττων σώματι κόσμος ἡ ἀμπεχόνῃ. κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον μέντοι καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ λόγος δώρημα κάλλιστον ἐδόθη παρὰ θεοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ τῶν νεωτερίζοντων εἰς αὐτὸν ὄπλον ἀμυντήριον—ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον ζώων ἢ φύσις οἰκείους ἔρκεσιν ὠχύρωσε, δι' ὧν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν ἀποκρούσεται, καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ μέγιστον ἔρυμα καὶ φρουρὰν ἀκαθαίρετον λόγον δέδωκεν, οὗ κραταιῶς οἶα πανοπλίας ἐνείλημμένος οἰκεῖον καὶ προσφυέστατον ἔξει δορυφόρον· τούτῳ δὲ προαγωνιστῇ χρώμενος δυνήσεται τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> The insertion, which seems necessary to the sense (see App. p. 600), is approved by Wend., though not incorporated in the text.

<sup>a</sup> Or “explanatory statement.” See App. pp. 599 f.

<sup>b</sup> This, or “rational speech and thought,” seems the best translation here to cover the alternations between thought and speech throughout this interpretation. Speech seems to

## ON DREAMS, I. 101-103

marks of an explanatory statement rather than of an exhortation. A man giving an exhortation would have said, "If the garment given as security be the only one the borrower has, return it before evening, that he may have it to wrap round him at night." But if he makes a statement<sup>a</sup> he would put as it stands: "thou shalt give it back to him, for this is the only wrapper he has, this is the garment without which he is not decent; what is he to sleep in?" (Ex. xxii. 27).

XVII. Let what has been said and other considera- 102  
tions of the same kind suffice for the self-satisfied pedantic professors of literalism, and let us in accordance with the rules of allegory make such remarks on this passage as are appropriate. Well, then, we say that a garment is a figure for rational speech.<sup>b</sup> For clothing keeps off the mischiefs that are wont to befall the body from frost and heat; it conceals nature's secret parts; and the raiment is a fitting adornment to the person. In like manner, rational 103  
speech was bestowed on man by God as the best of gifts. First of all, it is a weapon of defence against those who threaten him with violence. For as nature has fortified other living creatures each with appropriate means of guarding themselves whereby they may beat off those who attempt to do them an injury, so has she given to man a most strong redoubt and impregnable fort in rational speech. Grasping this with all his might as a soldier does his weapons, he will have a body-guard meeting his every need. Having this to fight before him, he will be able to ward off the hurts which his enemies would fain

be the dominant idea in §§ 103 and 104, thought or reason in most of the rest.

- 104 φερομένας ἀπωθεῖσθαι ζημίας, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ὀνειδῶν ἀναγκαιότατον περίβλημα—δεινὸς γὰρ συγκρῦψαι καὶ συσκιᾶσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων λόγος—τρίτον δὲ πρὸς ὅλου τοῦ βίου κόσμον· ὁ γὰρ βελτιῶν ἕκαστον καὶ πάντα
- 105 ἄγων ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον οὗτός ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ γάρ εἰσι λῶβαί τινες καὶ κῆρες ἀνθρώπων, οἳ καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐνεχυράζουσιν ἀφαιρούμενοι<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἔχοντας καί, συναυξῆσαι δέον, ὅλον ὑποτέμνονται, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δηοῦντες χωρία καὶ τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὸν ἄλλον καρπὸν φθείρειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, ὃς ἀφειθεὶς μεγάλη τοῖς χρησαμένοις ἂν ὄνησις ᾖ.
- 106 πόλεμος οὖν ἐστὶν ἐνίοις ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πρὸς τὴν λογικὴν φύσιν, οἵτινες τὰς βλάστας αὐτῆς ἀποκείρουσιν ἐν χρῶ καὶ τὰς πρῶτας ἐπιφύσεις ἐκθλίβουσιν, ἄγονον καὶ στείραν, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν,
- 107 καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπεργαζόμενοι. ὀρμῶσαν γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε πρὸς παιδείαν ἀκατασχέτῳ ρύμη καὶ πληχθεῖσαν ἔρωτι τῶν φιλοσοφίας θεωρημάτων ὑπὸ βασκανίας καὶ φθόνου δείσαντες, μὴ μεγάλα πνεύσασα καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἀρθεῖσα τὰς γλισχρολογίας αὐτῶν καὶ πιθανὰς κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας εὐρέσεις ἐπικλύσῃ χειμάρρου τρόπον, ἐτέρωσε ταῖς ἑαυτῶν κακοτεχνίαις τὴν φορὰν ἔτρεψαν, εἰς
- [637] βαναύσους καὶ | ἀνελευθέρους τέχνας μετοχτευσάμενοι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἀμβλώσαντες καὶ ἐπιφράξαντες ἄργον τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς κατέλιπον, ὥσπερ βαθύγειον καὶ εὐδαίμονα γῆν ὀρφανῶν παιδῶν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. αἱ and ἀφαιρούμεναι. See note <sup>a</sup> below.

<sup>a</sup> If οἱ and ἀφαιρούμενοι are read, the enemies of λόγος are presumably persons who exercise an evil influence on others. If αἱ and ἀφαιρούμεναι, they are evil forces within us. The

## ON DREAMS, I. 104-107

inflict upon him. In the second place, rational speech 104 is a most necessary covering for matters of shame and reproach ; it has great ability to conceal and hide up men's sins. Thirdly, it serves as an adornment of the whole life : for this it is that makes each one of us better and leads every man to something higher.

But there are some men who—mis- 105chievous pests that they are<sup>a</sup>—actually hold rational speech in pawn, and rob its possessors of it, and, when they ought to foster its growth, cut it utterly down, like those who ravage the fields of their enemies and endeavour to destroy both the wheat and the other crops, which if left alone would have been a great boon to the consumers. What I mean is that there 106are some who wage an unrelenting war against the rational nature, men who cut down to the ground its first shoots, and squeeze the life out of its earliest growths, so rendering it to all intents and purposes barren and unproductive of noble doings. For there 107are times when, seeing it bent with irresistible impulse on education and smitten with a passionate love of the truths which philosophy has discovered, they conceive a jealous and malicious fear lest, grandly inspired and highly exalted, it should sweep like a torrent over their hair-splittings and plausible inventions for the overthrow of truth, and by their perversions of art<sup>b</sup> change the direction of its current, providing a channel leading to low and illiberal arts and sciences. Not infrequently they sterilize and block it up, and leave its natural greatness fallow and unfruitful, like bad guardians of orphans who let a rich former is suggested by §§ 106 and 107. At the end of the meditation, however, we seem to pass into the other thought. See note on § 112.

<sup>b</sup> See note on *De Mut.* 150.

- τροποι κακοὶ χέρσον, καὶ οὐκ ἠδέσθησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνηλεέστατοι τὸ μόνον ἱμάτιον ἀνθρώπου περι-  
 108 σιλῶντες, λόγον· “ἔστι” γάρ φησι “τοῦτο περι-  
 γὰρ ἵππου τὸ χρεμετίζειν ἴδιον καὶ τὸ ὑλακτεῖν  
 κυνὸς καὶ βοὸς τὸ μυκᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ ὠρύεσθαι  
 λέοντος, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπου τὸ λέγειν καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ὁ λόγος. τοῦτον γὰρ ἔρυμα, περίβλημα, παν-  
 οπλίαν, τείχος τὸ ζῶον τὸ θεοφιλέστατον, ὁ ἀν-  
 θρωπος, ἐκ πάντων ἴδιον κεκάρπωται.
- 109 XVIII. διὸ καὶ ἐπιφέρει· “τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτὸ  
 μόνον ἀσχημοσύνης αὐτοῦ.” τίς ἄλλος<sup>1</sup> γὰρ οὕτως  
 τὰ ὀνειδῆ καὶ τὰ αἴσχη τοῦ βίου συσκιάζει καὶ  
 συγκρύπτει, ὥς λόγος; ἀμαθία μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγου  
 φύσεως συγγενὲς αἴσχος, παιδεία δὲ ἀδελφὸν λόγου,  
 110 κόσμος οἰκεῖος. “ἐν τίνι οὖν κοιμηθήσεται,”  
 τουτέστιν ἡρεμήσει καὶ διαναπαύσεται ἀνθρωπος,  
 πλὴν ἐν λόγῳ; λόγος γὰρ τὸ βαρυποτμότατον  
 ἡμῶν γένος ἐπικουφίζει. ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς λύπαις  
 ἢ φόβοις ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις κακοῖς πιεσθέντας εὐμένεια  
 καὶ συνήθεια<sup>2</sup> καὶ δεξιότης φίλων πολλάκις ἐθερά-  
 πευσεν, οὕτως οὐ πολλάκις ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ τὸ βαρύτατον  
 ἄχθος, ὅπερ ἐπιτιθέασιν ἡμῖν αἱ τε τοῦ συνδέτου  
 σώματος ἀνάγκαι καὶ αἱ τῶν ἔξωθεν κατα-  
 σκηπτόντων ἀπροόρατοι συντυχίαι, μόνος ὁ ἀλεξί-  
 111 κακος λόγος ἀπωθεῖται. φίλος γὰρ καὶ γνώριμος  
 καὶ συνήθης καὶ ἐταῖρος ἡμῖν ἐστίν, ἐνδεδεμένος,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἡρμοσμένος καὶ ἡνωμένος κόλλη τινὶ  
 φύσεως ἀλύτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προ-  
 λέγει τὰ συνοίσοντα καὶ συμβάντος τινὸς ἀβουλήτου

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καλῶς.<sup>2</sup> MSS. συνέχεια.

## ON DREAMS, I. 107-111

and fertile farm become a wilderness. In fact, void of pity beyond all men, they are not ashamed to strip a man of his only garment, reason; for it says "this is all he has to put round him" (Ex. xxii. 27). What is this 108 save reason? For as neighing is peculiar to a horse, and barking to a dog, and lowing to a cow, and roaring to a lion, so is speech and reason itself to man. For with this has man, the dearest to God of all living creatures, been dowered as specially his own, to be his stronghold, protection, armour, wall.

XVIII. This 109 is why he adds "this garment is the only cover of his unseemliness" (Ex. xxii. 27). For who is there that in so fair a fashion removes from sight what might cause shame or entail reproach in man's life, as does reason? For ignorance, the kin of the irrational nature, is a matter of shame, while culture, near akin to reason, is his proper adornment: "In 110 what, then, shall he sleep?" or, in other words, wherein shall a man find calmness and complete repose, save in reason? For reason brings relief to those of us whose fate is the most grievous. Even, then, as the kindness and companionship and courtesy of friends has many a time healed and comforted those who were oppressed by sorrows or fears or some other ills, so not often but always is it mischief-averting reason that alone dislodges the overwhelming burden laid upon us by the distresses incident to our yokefellow the body, or by the unforeseen disasters that swoop down on us from without. For reason is our friend, 111 familiar, associate, comrade, bound up with us, or rather cemented and united with us by an invisible and indissoluble natural glue. That is why it both foretells what will be expedient, and, when something undesirable has occurred, is at hand with unsolicited

- πάρεστιν αὐτοκέλευστος βοηθήσων, οὐ τὴν ἑτέραν φέρων μόνον ὠφέλειαν, ἣν ὁ μὴ δρῶν σύμβουλος
- 112 ἢ ὁ συναγωνιστὴς ἡσυχος, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρας. οὐ γὰρ ἡμίεργον ἐπιτετήδευκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὀλόκληρον· ὅς γε, καὶ σφαλῇ πείρας ἐν οἷς διανοεῖται ἢ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται [ἢ] ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀφικνεῖται βοήθημα, παρηγορίαν. φάρμακον γὰρ ὡς τραυμάτων, καὶ ψυχῆς παθῶν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ σωτήριον, ὃν “πρὸ δυσμῶν ἡλίου” φησὶ δεῖν ὁ νομοθέτης ἀποδοῦναι, τουτέστι πρὶν τὰς τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ καταδύναι περιλαμπεστάτας αὐγὰς, αἷς δι' ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν εἰς νοῦν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον οὐρανόθεν ἀποστέλλει.
- 113 παραμένοντος γὰρ ἐν ψυχῇ τοῦ θεοειδεστάτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου φωτὸς ἀποδώσομεν τὸν ἐνεχυρασθέντα λόγον, ὡς ἱμάτιον, ἃν' ἐγγένηται τῷ λαβόντι τὸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου κτῆμα τὴν τε αἰσχύνην τοῦ βίου περιστεῖλαι καὶ τῆς θείας ἀπόνασθαι δωρεᾶς καὶ μετ' ἡρεμίας ἀναπαύσασθαι παρουσίᾳ τοιούτου
- [638] συμβούλου | καὶ προασπιστοῦ τάξιν ἣν ἐτάχθη
- 114 μηδέποτε λείποντος. ἕως οὖν ἔτι σοι τὸ ἱερὸν φέγγος ὁ θεὸς ἀκτινοβολεῖ, σπούδασον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τὸ ρύσιον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ κυρίῳ· δύντος γάρ, ὡς πᾶσα Αἴγυπτος, ψηλαφητὸν ἕξεις σκότος τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ πληχθεὶς ἀορασία καὶ ἀγνοία, ὧν ἐδόκεις ἐπικρατεῖν πάντων ἀφαιρεθήσῃ, πρὸς τοῦ βλέποντος

<sup>a</sup> From this point to the end of this discussion the taker of λόγος seems to be the man's evil self who must restore it to the owner or true self before it is too late. He perhaps means to imply that if he does so, the sufficient though inferior light of λόγος may serve him, as it did the Practiser, in place of the true divine illumination. If he does not, he will be plunged into utter darkness.

## ON DREAMS, I. 111-114

aid, bringing not only one or other of the two kinds of help, that of the adviser who does not act, or that of the fellow-combatant who does not speak, but both of these. For the power which reason exercises does 112 not work by half measures, but is thoroughgoing on every side, and if it fails in its plans or in its execution of them, it has recourse to the third mode of help-giving, namely consolation.<sup>a</sup> For as there are healing applications for wounds, so are the disorders of the soul healed by reason, of which the lawgiver says that it must be restored "before the setting of the sun" (Ex. xxii. 26), which means before the going down of those all-illuminating rays of the God who is greatest and most present to help, who by reason of His compassion for our race sends them forth from heaven into the mind of man. For while there is 113 abiding in the soul that most God-like and incorporeal light, we shall restore the reason which had been given in pledge, as a garment is given, in order that he, who has received back the possession which is man's peculiar prerogative, may have opportunity to cover over all that is a shame to human life, to get the full benefit of the divine gift, and to enjoy calm repose through the presence of a counsellor and defender so true, so sure never to abandon the post in which he has been stationed. While, then, God 114 still pours upon you the rays of His sacred light, hasten while it is day to restore to its owner the pledge you have seized. For when that light has set, you, like "all Egypt" (Ex. x. 21), will experience for ever a darkness that may be felt, and smitten with sightlessness and ignorance will be deprived of the possessions of all of which you deemed yourself master, and be perforce enslaved by Israel, the



Ἰσραήλ, ὃν ἐρρυσίαζες ἀδούλωτον ὄντα φύσει, δουλούμενος ἀνάγκη.

- 115 XIX. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν δόλιχον ἀπεμηκύναμεν οὐκ ἄλλου του χάριν ἢ τοῦ διδάξαι, ὅτι ἡ ἀσκητικὴ διάνοια κινήσειν ἀνωμάλοις πρὸς τε εὐφορίαν καὶ τούναντίον χρωμένῃ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀνιούσα καὶ κατιούσα συνεχῶς, ὅταν μὲν εὐφορῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος αἵρηται, ταῖς ἀρχετύποις καὶ ἀσωμάτοις ἀκτίσι τῆς λογικῆς πηγῆς τοῦ τελεσφόρου θεοῦ περιλάμπεται, ὅταν δὲ καταβαίνει καὶ ἀφορῇ, ταῖς ἐκείνων εἰκόσιν, ἀθανάτοις λόγοις, οὓς καλεῖν ἔθος
- 116 ἀγγέλους. διὸ καὶ νῦν φησιν· “ἀπήντησε τόπῳ· ἔδῃ γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος.” ὅταν γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπολίπωσιν αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐγαί, δι’ ὧν σαφέσταται αἱ τῶν πραγμάτων γίνονται καταλήψεις, ἀνατέλλει τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἀσθενέστερον λόγων, οὐκέτι πραγμάτων, φέγγος, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κόσμῳ· σελήνῃ γὰρ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἡλίου φερομένη καταδύντος ἐκείνου φῶς ἀμυδρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀποστέλλει.
- 117 καὶ τὸ ὑπαντᾶν μέντοι τόπῳ ἢ λόγῳ τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις τὸν πρὸ τόπου καὶ λόγου θεὸν ἰδεῖν αὐταρκεστάτῃ δωρεά, διότι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφώτιστον εἰσάπαν οὐκ ἔσχον, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄκρατον ἐκείνο φέγγος ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἔδῃ, τὸ κεκραμένον ἐκαρπώσαντο. “τοῖς γὰρ υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ φῶς ἦν ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς κατεγίνοντο,” φησὶν ἐν Ἐξαγωγῇ, ὥς νύκτα καὶ σκοτός ἀεὶ πεφυγαδεῦσθαι, μεθ’ ὧν οἱ τὰ ψυχῆς ὄμματα πρὸ τῶν σώματος πεπηρωμένοι

<sup>a</sup> i.e. §§ 87-114, which have supported the argument that the sun which set was God Himself and thus lead up to the thought that the Practiser must sometimes pass from the greater to the lesser illumination.

## ON DREAMS, I. 114-117

Seeing One, whom, though by nature immune from bondage, you seized as your chattel.

XIX. This long course<sup>a</sup> we have run to no other end 115  
 than to shew how it fares with the Practiser's mind. Its movements are uneven, sometimes towards fruitfulness, sometimes to the reverse ; it is continually, as it were, ascending and descending. In the time of fruitfulness and uplifting, there shine upon it the archetypal and incorporeal rays of the fountain of reason, God the consummator, but when it sinks low and fails to yield, its light is the images of these rays, immortal "words" which it is customary to call angels.<sup>b</sup> That is why, in this passage, he says "he 116  
 met a place ; for the sun was set " (Gen. xxviii. 11). For when the soul is forsaken by the rays of God, by means of which apprehensions of things are gained in greatest distinctness, there rises the secondary feebler light, not as before of facts but of words,<sup>c</sup> just as is the case in this material world ; for the moon, ranking second to the sun when that has set, sends forth upon the earth a dimmer light. And further, to meet a 117  
 "place" or "word" is an all-sufficient gift to those who are unable to see God Who is prior to "place" and "word," inasmuch as they did not find their soul entirely bereft of illumination, but when that glorious undiluted light sank out of their sky, they obtained that which has been diluted. For we read in Exodus (x. 23), "For the children of Israel there was light in all their dwellings," so that night and darkness are for ever banished, with which they live whose blindness is not of the body, but of the soul, who know not

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* they are so called in Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> *λόγοι* and *λόγος*, which in these sections passes so bewilderingly through its many shades of meaning, seems here to be reduced to its lowest value.

- 118 ζώσιν, ἀρετῆς αὐγὰς οὐκ εἰδότες. ἔνιοι  
 δὲ ἥλιον μὲν ὑποτοπήσαντες εἰρήσθαι νυνὶ συμ-  
 βολικῶς αἰσθησὶν τε καὶ νοῦν, τὰ νενομισμένα  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι κριτήρια, τόπον δὲ τὸν  
 θεῖον λόγον, οὕτως ἐξεδέξαντο· ἀπήντησεν ὁ ἀσκη-  
 τῆς λόγῳ θείῳ δύντος τοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου  
 119 φέγγους. ἄχρι μὲν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τὰ  
 αἰσθητὰ αἰσθησις οἶεται παγίως καταλαμβάνειν καὶ  
 ἄνω περιπολεῖν,<sup>1</sup> μακρὰν ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἀφέστηκεν·  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκάτερον ἀσθένειαν ὁμολογήσῃ τὴν  
 ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καταδύσει χρῆσάμενον  
 ἀποκρυφθῇ, προὔπαντᾷ δεξιούμενος εὐθύς ὁ ἔφεδρος  
 [639] ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς ὀρθὸς λόγος ἑαυτὴν | μὲν ἀπο-  
 γινωσκούσης, τὸν δὲ ἐπιφοιτῶντα ἔξωθεν ἀφανῶς  
 ἀναμενούσης.
- 120 XX. Φησὶ τοίνυν ἐξῆς ὅτι “ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τῶν  
 λίθων τοῦ τόπου καὶ ἔθηκε πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ;  
 καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκεῖνῳ.” θαυμάσαι ἂν  
 τις οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐν ὑπονοίαις πραγματείαν καὶ  
 φυσιολογίαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ῥητὴν πρὸς πόνου  
 121 καὶ καρτερίας μελέτην ὑφήγησιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀξιοῖ  
 τὸν ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον ἀβροδιαίτῳ βίῳ χρῆσθαι  
 καὶ τρυφᾷν ζηλοῦντα τὰς τῶν λεγομένων μὲν εὐδαι-  
 μόνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν δὲ κακοδαιμονίας γεμόντων  
 σπουδὰς τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας, οἷς πᾶς ὁ βίος ὕπνος  
 καὶ ἐνύπνιον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον νομοθέτην.  
 122 οὗτοι μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὅταν τὰ ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ  
 βουλευτηρίοις καὶ θεάτροις καὶ πανταχοῦ πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps περιπολεῖ. See note a below.

<sup>a</sup> Or “their path is above the horizon.” I should prefer to read περιπολεῖ. The infinitive dependent on οἶεται equates the “position above the horizon” with apprehension. But  
 360

## ON DREAMS, I. 118-122

virtue's rays. Some, supposing that in 118  
this passage "sun" is a figurative expression for  
sense and mind, our own accepted standards of  
judgement, and "place" for the divine word, have  
understood the passage in this way: "the Practiser  
met a divine word when the mortal and human light  
had gone down." For so long as mind and sense- 119  
perception imagine that they get a firm grasp, mind  
of the objects of mind and sense of the objects of  
sense, and thus move aloft in the sky,<sup>a</sup> the divine Word  
is far away. But when each of them acknowledges  
its weakness, and going through a kind of setting  
passes out of sight, right reason is forward to meet  
and greet at once the practising soul, whose willing  
champion he is when it despairs of itself and waits for  
him who invisibly comes from without to its succour.

XX. We read next that "he took one of the stones 120  
of the place and set it under his head, and slept  
in that place" (Gen. xxviii. 11). Our admiration is  
extorted not only by the lawgiver's allegorical and  
philosophical teaching, but by the way in which the  
literal narrative inculcates the practice of toil and  
endurance. For he does not deem it worthy of one 121  
whose heart is set upon virtue to fare sumptuously  
and live a life of luxury affecting the tastes and  
ambitions of people who are called fortunate but are  
in reality laden with ill-fortune, whose whole life  
in the eyes of the most holy lawgiver is a sleep and  
a dream. In the daytime these people, when they 122  
have got through their outrages upon other men in  
law-courts, and council-chambers, and theatres, and

it is really the *thought* that it apprehends which constitutes  
that position, just as the renunciation of the thought con-  
stitutes the setting.

- ἄλλους ἀδικήματα διεξέλθωσιν, οἵκαδε ἀφικνοῦνται τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον, οἱ δυστυχεῖς, καταστρέφοντες, οὐ τὸν τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων, ἀλλὰ τὸν συμφυᾶ τῆς ψυχῆς οἶκον, τὸ σῶμα, τροφὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους εἰσφέροντες καὶ πολὺν ἄκρατον ἄρδοντες, ἕως ἁν' βύθιος μὲν ὁ λογισμὸς οἴχεται, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησμονῆς ἔκγονα πάθη διαναστάντα, λύττη χρώμενα ἀκαθέκτω, προσπεσόντα καὶ ἐμπλακέντα τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι, τὸν πολὺν οἶστρον ἀπερυν-  
 123 γόντα λωφήσῃ. νύκτωρ δέ, ὅποτε καιρὸς εἴη πρὸς κοῖτον τραπέσθαι, πολυτελεῖς κλίνας καὶ εὐανθεστάτας στρωμνὰς εὐτρεπισάμενοι μαλακῶς σφόδρα κατακλίνονται, τὴν γυναικῶν ἐκμιμούμενοι τρυφήν, αἷς ἢ φύσις ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνειμένη χρῆσθαι διαίτῃ, παρὸ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μαλθακωτέρου κόμματος ὃ  
 124 τεχνίτης καὶ ποιητῆς αὐταῖς εἰργάζετο. τοιοῦτος οὐδεὶς γνῶριμος τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' οἱ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἄνδρες, σωφροσύνης καὶ κοσμιότητος καὶ αἰδοῦς ἐρασταί, ἐγκράτειαν, ὀλιγοδείαν, καρτερίαν ὥσπερ κρηπιδάς τινας ὅλου τοῦ βίου καταβεβλημένοι, ψυχῆς ἀσφαλεῖς ὑποδρόμους, οἷς ἀκινδύνως καὶ βεβαίως ἐνορμιεῖται, χρημάτων καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ δόξης κρείττους, σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ αὐτὸ μόνον<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ νεωτερίζειν ἄρχεται λιμός, ὑπερόπται, πείναν δέχεσθαι καὶ δίψαν θάλπος τε καὶ κρύος καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δυσκαρτέρητα ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς κτήσεως ἐτοιμότατοι, ζηλωται

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸ μόνον does not make sense. Wend. proposes πλὴν for καί, but this hardly agrees with ἐφ' ὅσον . . . λιμός. Perhaps αὐτῶν, so translation (or αὐτῶν μὲν οὖν, omitting the preceding καὶ as some mss. do).

## ON DREAMS, I. 122-124

everywhere, come home, poor wretches, to ruin their own abode, not that which consists of buildings, but the abode which is bound up by nature with the soul, I mean the body. Into it they convey an unlimited supply of eatables one after another, and steep it in quantities of strong drink, until the reasoning faculty is drowned, and the sensual<sup>a</sup> passions born of excess are aroused and raging with a fury that brooks no check, after falling upon and entangling themselves with all whom they meet, have disgorged their great frenzy and have abated. At night, when it is time to 123 retire to bed, they recline exceedingly delicately on costly couches and gaily-coloured bedding with which they have provided themselves, aping the luxury of women to whom nature allows an easier mode of life, agreeable to the body of softer stamp<sup>b</sup> which the Creator Artificer has wrought for them. None such 124 is a disciple of the holy Word, but only those who are really men, enamoured of moderation, propriety, and self-respect : men who have laid down as the foundation, so to speak, of their whole life self-control, abstemiousness, endurance, which are safe roadsteads of the soul, in which it can lie firmly moored and out of danger ; men superior to the temptations of money, pleasure, popularity, regardless of meat and drink and of the actual necessities of life, so long as lack of food does not begin to threaten their health ; men perfectly ready for the sake of acquiring virtue to submit to hunger and thirst and heat and cold and all else that is hard to put up with ; men keen to get

<sup>a</sup> Or "sexual," though that is usually with Philo τὰ μετὰ γαστέρα, but cf. ὑπογαστρίων *De Som.* ii. 147. Otherwise "born in the depths of the belly."

<sup>b</sup> A common phrase, cf. ἔοικε δ' εἶναι τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος *Aristoph. Plut.* 862.

- τῶν εὐποριστοτάτων, ὥς μηδ' ἐπ' εὐτελεῖ χλαίνῃ  
 ποτὲ δυσωπηθῆναι, τοῦναντίον δὲ τὰς πολυτελεῖς  
 ὄνειδος καὶ μεγάλην τοῦ βίου ζημίαν νομίσαι.  
 125 τούτοις πολυτελὴς μὲν ἐστὶ κλίνη μαλακὸν<sup>1</sup> ἔδαφος,  
 στρωμνὴ δὲ θάμνοι, πόαι, βοτάναι, φύλλων πολλή  
 χύσις, τὰ δὲ πρὸς κεφαλῆς λίθοι τινὲς ἢ βραχεῖς  
 [640] γεώλοφοι τοῦ ἰσοπέδου | μικρὸν ἀνέχοντες. τὸν  
 βίον τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τρυφῶντες σκληροδίαιτον  
 καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ζῶντες ἡδιστον  
 ὀνομάζουσιν· ἀνδράσι γὰρ οὐ λεγομένοις ἀλλ' οὖσιν  
 126 ὄντως ἐφαρμόζει. οὐχ ὀρᾶς, ὅτι καὶ νῦν  
 βασιλικαῖς ὕλαις καὶ παρασκευαῖς περιουσιάζοντα  
 τὸν ἀθλητὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἰσάγει  
 χαμευνοῦντα καὶ λίθῳ προσκεφαλαίῳ χρώμενον  
 καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἄρτον καὶ ἱμάτιον,  
 τὸν φύσεως πλοῦτον, αἰτούμενον, ἐπειδὴ τὸν ἐν ταῖς  
 κεναῖς δόξαις ἐχλεύαζεν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς θαυμαστικῶς  
 ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ κατεκερτόμει; οὗτός ἐστι παρά-  
 δειγμα ἀρχέτυπον ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς, ἐκτεθλυσμένῳ  
 καὶ ἀνδρογύνῳ παντὶ πολέμιος.  
 127 XXI. Ὁ μὲν οὖν <τοῦ> φιλοπόνου καὶ φιλαρέτου  
 πρόχειρος ἔπαινος εἴρηται, τὸ<sup>2</sup> δὲ κατὰ σύμβολον  
 μηνυόμενον ἐρευνητέον. εἰδέναι δὲ νῦν προσήκει,  
 ὅτι ὁ θεῖος τόπος καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ χώρα πλήρης ἀσω-  
 μάτων ἐστὶ λόγων· ψυχαὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀθάνατοι οἱ λόγοι  
 128 οὗτοι. τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ἓνα λαβὼν, ἀρι-  
 στίνδην ἐπιλεγόμενος τὸν ἀνωτάτω καὶ ὥσανεῖ

<sup>1</sup> Mangey ὁμαλόν. But there is no reason why the hardy should not select soft ground. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 56.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τὸν.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 600.

things most easily procured, who are never ashamed of an inexpensive cloak, but on the contrary regard those which cost much as matter for reproach and a great waste of their living. To these men a soft bit 125 of ground is a costly couch ; bushes, grass, shrubs, a heap of leaves, their bedding ; their pillow some stones or mounds rising a little above the general level. Such a mode of life as this the luxurious call hard faring, but those who live for what is good and noble describe it as most pleasant ; for it is suited to those who are not merely called but really are men.

Do you not see how, in the passage 126 before us, the lawgiver represents the athlete of noble pursuits, in enjoyment of a princely abundance of materials <sup>a</sup> for comfort, as sleeping on the ground, and using a stone as his pillow, and a little later in his prayers asking for nature's wealth, bread and raiment (Gen. xxviii. 20) ? For he <sup>b</sup> ever held up to ridicule the wealth which depends on the vain opinions of men, and scoffed at those who regarded it with reverence. In him we have the original pattern of the practiser's soul, one at war with every man that is effeminate and emasculated.

XXI. So much, then, for the praise of the lover of 127 toil and virtue in the literal sense of the passage. We have still to explore its symbolic teaching. In doing so it is of importance to know that the divine " place " and the holy land is full of incorporeal " words " ; and these words are immortal souls. Of these words 128 he takes one, choosing as the best the topmost one,

<sup>b</sup> Is " he " Moses or Jacob ? The *οὗτος* in the next sentence points to the latter. In neither case is it clear what exactly Philo is referring to. If it is Jacob, he may perhaps consider his dealings with Laban as justifying the statement.



- σώματος ἡνωμένου κεφαλὴν<sup>1</sup> πλησίον ἰδρύεται  
 διανοίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τρόπον τινὰ  
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ. ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πρόφασιν  
 μὲν ὡς κοιμησόμενος, τὸ δ' ἀληθές ὡς ἀναπαυ-  
 σόμενος ἐπὶ λόγῳ θείῳ καὶ σύμπαντα ἑαυτοῦ τὸν  
 129 βίον κουφότατον ἄχθος ἐπαναθήσων ἐκείνῳ. ὁ δὲ  
 ἄσμενος ἐπακούει καὶ δέχεται τὸν ἀθλητὴν ὡς  
 φοιτητὴν ἐσόμενον τὸ πρῶτον, εἰθ' ὅταν αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τῆς φύσεως ἀποδέξῃται, χειρο-  
 δετεῖ<sup>2</sup> τρόπον ἀλείπτου καὶ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια καλεῖ,  
 καὶ διερειδόμενος παλαίειν ἀναγκάζει, μέχρις ἂν  
 ἀνανταγώνιστον αὐτῷ ῥώμην ἐγκατασκευάσῃ, τὰ  
 ὦτα θείαις ἐπιπνοίαις<sup>3</sup> μεταβαλὼν εἰς ὅμματα καὶ  
 καλέσας αὐτὸν<sup>4</sup> μεταχαραχθέντα καινὸν τύπον  
 130 Ἰσραήλ, ὁρῶντα. τότε καὶ τὸν νικη-  
 τήριον ἐπιτίθουσιν αὐτῷ στέφανον. ὁ δὲ στέφανος  
 ἔκτοπον ἔχει καὶ ξένον καὶ ἴσως οὐκ εὖφημον  
 ὄνομα· καλεῖται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου νάρκα.  
 λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ἐνάρκησε τὸ πλάτος,” βραβείων  
 καὶ κηρυγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐν τιμαῖς ἀπάντων θαν-  
 131 μασιώτατον ἀριστεῖον· εἰ γὰρ ἡ δυνάμειος ἀκαθ-  
 αιρέτου ψυχὴ μεταλαβοῦσα καὶ τελειωθείσα ἐν  
 ἄθλοις ἀρετῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ὅρον αὐτὸν ἀφικομένη  
 τοῦ καλοῦ μὴ πρὸς ὕψος ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας ἀρθεῖν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κεφαλῆς. All editors from Turnebus have accepted the correction, but I should prefer to retain κεφαλῆς and omit καὶ. The mind, not the stone-logos, is to the whole ψυχῇ what the head is to the whole body.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. χειροδοτεῖ, an impossible word. The correction χειροδετεῖ, due originally to Wyttenbach, introduces a word not known elsewhere, but a very natural formation. Mangey's συγκροτεῖ, though favourably regarded by Wend., seems arbitrary.

## ON DREAMS, I. 128-131

occupying the place which the head does in the whole<sup>a</sup> body, and sets it up close to his understanding (Gen. xxviii. 11) ; for the understanding is, we may say, the soul's head. He does so professedly<sup>b</sup> to sleep upon it, but in reality to repose on the divine word, and lay his whole life, lightest of burdens, thereon. The 129 divine word readily listens to and accepts the athlete to be first of all a pupil, then when he has been satisfied of his fitness of nature, he fastens on the gloves as a trainer does and summons him to the exercises, then closes with him and forces him to wrestle until he has developed in him an irresistible strength, and by the breath of divine inspiration he changes ears into eyes, and gives him when remodelled in a new form the name of Israel—He who sees.

It is then too that he confers on him the 130 crown of victory. Now the crown has a strange and outlandish and perhaps ill-sounding name ; for the name given it by the president of the contest is " numbness " ; for we read that " the broad part grew numb " (Gen. xxxii. 25), a guerdon the most wondrous of all awards ever announced in honour of a victor. For if the soul which had been made partaker 131 of indomitable power, and has attained perfection in contests for the winning of virtues, and has reached the very limit of the good and beautiful, instead of being lifted up in arrogance and stepping high in

<sup>a</sup> Or " the body regarded as a unity." For the Stoic use of the word see notes on *De Mig.* 180 and *Quod Det.* 49.

<sup>b</sup> Or according to the surface meaning.

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<sup>3</sup> MSS. *ἐπιβολαίς*.

<sup>4</sup> The majority of mss. have *τὸν*, which seems to me to give a clearer construction. Or has *κατὰ* fallen out between *μεταχαραχθέντα* and *καινὸν*?

- μηδ' ἀκροβατοῦσα ἐπικομπάζοι, ὥς ἀρτίοις ποσὶ  
 [641] μακρὰ βαίνειν δυναμένη, ναρκήσειε δὲ καὶ | σταλείη  
 τὸ εὐρυνθὲν<sup>1</sup> οἰήσῃ πλάτος, εἰθ' ἔκουσίως ὑπο-  
 σκελίσασα ἑαυτὴν χωλεύοι, τῶν ἀσωμάτων ὅπως  
 ὑστερίζοι φύσεων, ἡττᾶσθαι δοκοῦσα νικηφορήσει.  
 132 τὸ γὰρ πρεσβείων ἐξίστασθαι γνώμη μᾶλλον <ἢ>  
 ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν λυσιτελέστατον<sup>2</sup> νενόμισται,  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγῶνι τιθε-  
 μένων ἄθλων τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἐν ἑτέροις ἀξιώματος  
 μεγέθει πλείστον ὅσον ὑπερβάλλει.  
 133 XXII. Τὸ μὲν δὴ προοίμιον τῆς θεοπέμπτου  
 φαντασίας ᾧδ' ἔχει, τρέπεσθαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν καιρὸς  
 ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν ἐμφερομένων ἀκριβοῦν ἕκαστον.  
 "ἐνυπνιάσθη" φησί "καὶ ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ ἐστηριγ-  
 μένη ἐν τῇ γῇ,<sup>3</sup> ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνέιτο εἰς τὸν  
 οὐρανόν, καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ  
 κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆς· ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ'  
 134 αὐτῆς." κλίμαξ τοίνυν ἐν μὲν τῷ κόσμῳ συμ-  
 βολικῶς λέγεται ὁ ἀήρ, οὗ βάσις μὲν ἐστὶ γῆ,  
 κορυφὴ δ' οὐρανός· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς σεληνιακῆς  
 σφαίρας, ἣν ἐσχάτην μὲν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν κύκλων,  
 πρώτην δὲ τῶν<sup>4</sup> πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ φροντι-  
 σταὶ τῶν μετεώρων, ἄχρι γῆς ἐσχάτης ὁ ἀήρ πάντη  
 135 ταθεῖς ἔφθακεν. οὗτος δ' ἐστὶ ψυχῶν ἀσωμάτων  
 οἶκος, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τῷ ποιητῇ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου  
 μέρη καλὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι ζώων ἀναπληρῶσαι. διὰ  
 τοῦτο γῇ μὲν τὰ χερσαῖα ἐγκατεσκευάζε, θαλάτταις  
 δὲ καὶ ποταμοῖς τὰ ἔνυδρα, οὐρανῷ δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας  
 —καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος τούτων οὐ μόνον ζῶον, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps read εὐρυνθὲν <ἄν> (G.H.W.).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οἷς εὐτελέστατον: Mangey ὡς ἐντελέστατον, with at least equal probability. Or ἐντελέστατον alone?

## ON DREAMS, I. 131-135

vaunting mood, conscious of power to take long strides on sound feet, should turn numb and shrink in the broad limb enlarged by conceit, and then after thus voluntarily disabling itself go with limping gait, that so it might fall behind the incorporeal beings—though seemingly worsted it will be the victor. For 132 to give up prizes to one's betters of free choice and not under compulsion is accounted highly profitable, since even the second prizes offered in this contest immeasurably transcend in greatness of honour the first prizes in all other contests.

XXII. Such, then, is the prelude of the God-sent 133 vision, and it is now time to turn to the vision itself, and to examine in detail its several points. "He dreamed," it runs, "and behold a stairway set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it; and the Lord stood firmly upon it" (Gen. xxviii. 12). "Stairway" when applied to the universe is a 134 figurative name for the air; whose foot is earth and its head heaven. For the air extends in all directions to the ends of the earth from the sphere of the moon which is described by meteorologists as last of the heavenly zones, and first of those which are related to us.<sup>a</sup> The air is the abode of incorporeal souls, since 135 it seemed good to their Maker to fill all parts of the universe with living beings. He set land-animals on the earth, aquatic creatures in the seas and rivers, and in heaven the stars, each of which is said to be not a living creature only but mind of the purest kind

<sup>a</sup> For the following sections *cf.* *De Gig.* 7 ff. For τῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς (κύκλων) see App. p. 600.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. εἰς τὴν γῆν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. τοῖς or τῇς. See App. p. 600.

- καὶ νοῦς ὅλος δι' ὅλων ὁ καθαρώτατος εἶναι λέγεται·  
 —ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ τμήματι τοῦ παντός,  
 αἴρι, ζῶα γέγονεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ αἰσθήσει καταληπτά,  
 136 τί τοῦτο; καὶ ψυχὴ γὰρ ἀόρατον. καὶ μὴν εἰκός  
 γε αἴρα γῆς μᾶλλον καὶ ὕδατος ζωοτροφεῖν, διότι  
 καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὗτος ἐψύχωσεν· ἐποίει γὰρ  
 αὐτὸν ὁ τεχνίτης ἀκινήτων μὲν σωμάτων ἕξιν,  
 κινουμένων δὲ ἀφαντάστως φύσιν, ἥδη δὲ ὁρμῇ  
 137 καὶ φαντασίᾳ χρῆσθαι δυναμένων ψυχῇν. οὐκ  
 ἄτοπον οὖν, δι' οὗ τὰ ἄλλα ἐψυχώθη, ψυχῶν  
 ἀμοιρεῖν; διὸ μηδεὶς τὴν ἀρίστην φύσιν ζῶων τοῦ  
 ἀρίστου τῶν περιγείων, αἴρος, ἀφαιρείσθω· οὐ γὰρ  
 μόνος ἐκ πάντων ἔρημος οὗτος, ἀλλ' οἶα πόλις  
 εὐάνδρῃ πολίτας ἀφθάρτους καὶ ἀθανάτους ψυχὰς  
 138 ἔχων ἰσαριθμούς ἄστροις. τούτων τῶν  
 ψυχῶν αἱ μὲν κατίαςιν ἐνδεθησόμεναι σώμασι  
 θνητοῖς, ὅσαι προσγειότατοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, αἱ  
 δ' ἀνέρχονται, διακριθεῖσαι πάλιν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ  
 φύσεως ὀρισθέντας ἀριθμούς καὶ χρόνους.
- 139 τούτων αἱ μὲν τὰ σύντροφα καὶ συνήθη τοῦ |  
 [642] θνητοῦ βίου ποθοῦσαι παλινδρομοῦσιν αὔθις, αἱ δὲ  
 πολλὴν φλ.αρίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνοῦσαι δεσμωτήριον  
 μὲν καὶ τύμβον ἐκάλεσαν τὸ σῶμα, φυγοῦσαι δ'  
 ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰρκτῆς ἢ μνήματος ἄνω κούφοις πτεροῖς  
 πρὸς αἰθέρα ἐξαρθεῖσαι μετεωροπολοῦσι τὸν αἰῶνα.

<sup>a</sup> Or better "some are descending . . . others ascending." The latter are not, as the next sentence shews, the higher souls described in § 140, who never come to earth, but those who have come down and return at the fixed period. For this last point cf. *De Plant.* 14: "some enter into mortal

## ON DREAMS, I. 135-140

through and through ; and therefore in air also, the remaining section of the universe, living creatures exist. If they are not to be apprehended by sense, what of that ? The soul too is a thing invisible. 136 Indeed it is more to be expected that air should be the nurse of living creatures than that land and water should, seeing that it is air that has given vitality to the creatures of land and water, for the Great Artificer made air the principle of coherence in motionless bodies, the principle of growth in bodies which move but receive no sense-impressions, while in bodies that are susceptible of impulse and sense-impression He made it the principle of life. Is it not then incon- 137 sistent that the element through which other things obtained vitality should be empty of living souls ? Accordingly let no one take away nature at its best, as it is in living creatures, from the best of earth's elements, air : for so far is air from being alone of all things untenanted, that like a city it has a goodly population, its citizens being imperishable and immortal souls equal in number to the stars.

Of these souls some, such as have earthward tendencies 138 and material tastes, descend<sup>a</sup> to be fast bound in mortal bodies, while others ascend,<sup>a</sup> being selected for return according to the numbers and periods determined by nature.

Of these last 139 some, longing for the familiar and accustomed ways of mortal life, again retrace their steps, while others pronouncing that life great foolery call the body a prison and a tomb, and escaping as though from a dungeon or a grave, are lifted up on light wings to the upper air and range the heights for ever. Others 140

bodies and quit them again," *κατά τινας ὁρισμένas περιόδους*. See further App. p. 600.

## PHILO

- 140 ἄλλαι δ' εἰσὶ καθαρώταται καὶ ἄρισται, μειζόνων  
φρονημάτων καὶ θειοτέρων ἐπιλαχοῦσαι, μηδενὸς  
μὲν τῶν περιγείων ποτὲ ὀρεχθεῖσαι τὸ παράπαν,  
ὑπαρχοὶ δὲ τοῦ πανηγεμόνος, ὥσπερ μεγάλου  
141 βασιλέως ἀκοαὶ καὶ ὄψεις, ἐφορῶσαι πάντα καὶ  
ἀκούουσαι. ταύτας δαίμονας μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλό-  
σοφοι, ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς λόγος ἀγγέλους εἶωθε καλεῖν  
προσφυστέρῳ χρώμενος ὀνόματι· καὶ γὰρ τὰς  
τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπικελεύσεις τοῖς ἐγγόνοις καὶ τὰς  
142 τῶν ἐγγόνων χρείας τῷ πατρὶ διαγγέλλουσι. παρὸ  
καὶ ἀνερχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ κατιόντας εἰσῆγαγεν,  
οὐκ ἐπειδὴ τῶν μηνυσόντων ὁ πάντῃ<sup>1</sup> ἐφθακὼς  
θεὸς δεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς ἐπικήροις ἡμῖν συνέφερε  
μεσίταις καὶ διαιτηταῖς λόγοις χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ τε-  
θηπέναι καὶ πεφρικέναι τὸν παμπρῦτανιν καὶ τὸ  
143 μέγιστον ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ κράτος. οὐ λαβόντες ἔν-  
νοιαν ἐδεήθημέν ποτέ τινος τῶν μεσιτῶν λέγοντες·  
“ἀάλησον σὺ ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ λαλείτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ  
θεός, μὴ ποτε ἀποθάνωμεν.” οὐ γὰρ ὅτι κολάσεις,  
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπερβαλλούσας καὶ ἀκράτους εὐεργεσίας  
χωρῆσαι δυνάμεθα, ἅς ἂν αὐτὸς προτείνῃ δι'  
ἑαυτοῦ μὴ χρώμενος ὑπηρέταις ἄλλοις.
- 144 παγκάλως δὲ ἐστηριγμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ διὰ συμβόλου  
κλίμακος φαντασιοῦται τὸν αἶρα· τὰς γὰρ ἀνα-  
διδόμενας ἐκ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεις λεπτυνομένας ἐξ-  
αεροῦσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ὥστε βάσιν μὲν καὶ ρίζαν  
145 αἶρος εἶναι γῆν, κεφαλὴν δὲ οὐρανόν. λέγεται γοῦν,  
ὅτι σελήνη πύλημα μὲν ἄκρατον αἰθέρος οὐκ ἔστιν,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πάντα.

<sup>a</sup> Wend. compares Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 2. 10 τοὺς βασιλεῖς καλουμένους ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ βασιλῆως ὦτα.

## ON DREAMS, I. 140-145

there are of perfect purity and excellence, gifted with a higher and diviner temper, that have never felt any craving after the things of earth, but are viceroys of the Ruler of the universe, ears and eyes, so to speak, of the great king,<sup>a</sup> beholding and hearing all things. These are called "demons" by the other philo- 141  
sophers, but the sacred record is wont to call them "angels" or messengers, employing an apter title, for they both convey the biddings of the Father to His children and report the children's need to their Father.<sup>b</sup> In accordance with this they are represented 142  
by the lawgiver as ascending and descending: not that God, who is already present in all directions, needs informants, but that it was a boon to us in our sad case to avail ourselves of the services of "words" acting on our behalf as mediators, so great is our awe and shuddering dread of the universal Monarch and the exceeding might of His sovereignty. It was our 143  
attainment of a conception of this that once made us address to one of those mediators the entreaty: "Speak thou to us, and let not God speak to us, lest haply we die" (Ex. xx. 19). For should He, without employing ministers, hold out to us with His own hand, I do not say chastisements, but even benefits unmixed and exceeding great, we are incapable of receiving them. It is a fine thought that 144  
the dreamer sees the air symbolized by a stairway as firmly set on the earth; for the exhalations given forth out of the earth are rarefied and so turned into air, so that earth is air's foot and root and heaven its head. Do they not tell us that the moon is not an unmixed 145  
mass of ether, as each of the other heavenly bodies

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Gig.* 16, and quotation from Plat. *Symposium* there given.



## PHILO

ὥς ἕκαστος τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων, κράμα δὲ ἕκ τε αἰθερώδους οὐσίας καὶ ἀερώδους· καὶ τό γε ἐμφαινόμενον αὐτῇ μέλαν, ὃ καλοῦσί τινες πρόσωπον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ τὸν ἀναμεμιγμένον ἀέρα, ὃς κατὰ φύσιν μέλας ὢν ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ τείνεται.

- 146 XXIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν κόσμῳ λεγομένη συμβολικῶς κλίμαξ τοιαύτη ἐστί, τὴν δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις σκοποῦντες εὐρήσομεν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἧς βάσις μὲν τὸ ὡσανεὶ γεῶδές ἐστιν, αἰσθησις, κεφαλὴ δ' ὥς ἂν  
147 τὸ οὐράνιον, ὃ καθαρώτατος νοῦς. ἄνω δὲ καὶ  
[643] κάτω διὰ πάσης | αὐτῆς οἱ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγοι χωροῦσιν ἀδιαστάτως, ὅποτε μὲν ἀνέρχονται, συνανασπῶντες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦ θνητοῦ διαζευγνύντες καὶ τὴν θεάν ὦν' ἄξιον ὄραν μόνων ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅποτε δὲ κατέρχονται, οὐ καταβάλλοντες—οὔτε γὰρ θεὸς οὔτε λόγος θεῖος ζημίας αἷτιος,—ἀλλὰ συγκαταβαίνοντες διὰ φιланθρωπίαν καὶ ἔλεον τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ἐπικουρίας ἕνεκα καὶ συμμαχίας, ἵνα καὶ τὴν ἔτι ὥσπερ ἐν ποταμῷ, τῷ σώματι, φορου-  
148 μένην ψυχὴν σωτήριον πνέοντες ἀναζωῶσι. ταῖς μὲν δὴ τῶν ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένων διανοίαις ἀποφητὶ μόνος ἀοράτως ὁ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμὼν ἐμπεριπατεῖ—καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ χρησθὲν τῷ σοφῷ θεοπρόπιον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται· “ περιπατήσω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι ὑμῶν θεός,”—ταῖς δὲ τῶν ἔτι ἀπολουομένων, μήπω δὲ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἐκνυφамένων τὴν ῥυπῶσαν καὶ κεκληιδωμένην (ἐν) σώμασι βαρέσι ζωὴν ἄγγελοι, λόγοι θεῖοι, παιδρύνοντες αὐτὰς τοῖς καλοκάγαθίας  
149 δόγμασιν.<sup>1</sup> ὅσα δὲ ἐξοικίζεται κακῶν<sup>2</sup> οἰκητόρων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δμμασιν: Mangey ῥύμμασιν, cf. Plat. *Rep.* 429 E, 430 A.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κατὰ τῶν οἱ κακὰ κάκ (ἐκ) τῶν: Mangey κακὰ κακῶν.

## ON DREAMS, I. 145-149

is, but a blend of ethereal and aerial substance ; and that the black which appears in it, which some call a face, is nothing else than the commingled air which is naturally black and extends all the way to heaven<sup>a</sup> ?

XXIII. Such then is that which in the universe 146 is figuratively called stairway. If we consider that which is so called in human beings we shall find it to be soul. Its foot is sense-perception, which is as it were the earthly element in it, and its head, the mind which is wholly unalloyed, the heavenly element, as it may be called. Up and down throughout its whole 147 extent are moving incessantly the " words " of God, drawing it up with them when they ascend and disconnecting it with what is mortal, and exhibiting to it the spectacle of the only objects worthy of our gaze ; and when they descend not casting it down, for neither does God nor does a divine Word cause harm, but condescending out of love for man and compassion for our race, to be helpers and comrades, that with the healing of their breath they may quicken into new life the soul which is still borne along in the body as in a river.<sup>b</sup> In the understandings of those who have 148 been purified to the utmost the Ruler of the universe walks noiselessly, alone, invisibly, for verily there is an oracle once vouchsafed to the Sage, in which it is said : " I will walk in you, and will be your God " (Lev. xxvi. 12) : but in the understandings of those who are still undergoing cleansing and have not yet fully washed their life defiled and stained by the body's weight there walk angels, divine words, making them bright and clean with the doctrines of all that is good and beautiful. It is quite manifest 149

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 600.

<sup>b</sup> From *Timaeus* 43 A. Cf. *De Gig.* 13.

στίφη, ἵνα εἰς ὁ ἀγαθὸς εἰσοικίσηται, δῆλόν ἐστι. σπουδαῖζε οὖν, ὦ ψυχή, θεοῦ οἶκος γενέσθαι, ἱερὸν ἅγιον, (ἐν)διαίτημα κάλλιστον· ἴσως γάρ, ἴσως ὃν ὁ κόσμος ἅπας, καὶ σὺ οἰκοδεσπότην σχήσεις ἐπιμελούμενον τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας, ὡς εὐερκεστάτη καὶ ἀπήμων εἰσαεὶ διαφυλάττοιτο.<sup>1</sup>

- 150 Ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὁ ἀσκητῆς φαντασιούται κλίμακι ἐοικότα· φύσει γὰρ ἀνώμαλον πρᾶγμα ἀσκησις, τοτὲ μὲν προΐουσα εἰς ὕψος, τοτὲ δ' ὑποστρέφουσα πρὸς τοῦναντίον, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν καθάπερ ναῦς εὐπλοία τῇ τοῦ βίου, τοτὲ δὲ δυσπλοία χρωμένη. ἑτερήμερος γάρ, ὡς ἔφη τις, τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὁ βίος, ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶν καὶ ἐγρηγορώς, ἄλλοτε δὲ τεθνεὺς ἢ κοιμώμενος. καὶ τάχα οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ τοῦτο λέγεται· σοφοὶ μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὀλύμπιον καὶ οὐράνιον χῶρον ἔλαχον οἰκεῖν, ἄνω φοιτᾶν αἰεὶ μεμαθηκότες, κακοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἀΐδου μυχοὺς, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους ἀποθνήσκουν ἐπιτετηδευκότες καὶ εἰς γῆρας ἐκ σπαργάνων φθορᾶς
- 152 ἐθάδες ὄντες. οἱ δ' ἀσκηταὶ—μεθόριοι γὰρ τῶν ἄκρων εἰσὶν—ἄνω καὶ κάτω πολλάκις ὡς ἐπὶ κλίμακος βαδίζουσιν, ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἀνελκόμενοι ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς χείρονος ἀντισπώμενοι, μέχρις ἂν ὁ τῆς ἀμίλλης καὶ διαμάχης ταύτης βραβευτῆς θεὸς ἀναδῶ τὰ βραβεῖα τάξει τῇ βελτίονι, τὴν ἐναντίαν εἰσάπαν καθελὼν.

<sup>1</sup> In the mss. the words διαίτημα . . . διαφυλάττοιτο appear in § 155 after αἰεὶ γίνονται and are replaced by ἰσχυροὶ . . . παραπαιόντων, which Wend. has transferred to that section. (Apparently though Mangey prints these adjectives in the fem. sing., the uncorrected mss. have them in the masc. plur., which in itself shews their impossibility here.)

## ON DREAMS, I. 149-152

what troupes of evil tenants are ejected, in order that One, the good one, may enter and occupy. Be zealous therefore, O soul, to become a house of God, a holy temple, a most beauteous abiding-place ; for perchance, perchance the Master of the whole world's household shall be thine too and keep thee under His care as His special house, to preserve thee evermore strongly guarded and unharmed.

It may be too that the Practiser has his own life 150 presented to him in his vision as resembling a stairway ; for practising is by nature an uneven business, at one moment going onward to a height, at another returning in the opposite direction, and at one time like a ship making life's voyage with fair winds, at another with ill winds. For the life of practisers is, as one has said, a life " of alternate days,"<sup>a</sup> sometimes alive and wakeful, sometimes dead or asleep. And 151 this suggestion is not perhaps wide of the mark. For while it is the portion of the wise to dwell in the heavenly region of Olympus, since they have ever learned to make the heights their resort, and the depths of Hades are the abode allotted to the bad, who from first to last have made dying their occupation, and from the cradle to old age are accustomed to corruption, the practisers—midway between those 152 extremes—are often stepping up and down as upon a stairway, either being drawn upwards by the better portion or dragged in the opposite direction by the worse, until God, the umpire of this strife and conflict, bestows the prizes on the better order, and brings its opposite to perdition.

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* xi. 303 (of Castor and Pollux) ἀλλοτε μὲν ζῶονσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἀλλοτε δ' αὖτε τεθνᾶσιν, *cf. De Decal.* 56.

- 153 XXIV. Ἐμφαίνεται δ' ἔτι καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶδωλον,<sup>1</sup>  
 ὅπερ οὐκ ἄξιον ἡσυχασθῆναι. τὰ ἀνθρώπων πράγ-  
 ματα κλίμακι πέφυκεν ἐξομοιοῦσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀνώ-  
 154 μαλον | αὐτῶν φοράν. ἡ μία γάρ, ὡς ἔφη τις,  
 [644] ἡμέρα τὸν μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὸν δὲ ἤρεν ἄνω,  
 μηδενὸς ἐν ὁμοίῳ πεφυκότος μένειν τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν,  
 155 ἀλλὰ παντοίας μεταβαλλόντων τροπᾶς. ἡ οὐκ  
 ἄρχοντες μὲν ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν, ἰδιῶται δ' ἐξ ἀρχόντων,  
 πένητες δ' ἐκ πλουσίων καὶ ἐκ πενήτων πολυχρή-  
 ματοι καὶ ἐνδοξοὶ μὲν ἐξ ἡμελημένων, ἐπιφανέ-  
 στατοι δὲ ἐξ ἀδόξων αἰεὶ γίνονται καὶ ἰσχυροὶ μὲν  
 ἐξ ἀσθενῶν, ἐκ δὲ ἀδυνάτων δυνατοὶ καὶ συνετοὶ  
 μὲν ἐξ ἀφραϊνόντων, εὐλογιστότατοι δὲ ἐκ παρα-  
 156 παιόντων· καὶ ὁδὸς τις ἥδ' ἐστὶν ἄνω καὶ κάτω  
 τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, ἀστατοὶς καὶ ἀν-  
 ἰδρῦτοῖς χρωμένη συντυχίαις, ὧν τὸ ἀνώμαλον οὐκ  
 ἀδήλοισ ἀλλὰ σαφέσι τεκμηρίοις ὁ ἀψευδέστατος  
 ἐλέγχει χρόνος.
- 157 XXV. Ἐμήνυε δὲ τὸ ὄναρ ἐστηριγμένον ἐπὶ τῆς  
 κλίμακος τὸν ἀρχάγγελον, κύριον· ὑπεράνω γὰρ  
 ὡς ἄρματος ἡνίοχον ἢ ὡς νεὼς κυβερνήτην ὑπο-  
 ληπτέον ἵστασθαι τὸ ὄν ἐπὶ σωματῶν, ἐπὶ ψυχῶν,  
 ἐπὶ πραγμάτων, ἐπὶ λόγων, ἐπὶ ἀγγέλων, ἐπὶ γῆς,  
 ἐπ' αἶρος, ἐπ' οὐρανοῦ, ἐπ' αἰσθητῶν δυνάμεων,  
 ἐπ' ἀοράτων φύσεων, ὅσαπερ θεατὰ καὶ ἀθέατα·  
 τὸν γὰρ κόσμον ἅπαντα ἐξάψας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀν-  
 158 αρτήσας τὴν τοσαύτην ἡνιοχεῖ φύσιν. μηδεὶς δ'  
 ἀκούων, ὅτι ἐπεστήρικτο, νομισάτω τι συνεργεῖν  
 θεῷ πρὸς τὸ παγίως στῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο λογισάσθω,  
 ὅτι τὸ δηλούμενον ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ στήριγμα καὶ  
 ἔρεισμα καὶ ὀχυρότης καὶ βεβαιότης ἀπάντων ἐστὶν

<sup>1</sup> See App. pp. 600 f.

## ON DREAMS, I. 153-158

XXIV. I must not fail to mention another idea 153  
 which is present in the vision. The affairs of men are  
 naturally likened to a ladder owing to their uneven  
 course. For one day, as the poet says,<sup>a</sup> brings one 154  
 man down from on high, and lifts another up, and  
 nothing relating to man is of a nature to remain as it  
 is, but all such things are liable to changes of every  
 kind. Are not private citizens continually becoming 155  
 officials, and officials private citizens, rich men be-  
 coming poor men and poor men men of ample means,  
 nobodies becoming celebrated, obscure people be-  
 coming distinguished, weak men strong, insignificant  
 men powerful, foolish men men of understanding,  
 witless men sound reasoners? Such is the road on 156  
 which human affairs go up and down, a road liable to  
 shifting and unstable happenings, their uneven tenor  
 manifestly laid bare by time's unerring test.

XXV. The dream shewed the Ruler of the angels 157  
 set fast upon the stairway, even the Lord: for high  
 up like a charioteer high over his chariot or a helms-  
 man high over his ship must we conceive of Him that  
 is standing over bodies, over souls, over doings, over  
 words, over angels, over earth, over air, over sky, over  
 powers descried by our senses, over invisible beings,  
 yea all things seen and unseen: for having made the  
 whole universe to depend on and cling to Himself,  
 He is the Charioteer of all that vast creation. Let 158  
 nobody, when he hears of His being set fast, think  
 that anything co-operates with God to help Him to  
 stand firmly. Let him account the truth signified by  
 it to be equivalent to the statement that the sure God  
 is the support and stay, the firmness and stability of

<sup>a</sup> From Euripides, *Ino*. See Nauck, *Frag. trag.* 420. Cf.  
*De Mos.* i. 31.

- ὁ ἀσφαλὴς θεός, ἐνσφραγιζόμενος οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ τὸ ἀσάλευτον· ἐπερείδοντος<sup>1</sup> γὰρ καὶ συστηρίζοντος αὐτοῦ μένει τὰ συσταθέντα ἀνώλεθρα κραταιῶς.
- 159 ὁ τοίνυν ἐπιβεβηκὼς τῇ οὐρανοῦ κλίμακι λέγει τῷ φαντασιουμένῳ τὸ ὄναρ· “ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ· μὴ φοβοῦ.” ὁ χρησμὸς οὗτος τὸ ἔρυμα<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα ἦν, ὃς αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι ὁ τῶν ὅλων κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα τοῦ γένους ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, πατέρων καὶ πάππων ἐπιγραφεῖς καὶ ἐπικληθεῖς ἐκάτερον, ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν ὃ τε κόσμος ἅπας καὶ ὁ φιλάρετος ἔχῃ κλῆρον· ἐπεὶ καὶ λέλεκται· “κύριος
- 160 αὐτὸς κλῆρος αὐτῷ.” XXVI. μὴ νομίσης δὲ παρέργως τοῦ μὲν Ἀβραὰμ νυνὶ λέγεσθαι κύριον καὶ θεόν, τοῦ δὲ Ἰσαάκ θεὸν αὐτὸ [645] μόνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ | αὐτηκόου καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ αὐτομαθοῦς φύσει περιγινομένης σύμβολον ἐπιστήμης ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ διδασκομένης· καὶ τῷ μὲν αὐτόχθονι καὶ αὐθιγενεῖ συμβέβηκεν εἶναι,
- 161 τῷ δὲ μετανάστη καὶ ἐπηλύτῳ. τὴν γὰρ χαλδαῖζουσιν ἀλλογενῇ καὶ ἀλλόφυλον γλῶτταν τῶν περὶ ἀστρονομίαν μετεωρολεσχῶν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμόττουσαν λογικῷ ζώῳ παρεγένετο, τὴν τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Mangey ὑπερείδοντος, as also in § 241. See App. p. 601.

<sup>2</sup> mss. τέρμα or δραμα. Wend. prints the former but conjectures ἔρυμα. (Perhaps τό τ' ἔρυμα.) Another possibility is ἔρμα: Mangey καὶ δραμα.

<sup>a</sup> The figure is clearly legal. The κλῆρος under Attic law went by lineal descent, and if registered as held by a man's father and grandfather necessarily passed on to him. God therefore becomes both God and Lord to Jacob (ἐκάτερον 380

all things, imparting as with the impress of a seal to whom He will the power of remaining unshaken. For it is because He establishes and holds it together that the system of created things remains strongly and mightily free from destruction. He, then, 159

that stands upon the stairway of heaven says to him who beholds the dream-vision, "I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac: fear not" (Gen. xxviii. 13). This oracle was the fort and most firm buttress of the practising soul. It clearly taught him that He Who is Lord and God of the universe is both Lord and God of his family, registered under both titles as held by father and grandfather, to the end that the world at large and the lover of virtue may have the same inheritance: for it has been said, "the Lord Himself is his inheritance" <sup>a</sup> (Deut. x. 9).

XXVI. Do not think that it 160 is without special point that in this passage the divine relationship to Abraham is expressed by the words "Lord and God," that to Isaac by the word "God" only. For Isaac is a figure of knowledge gained by nature, knowledge which listens to and learns from no other teacher but itself, while Abraham is a figure of knowledge gained by instruction; and Isaac is a dweller on his native soil, while Abraham is an emigrant and a stranger in the land. For, abandon- 161 ing the foreign alien tongue of Chaldaea, the tongue of sky-prating astrology, he betook him to the language that befits a living creature endowed with reason, even the worship of the First Cause of all things.

referring to this double aspect, not to "father and grandfather"). Philo here ignores the point made in the next section, that God is not called "the Lord" of Isaac. The plural *πατέρων καὶ πάππων* is perhaps used because the truth applies to all *φιλάρετοι*.



## PHILO

- 162 πάντων αἰτίου θεραπείαν. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ τρόπος  
 δεῖν δυνάμεων τῶν ἐπιμελησομένων ἐστὶ χρεῖος,  
 ἡγεμονίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας, ἵνα τῷ μὲν κράτει τοῦ  
 ἡγεμόνος ὑπακούῃ τῶν νομοθετουμένων, τῷ δὲ  
 χαριστικῷ μεγάλα ὠφελῇται, ὃ δ' ἕτερος τῆς κατὰ  
 τὸ χαρίζεσθαι μόνης· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ νουθετούσης  
 ἀρχῆς ἐβελτιώθη, φύσει περιπεποιημένος τὸ καλόν,  
 ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὀμβρηθείσας ἄνθρωπον δωρεὰς ἀγαθὸς
- 163 καὶ τέλειος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγένετο. χαριστικῆς μὲν οὖν  
 δυνάμεως θεός, βασιλικῆς δὲ κύριος ὄνομα. τί  
 οὖν ἂν τις εἴποι πρεσβύτερον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ τυχεῖν  
 ἀκράτου καὶ ἀμιγοῦς εὐεργεσίας, τί δὲ νεώτερον  
 ἢ τὸ κεκραμένης ἔκ τε ἡγεμονίας καὶ δωρεᾶς; ὃ  
 μοι δοκεῖ συνιδὼν ὁ ἀσκητῆς εὕξασθαι θαυμασιω-  
 τάτην εὐχὴν, ἵνα αὐτῷ γένηται κύριος εἰς θεόν·  
 ἐβούλετο γὰρ μηκέτι ὡς ἄρχοντα εὐλαβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ'
- 164 ὡς εὐεργέτην ἀγαπητικῶς τιμᾶν. ἀρ'  
 οὐχὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς παραπλησίοις εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ  
 τοὺς τυφλοὺς διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκήσιν, πρὸς τῶν  
 ἱερωτάτων ἐνομματουμένους λογίων, ὡς φυσιогνω-  
 μονεῖν καὶ μὴ μόνον τοῖς ῥητοῖς ἐφορμεῖν; ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ ἡμεῖς καμμύσαντες τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμα μὴ  
 σπουδάζωμεν ἢ μὴ δυνώμεθα ἀναβλέπειν, αὐτός,  
 ὃ ἱεροφάντα, ὑπήχει καὶ ἐπιστάτει καὶ ἐγχερίων μὴ  
 ποτε ἀπείπης, ἕως ἐπὶ τὸ κεκρυμμένον ἱερῶν λόγων

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 601.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. with eye-salve, cf. Rev. iii. 18.

## ON DREAMS, I. 162-164

This character stands in need of two tending powers, 162  
governance and kindness, in order that by the  
authority of the ruler it may be led to give heed to  
his ordinances, and by his graciousness be greatly  
benefited. The other character needs the power of  
kindness only, for, having obtained by nature good-  
ness and beauty of character, he was not one who had  
been improved by the admonishments of a governor,  
but as the result of the gifts showered upon him from  
above he shewed himself good and perfect from the  
outset. Now the name denoting the kind and gracious 163  
power is "God," and that denoting the kingly ruling  
power is "Lord." What good thing, then, would a  
man say was of the first rank, but the meeting with  
unmixed untempered kindness? And to what would  
he assign the second place, save to kindness which was  
a blend of governing and giving? It seems to me  
that it was by discerning this that the Practiser was  
led to pray a prayer worthy of the utmost admiration,  
that the Lord would become to him God (Gen. xxviii.  
21): for he wished no longer to be in dread of Him as  
ruler, but lovingly to honour Him as bestower of  
kindness. Might it not have been ex- 164  
pected, I ask, that these and like lessons would  
cause even those who were blind in their understand-  
ing to grow keen-sighted, receiving from the most  
sacred oracles the gift of eyesight, enabling them to  
judge of the real nature of things, and not merely  
rely on the literal sense? But even if we do close the  
eye of our soul and either will not take the trouble or  
have not the power to regain our sight, do thou thy-  
self, O Sacred Guide, be our prompter <sup>a</sup> and preside  
over our steps and never tire of anointing <sup>b</sup> our eyes,  
until conducting us to the hidden light of hallowed

- φέγγος ἡμᾶς μυσταγωγῶν ἐπιδείξης τὰ κατὰ-  
 165 κλειστα καὶ ἀτελέστοις ἀόρατα κάλλη. σοὶ μὲν  
 δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐμπρεπές· ψυχαὶ δ' ὅσαι θείων  
 ἐρώτων ἐγεύσασθε, καθάπερ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου  
 διαναστᾶσαι καὶ τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀποσκεδάσασαι πρὸς  
 τὴν περίβλεπτον θεάν ἐπείχθητε μεθέμεναι τὸν  
 βραδὺν καὶ μελλητὴν ὄκνον, ἵν' ὅσα θεάματα καὶ  
 ἀκούσματα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἔνεκα ὠφελείας ὁ ἀγνο-  
 θέτης εὐτρέπισε κατανοήσητε.
- 166 XXVII. Μυρία μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν αἰοίδιμα τῶν πρὸς  
 ἐπίδειξιν, ἐν δ' οὖν καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν πρὸ μικροῦ· τὸν  
 μὲν γὰρ γένει πάππον τοῦ ἀσκητοῦ πατέρα εἶπε  
 [646] τὸ λόγιον, τῷ δ' ὡς | ἀληθῶς πατρὶ τὸ τοῦ γεννή-  
 σαντος οὐκ ἐπεφήμισεν ὄνομα. λέγει γάρ· “ἐγὼ  
 κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου”—καίτοι  
 πάππος οὗτος ἦν—καὶ πάλιν “ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαάκ,”  
 167 εἶτ' οὐ προστίθησι “τοῦ πατρός σου.” οὐκ οὖν  
 ἄξιον τὴν τούτων αἰτίαν ἐρευνῆσαι; πάνυ γε.  
 τίς οὖν ἐστι, μὴ παρέργως σκοπήσωμεν. τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν ἢ φύσει ἢ ἀσκήσει ἢ μαθήσει περιγίνεσθαι  
 φησι, διὸ καὶ τρεῖς τοὺς γενάρχας τοῦ ἔθνους  
 σοφοὺς πάντας ἀνέγραφεν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς οὐχ  
 ὀρμηθέντας ἰδέας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐπειχ-  
 168 θέντας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν Ἀβραὰμ  
 ἡγεμόνι ὁδοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ἀγούσης ἐχρήσατο  
 διδασκαλίᾳ, ὡς ἐν ἑτέροις, ὡς ἂν οἶόν τε ἦ, δείξομεν,  
 ὁ δὲ μέσος Ἰσαὰκ αὐτηκόω καὶ αὐτομαθεὶ τῇ  
 φύσει, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἰακώβ ἀσκητικαῖς μελέταις,  
 169 καθ' ἃς οἱ ἑναθλοὶ καὶ ἑναγώνιοι πόνοι. τριῶν οὖν

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Cong.* 35 f.

words thou display to us the fast-locked lovelinesses invisible to the uninitiate. Thee it beseems to do 165 this ; but all ye souls which have tasted divine loves, rising up as it were out of a deep sleep and dispelling the mist, hasten towards the sight to which all eyes are drawn ; put away the heavy-footed lingering of hesitation, that you may take in all that the Master of the contests has prepared in your behoof, for you to see and hear.

XXVII. The notable examples which may be used 166 to shew these are countless. The text just quoted is one of them. For the oracle spoke of the man, who in kin was the Practiser's grandfather, as his father ; but did not, when mentioning his actual father, give him the title of parent. The words are : " I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father "—and yet he was his grandfather—and again, " the God of Isaac " (Gen. xxviii. 13), without the addition of " thy father." Now, is it not worth while to investigate the 167 cause of this ? Assuredly it is. So let us carefully inquire what it is. The lawgiver says that virtue is gained either by nature or by practice or by learning, and has accordingly recorded the patriarchs of the nation as three in number, all wise men.<sup>a</sup> They had not at the start the same form of character, but they were all bent on reaching the same goal. Abraham, 168 the earliest of them, had teaching as his guide on the way that leads to the good and beautiful, as we shall shew to the best of our ability in another treatise. Isaac who comes between him and Jacob had as his guide a nature which listens to and learns from itself alone. Jacob, the third of them, relied on exercises and practisings preparatory for the strenuous toil of the arena. There being, then, three 169

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- τρόπων ὑπαρχόντων, ἐξ ὧν σοφία περιγίνεται, τοὺς ἄκρους μάλιστα συμβέβηκεν ἡνῶσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀσκήσει ἔγγονον τοῦ μαθήσει, τὸ δὲ φύσει συγγενὲς μὲν—ὑποβέβληται γὰρ ὡς ῥίζα πᾶσιν,—ἀναντα-  
 170 γωνίστου δὲ καὶ ἐτοίμου γέρως ἔλαχεν. ὥστε εἰκότως Ἀβραὰμ ὁ βελτιωθείς διδασκαλία πατὴρ Ἰακώβ λέγεται, τοῦ μελέτη συγκροτηθέντος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου μᾶλλον ἢ δύναμις ἀκουστικὴ πρὸς μάθησιν ἐτοιμοτάτη δυνάμεως ἀσκητικῆς καὶ  
 171 ἐπιτηδείου πρὸς ἄθλησιν. ἔὰν μέντοι ὁ ἀσκητῆς οὗτος εὐτόνως δράμῃ πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ τηλαυγῶς ἴδῃ ἃ πρότερον ἀμυδρῶς ὠνειροπόλει, μετατυπωθεὶς τῷ κρείττονι χαρακτῆρι καὶ προσ-  
 αγορευθεὶς Ἰσραήλ, ὁ θεὸν ὁρῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ πτερνίζοντος Ἰακώβ πατέρα οὐκέτι τὸν μαθόντα Ἀβραάμ, ἀλλὰ τὸν φύσει γεννηθέντα ἀστείον Ἰσαὰκ ἐπι-  
 172 γράφεται. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐμός ἐστι μῦθος, ἀλλὰ χρησμὸς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγεγραμμένος στήλαις. “ἀπάρας” γάρ φησιν “Ἰσραὴλ αὐτὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ τοῦ ὄρκου, καὶ ἔθυσσε θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰσαάκ.” ἄρ’ ἤδη κατανοεῖς, ὅτι οὐ περὶ φθαρτῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’, ὡς ἐλέχθη, περὶ φύσεως πραγμάτων ἐστὶν ὁ παρῶν λόγος; ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον τοτὲ μὲν Ἰακώβ ὀνομάζεται πατρὸς Ἀβραάμ, τοτὲ δὲ  
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## ON DREAMS, I. 169-172

methods by which virtue accrues, it is the first and third that are most intimately connected ; for what comes by practice is the offspring and product of that which comes by learning ; whereas that which comes by nature is, to be sure, of kin with them, being like a root at the bottom of all three, but the prerogative allotted to it is one which none contests and which needs no effort. Thus it is quite natural to say that 170 Abraham, who owed his improvement to teaching, was father of Jacob, who was shaped and drilled by exercises, meaning not so much that the man Abraham was father of the man Jacob, as that the faculty of hearing which is a most ready instrument for learning begets and produces the faculty of exercise and practice so serviceable in contest. If, 171 however, our practiser exert himself and run to the end of the course, and come to see clearly what he formerly saw dimly as in a dream, and receives the impress of a nobler character and the name of " Israel," " he that seeth God," in place of " Jacob," " the supplanter," he no longer claims as his father Abraham, the man who learned, but Isaac the man who was born good by nature. This is not a story 172 invented by me, but an oracle inscribed upon the sacred tables. For we read that " Israel took his journey with all that he had, and came to the well of the oath, and offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac " (Gen. xlv. 1). Do you by this time perceive that the discourse before us is not about mortal men, but, as already stated, about the facts of nature ? For you observe that the same subject is at one time named Jacob, with Abraham as his

Ἰσραὴλ πατὴρ Ἰσαὰκ καλεῖται διὰ τὴν ἡκριβω-  
μένην αἰτίαν.

- 173 XXVIII. Εἰπὼν τοίνυν “ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς  
Ἀβραὰμ τοῦ πατρός σου καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ”  
ἐπιφέρει· “μὴ φοβοῦ,” κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον· πῶς  
γὰρ ἔτι φοβηθησόμεθα, τὸ φόβου καὶ παντὸς  
πάθους λυτήριον σὲ τὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν ὄπλον  
[647] ἔχοντες; ὅς καὶ | τοὺς ἀρχετύπους τῆς παιδείας  
ἡμῶν τύπους ἀδελουμένους ἐμόρφωσας, ἵν’ ἐμ-  
φανεῖς ὦσιν, Ἀβραὰμ μὲν διδάξας, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ  
γεννήσας· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑφηγητῆς, τοῦ δὲ πατὴρ  
ὑπέμεινας ὀνομασθῆναι, τῷ μὲν τὴν γνωρίμου  
174 τάξιν, τῷ δὲ τὴν υἱοῦ παρασχών. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
τὴν γῆν, λέγω δὲ τὴν παμφορωτάτην καὶ εὐ-  
καρποτάτην ἀρετήν, ἐφ’ ἧς καθεύδει ὁ ἀσκητῆς  
ἀναπαυόμενος τῷ τὸν μὲν αἰσθήσεως κοιμᾶσθαι  
βίον, τὸν δὲ ψυχῆς ἐγρηγορέναι, δώσειν ὁμολογεῖς,  
ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρηνικὴν ἀνάπαυσιν, ἣν  
οὐκ ἄνευ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ταλαιπωριῶν  
εἴλετο, οὐχ ὅπλα βαστάζων καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρῶν,  
ἄπαγε, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἀρετῆς παθῶν καὶ  
175 κακιῶν στίφος καθαιρῶν. τὸ δὲ σοφίας γένος  
ἄμμῳ γῆς ἐξομοιοῦται διὰ τε πληθὺν ἀπερίγραφον,  
καὶ διότι τὰς μὲν τῆς θαλάττης ἐπιδρομὰς ἢ  
ὑποταίνιος ἄμμος ἀνακρούεται, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀμαρ-  
τημάτων καὶ ἀδικημάτων ὁ παιδείας λόγος. οὗτος  
δὲ κατὰ τὰς θείας ὑποσχέσεις ἄχρι τῶν περάτων  
τοῦ παντὸς εὐρύνεται καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ἀποφαίνει  
τῶν τοῦ κόσμου κληρονόμον μερῶν, φθάνοντα  
πάντῃ, πρὸς τὰ ἐῷα, πρὸς τὰ ἐσπέρια, τὰ κατὰ  
μεσημβρίαν, τὰ προσάρκτια· λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 219.

father, and at another is styled Israel with Isaac as his father, the reason for this being that which has been set forth in detail.

XXVIII. So, after saying "I am the Lord God of 173 Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac," he adds "fear not" (Gen. xxviii. 13). The words come naturally after the others; for how shall we any longer be afraid, when we have Thee our Defender, a weapon that brings deliverance from fear and every passion? Moreover, it was Thou that didst bring out of obscurity into distinctness the original patterns of our education, Abraham whose teacher, and Isaac whose parent<sup>a</sup> Thou wast: for Thou didst condescend to be named instructor of the one and father of the other, giving one the position of pupil, the other that of son. It is because Thou art this that Thou dost 174 promise that Thou wilt give him the land also, virtue I mean abounding in all manner of fruits, whereon the Practiser slumbers, asleep to the life of sense, but awake to that of the soul and therefore at rest. Thou graciously approveest his peaceful repose, which he won not without war and war's hardships, a war in which he bore no arms and destroyed no men (away with the thought!) but overthrew the troop of passions and vices that oppose virtue. Wisdom's race 175 is likened to the sand of the earth (*ibid.* 14), both because its number is without limit and because the sand-bank forces back the inroads of the sea, as those of sinful and unjust deeds are kept back by trained reason. And this, in accordance with the Divine promises, is broadening out to the very bounds of the universe, and renders its possessor inheritor of the four quarters of the world, reaching to them all, to East, and West, and South and North: for it is said, "It



- “ πλατυνθήσεται ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ λίβα καὶ βορρᾶν  
 176 καὶ ἀνατολάς.” ἔστι δ’ ὁ ἀστεῖος οὐκ ἴδιον μόνον  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἅπασιν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου τὴν  
 ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ προτείνων ὠφέλειαν. ὥς γὰρ ἥλιος  
 ἀπάντων ἐστὶ φῶς τῶν ὄψεις ἐχόντων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ  
 σοφὸς τῶν ὅσοι λογικῆς κεκοινωνήκασιν φύσεως.  
 XXIX. “ ἐνευλογηθήσονται γὰρ ἐν σοὶ ” φησί  
 177 “ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαί.” ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς οὗτος  
 ἐφαρμόττει καὶ αὐτῷ τινι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἑτέρῳ  
 πρὸς ἕτερον. εἴαν τε γὰρ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ νοῦς ἀρετῇ  
 τελείᾳ καθαρῇ, καὶ αἱ τοῦ περὶ ἐμὲ γεώδους  
 φυλαὶ συγκαθαίρονται, ὥς ἔλαχον αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ  
 ἡ μεγίστη δεξαμενὴ, τὸ σῶμα· εἴαν τέ τις κατ’  
 οἰκίαν ἢ πόλιν ἢ χώραν ἢ ἔθνος γένηται φρονήσεως  
 ἐραστής, ἀνάγκη τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
 καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ἀμείνوني βίῳ χρῆσθαι.  
 178 καθάπερ γὰρ τὰ ἐκθυμιώμενα τῶν ἀρωμάτων  
 εὐωδίας τοὺς πλησιάζοντας ἀναπύμπλησι, τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τρόπον ὅσοι γείτονες καὶ ὁμοροὶ σοφοῦ, τῆς ἀπ’  
 αὐτοῦ σπῶντες αὔρας ἐπὶ μήκιστον χεομένης βελ-  
 τιοῦνται τὰ ἥθη.  
 179 XXX. Μεγίστη δέ ἐστιν εὐεργεσία ψυχῇ  
 πονούσῃ καὶ διαθλούσῃ συνοδοιπόρον ἔχειν τὸν  
 ἐφθακότα πάντῃ θεόν· “ ἰδοὺ ” γὰρ φησιν “ ἐγὼ  
 μετὰ σοῦ.” τίνος οὖν ἂν ἔτι χρεῖοι γενοίμεθα  
 πλούτου, σὲ τὸν ἀληθείᾳ πλούτον ἔχοντες μόνον  
 “ διαφυλάσσοντα ἐν ὁδῷ ” τῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀγούσῃ  
 κατὰ πάσας αὐτῆς τὰς τομὰς; οὐ γὰρ ἐν μέρος  
 [648] ἐστὶ τοῦ λογικοῦ | βίου τὸ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ

<sup>a</sup> An interpretation of “all the way, wheresoever thou goest.”

shall spread abroad, to the West and to the South and to the North and to the East? " (*ibid.* 14). The 176 man of worth is not just a good to himself but a common good to all men. From his ready store he proffers the boon which is his to give. For as the sun is a light to all who have eyes, so is the wise man to such as are partakers of a rational nature, XXIX. for he says "in thee shall all tribes be blessed" (*ibid.* 14).

Now this divine utterance has its applica- 177 tion to a man both in his relation to his own separate being, and as a social being related to others. For if the mind which is in me have been rendered pure by perfect virtue, then the "tribes" of that which is earthly in me are sharers of its purifying, those I mean which pertain to the senses and to that chiefest container, the body. Again, if one belonging to a household or city or country or nation become a lover of sound sense, it must be that that household and city and country and nation has a better mode of life. For just as the exhalations from aromatic herbs fill 178 those who come near them with a sweet fragrance, in the same way those who belong to the circle and neighbourhood of a wise man, drinking in the atmosphere which spreads far and wide around him, are improved in character.

XXX. It is a vast boon to a toiling and striving soul 179 to have as a Fellow-traveller God whose presence reaches everywhere: for we read, "Behold, I am with thee" (*ibid.* 15). Of what riches can we any longer stand in need, when we have Thee Who art alone the true riches, "keeping us on the way" which leads to virtue, along all its sections? <sup>a</sup> For there is not one part only of the life according to reason which tends to righteousness and virtue gener-

## PHILO

τὴν ἄλλην τεῖνον ἀρετὴν, ἀλλὰ μυρία ὅσα, ἐξ ὧν ἔστιν ὀρμωμένους φρονήσεως ἐφικνεῖσθαι.

- 180 XXXI. Παγκάλως δὲ εἴρηται καὶ τὸ “ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην.” καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἦν, τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ μείναντα μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι πρὸς αἴσθησιν· δεύτερος δὲ πλοῦς, ἐφ’
- 181 ἑαυτὸν ὑποστρέψαι πάλιν. ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ ἀφθαρσίας ψυχῆς ὑπαινίττεται δόγμα διὰ τούτου· ἀπολιποῦσα μὲν γὰρ τὸν οὐράνιον τόπον, ὡς καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον ἐλέχθη, καθάπερ εἰς ξένην χώραν ἦλθε τὸ σῶμα. φησὶ δ’ οὐ μέχρι τοῦ παντός καθειργμένην αὐτὴν ὁ γεννήσας περιόψεσθαι πατήρ, ἀλλ’ οἶκτον λαβὼν λύσειν τὰ δεσμὰ καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἄχρι τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀσφαλῶς παραπέμψειν καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀνήσειν ἢ τὰς διὰ λόγων ὑποσχέσεις ἀληθείας ἔργοις βεβαιωθῆναι· θεοῦ γὰρ ἴδιον λέγειν
- 182 πάντως τὰ γενησόμενα. καίτοι τί τοῦτό φαμεν; ἔργων γὰρ ἀδιαφοροῦσιν αὐτοῦ οἱ λόγοι.

- Διακινηθεῖσα οὖν καὶ διαναστᾶσα πρὸς τὰς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος ζητήσεις ἢ ἀσκητικὴ ψυχὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπετόπησεν εἶναι τὸ ὄν ἐν τόπῳ, μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχοῦσα τῷ δυστοπάστῳ τῆς σκέψεως περι-
- 183 δεῆς γίνεται καὶ μετανοεῖν ἄρχεται. “ἐξηγέρθη” γάρ φησιν “Ἰακώβ καὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἔστι κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ᾔδουν.” καὶ ἄμεινον

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<sup>a</sup> This explanation of Jacob's waking words, that the soul when it first wakes to awareness of God first localizes Him, then realizing how the subject transcends human thought sees the error of such localizing, yet still finds in the world of place and sense the manifestation of divine goodness and the means by which we can rise to higher conceptions, is obtained (1) by taking *τόπος* first as "place" and then as "topic"; (2) by treating *οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο* with an

ally, but an infinite number of them, each a fresh starting-point on the road to wisdom.

XXXI. Right good too are the words " I will bring 180 thee again into this land " (*ibid.*). For excellent would it have been for the reasoning faculty to have remained in its own keeping and not have left its home for that of sense-perception ; but, failing that, it is well that it should return to itself again. Per- 181 haps, too, in these words he hints at the doctrine of the immortality of the soul : for, as was said a little before, it forsook its heavenly abode and came into the body as into a foreign land. But the Father who gave it birth says that He will not permanently disregard it in its imprisonment, but will take pity on it and loose its chains, and escort it in freedom and safety to its mother-city, and will not stay his hand until the promises given by words have been made good by actual deeds : for it is the special attribute of God and of Him alone to say what will surely come to pass. And yet what need to say this ? For His 182 words are in no way different from deeds.

So, then, the practising soul, now fully roused and ready for the inquiry into what concerns Him that is, at first made the conjecture that He is in a place, but after a little while, it is seized with fear at the unscrutable nature of the quest and begins to change its mind.<sup>a</sup> For we read " Jacob rose up and said, that the 183 Lord is in this place, but I knew it not " (*ibid.* 16). And it would have been better, I should say, to be

audacity surprising even in Philo. He first takes it by itself = "this is not the case," then coupled with *ἀλλ' ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ*. In this last interpretation he reverses that given in *De Mig.* 5 where the world of sense was *not* the house of God, the name of God there indicating the Self-existent, here restricted to the Creative Potency.

- ἦν, εἵπομι' ἂν, ἀγνοεῖν ἢ ἔν τινι θεὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι, τὸν περιέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰ πάντα.
- 184 XXXII. δικαίως οὖν ἐφοβήθη καὶ εἶπε θαυμαστικῶς· “ὡς φοβερός ὁ τόπος οὗτος.” ὄντως γὰρ τῶν ἐν φυσιολογίᾳ τόπος ἀργαλεώτατος, ἐν ᾧ ζητεῖται, ποῦ καὶ εἰ συνόλως ἐν τινι τὸ ὄν, τῶν μὲν λεγόντων, ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ὑφεστὼς χώραν τινὰ κατεῖληφε, καὶ ἄλλων ἄλλην ἀπονεμόντων, ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἢ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ μετακόσμιόν τινα, τῶν δὲ φασκόντων, ὅτι οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν γενέσει τὸ ἀγέννητον ὁμοιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὅλοις ὑπερβάλλον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ὠκυδρομωτάτην διάνοιαν ὑστερίζουσιν μακρῶ τῆς καταλήψεως ὁμολογεῖν ἡττᾶσθαι.
- 185 διόπερ εὐθύς ἀνέκραγεν· “οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο,” ὁ ἐδόξασα, “ὅτι ἔστι κύριος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ”· περιέχει γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐ περιέχεται κατὰ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεικνύμενον καὶ ὁρατόν, ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὗτοσι κόσμος, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ οἶκος θεοῦ, μιᾶς τῶν τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων, καθ' ἣν ἀγαθὸς ἦν.
- 186 τὸν δὲ κόσμον (ὄν)<sup>1</sup> οἶκον ὠνόμασε καὶ πύλην τοῦ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν οὐρανοῦ προσεῖπε. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστί; τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν συσταθέντα ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι
- [649] κατὰ τὰς θείας χορηγίας κόσμον νοητὸν | οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἄλλως καταλαβεῖν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
- 187 αἰσθητοῦ καὶ ὀρωμένου τούτου μετάβασιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἀσώματον ἐννοῆσαι δυνατόν ὅτι μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόντας ἀπὸ σωμάτων·

<sup>1</sup> <δν> Mr. Whitaker's insertion.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 601.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps meaning the Logos. But see App. pp. 601 ff. for a full discussion of the whole passage.

ignorant than to suppose that God is in some place Who Himself contains and encompasses all things. XXXII. Rightly, therefore, was he afraid and said 184 in an awestruck tone, "How dreadful is this place" (*ibid.* 17). For indeed most difficult of the "places" in the study of nature's verities is that in which men inquire as to where, and whether at all *in* any thing the Existent Being is. Some say that everything that subsists occupies some space, and of these one allots to the Existent One this space, another that, whether inside the world or a space outside it in the interval between worlds.<sup>a</sup> Others maintain that the Unoriginate resembles nothing among created things, but so completely transcends them, that even the swiftest understanding falls far short of apprehending Him and acknowledges its failure.

Wherefore he straightway cried aloud "This is not" 185 (*ibid.* 17); this that I supposed, "that the Lord is in some place" (*ibid.* 16), is not so; for according to the true reckoning He contains, but is not contained. But this that we can point out and see, this world discerned by sense, is, as I now know, nothing but a house of "God," that is, of one of the Potencies of the Existent, that is, the Potency which expresses His goodness. The world which he named a "house," he 186 also described as "gate of" the real "heaven" (*ibid.* 17). Now what is this? The world which only intellect can perceive, framed from the eternal forms in Him<sup>b</sup> Who was appointed in accordance with Divine bounties, cannot be apprehended otherwise than by passing on to it from this world which we see and perceive by our senses. For neither indeed is it 187 possible to get an idea of any other incorporeal thing among existences except by making material objects

ἡρεμούντων μὲν γὰρ ἐνόηθη τόπος, χρόνος δὲ  
 κινουμένων, σημεῖα δὲ καὶ γραμμαὶ καὶ ἐπιφάνειαι  
 καὶ συνόλως πέρατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξωτάτω περικει-  
 188 μένης οἶον ἀμπεχόνης. κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον οὖν καὶ  
 ὁ νοητὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμος ἐνόηθη· πύλη  
 τις οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνου. ὥς γὰρ οἱ βουλόμενοι τὰς πόλεις  
 θεάσασθαι διὰ πυλῶν εἰσίσαι, οὕτως ὅσοι τὸν  
 αἰδιῆν κόσμον καταλαβεῖν ἐθέλουσιν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ  
 ὁρατοῦ φαντασίας ξεναγοῦνται. ὁ δὲ νοητῆς ὑπο-  
 στάσεως κόσμος ἄνευ ἡστινοσοῦν σχημάτων ὅψεως,  
 μόνης δὲ διὰ τῆς ἀρχετύπου ιδέας τῆς ἐν τῷ δια-  
 χαραχθέντι πρὸς τὸ θεαθὲν αὐτῷ εἶδος ἄνευ σκιᾶς  
 μετακληθήσεται, πάντων αὐτῷ τειχῶν καὶ πάσης  
 πύλης ἀπαρθέντων εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ τινος ἀθρῆσαι,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἀλέκτω τινὶ καὶ δυσερμηνεύτῳ  
 θέα διιδεῖν κάλλος ἀναλλοίωτον.<sup>2</sup>

189 XXXIII. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἄλλis. ἐφαρμόζει  
 δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει καὶ ἕτερος ὄνειρος, ὁ περὶ τῆς  
 ποικίλης ἀγέλης, ὃν περιαναστὰς ὁ φαντασιωθείς  
 διηγεῖται φάσκων· “εἰπέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ  
 καθ' ὕπνον· Ἰακώβ. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα· τί ἐστι; καὶ  
 εἶπεν· ἀνάβλεψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ ἴδε τοὺς  
 τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰ πρό-  
 βατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας διαλεύκους καὶ ποικίλους καὶ  
 σποδοειδεῖς ῥαντούς. ἐώρακα γὰρ ὅσα σοι Λάβαν  
 ποιεῖ. ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ,  
 οὗ ἡλειψάς μοι στήλην καὶ ἠϋξω μοι εὐχὴν. νῦν

<sup>1</sup> mss. ὦν. The correction is Mr. Whitaker's and seems to me better than Wend.'s <ὄς> . . . ἦν or Mangey's πύλης ὄντος.

<sup>2</sup> The last part of this section from ὁ δὲ νοητῆς is bracketed by Wend. as a Christian interpolation. See App. pp. 602 f.

\* Or “woke up.” Cf. *De Som.* ii. 106.

our starting-point. The conception of place was gained when they were at rest : that of time from their motion, and points and lines and superficies, in a word extremities from the robe-like exterior which covers them. Correspondingly, then, the conception <sup>188</sup> of the intelligible world was gained from the one which our senses perceive : it is therefore a kind of gate into the former. For as those who desire to see our cities go in through gates, so all who wish to apprehend the unseen world are introduced to it by receiving the impression of the visible world. The world whose substance is discernible only by intellect apart from any sight whatever of shapes or figures, but only by means of the archetypal eternal form present in the world which was fashioned in accordance with the image beheld by him with no intervening shadow,—that world shall change its title, when all its walls and every gate has been removed and men may not catch sight of it from some outside point, but behold the unchanging beauty, as it actually is, and that sight no words can tell or express.

XXXIII. On this matter enough has been said. <sup>189</sup> There is another dream of the same type as the one we have been studying. It is the one concerning the flock whose markings varied. When he to whom it appeared has risen up <sup>a</sup> he relates it in these words : “The angel of God said unto me in sleep, ‘ Jacob,’ and I said, ‘ What is it ? ’ and he said, ‘ Look up with thine eyes and see the he-goats and the rams leaping upon the sheep and the goats how they are pure white and speckled and ashy-sprinkled. For I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am God that appeared unto thee in God’s Place, where thou anointedst unto Me a pillar and vowedst unto Me



οὖν ἀνάστηθι καὶ ἔξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ταύτης καὶ  
 ἀπελθε εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς γενέσεώς σου, καὶ ἔσομαι  
 190 μετὰ σοῦ.” ὁρᾷς ὅτι θεοπέμπτους ὀνείρους ἀνα-  
 γράφει ὁ θεῖος λόγος οὐ μόνον τοὺς κατὰ τὸ  
 πρεσβύτατον τῶν αἰτίων προφαινομένους, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τοὺς διὰ τῶν ὑποφητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁπαδῶν  
 ἀγγέλων, οἱ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονος μοίρας πρὸς τοῦ  
 191 γεννήσαντος ἡξίωονται πατρός. σκόπει  
 μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον. ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῖς μὲν  
 ὡς βασιλεὺς ἃ χρὴ πράττειν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος παραγ-  
 γέλλει, τοῖς δὲ ὡς γνωρίμοις διδάσκαλος τὰ πρὸς  
 ὠφέλειαν ὑφηγεῖται, τοῖς δὲ ὡς σύμβουλος γνώμας  
 εἰσηγούμενος τὰς ἀρίστας τὸ συμφέρον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν  
 οὐκ εἰδότας μεγάλα ὠφελεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ὡς φίλος  
 ἐπιεικῶς καὶ μετὰ πειθοῦς πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀρρήτων  
 ἀναφέρει, ὧν οὐδένα τῶν ἀτελέστων ἐπακοῦσαι  
 192 θέμις. ἔστι | δ’ ὅτε καὶ πυνθάνεται τινων, ὥσπερ  
 [650] τοῦ Ἀδάμ. “ποῦ εἶ;” πρὸς ὃ ἀποκρίναιτ’ ἄν  
 τις οἰκείως “οὐδαμοῦ,” τῷ τάνθρώπεια πάντα ἐν  
 ὁμοίῳ μὴ μένειν, ἀλλὰ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ  
 σώματι καὶ τοῖς ἐκτός. ἀνίδρυτοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ  
 λογισμοί, φαντασίας ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων  
 οὐχὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀλλ’ ἐναντίας ἔχοντες, ἀνίδρυτον  
 δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὡς μηνύουσιν αἱ ἐκ βρέφους ἄχρι  
 γήρως τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἀπασῶν τροπαί, ἀνίδρυτα δὲ  
 καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς ἐπηρωρημένα φορᾶ τύχης αἰεὶ σαλευ-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 53 for a somewhat different view.

## ON DREAMS, I. 189-192

a vow. Now therefore arise and go forth out of this land and depart into the land of thy nativity, and I will be with thee ' ' (Gen. xxxi. 11-13). You see that 190 the Divine word proclaims as dreams sent from God not only those which appear before the mind under the direct action of the Highest of Causes, but those also which are revealed through the agency of His interpreters and attendant messengers who have been held meet to receive from the Father to Whom they owe their being a divine and happy portion.

Observe also what follows. The sacred 191 word deals with some as a king, enjoining on them authoritatively what they are to do, with some as a teacher indicating to pupils what will be for their good, with some as a counsellor suggesting the best decisions, and greatly benefiting them since of themselves they do not know the advantageous course to take. Towards others it acts as a friend with winning condescension imparting to them even many secret truths which are not allowed to reach the ears of the uninitiated. Sometimes it addresses an inquiry to 192 this or that one, as it does to Adam, asking "Where art thou?" (Gen. iii. 9), an inquiry to which one might with fitness make the reply "Nowhere,"<sup>a</sup> seeing that nothing pertaining to man remains as it is, but all things are in motion, and this is true of soul, and of body, and of things external. For instability characterizes our reasonings, receiving as they do from the same objects not the same but contrary impressions. It characterizes also our body, as is shewn by the changes that occur in every period of life from infancy to old age. It characterizes too matters affecting us from without, tossed about as they are on the current of ever restless chance.

- 193 ούσης. XXXIV. ἐπειδὴν μέντοι πρὸς τὸ τῶν φίλων ἔλθῃ συνέδριον, οὐ πρότερον ἄρχεται λέγειν ἢ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσαι καὶ ὀνομαστί προσεπειν, ἵνα τὰ ὦτα ἀνορθιάσαντες, ἡσυχία καὶ προσοχῇ χρώμενοι, τῶν θεσμιωδουμένων εἰς ἄλυστον μνήμην ἀκούωσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἑτέρωθι λέγεται·
- 194 “σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε.” τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ βάτου Μωϋσῆς ἀνακαλεῖται—“ὥς γὰρ εἶδε” φησὶν “ὅτι προσάγει ἰδεῖν, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ βάτου λέγων· Μωυσῆ, Μωυσῆ. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· τί ἐστίν;”
- Ἀβραάμ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ μόνου παιδὸς ὀλοκαυτώσεως, ἥνικα τε ἱεουργεῖν ἤρχετο καὶ ὁπότε δοὺς ἀπόπειραν εὐσεβείας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι τὸ αὐτομαθὲς γένος, ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἰσαάκ, ἐκωλύθη· ἀρχομένου μὲν γὰρ φησιν, 195 ὅτι “ὁ θεὸς ἐπείραζε τὸν Ἀβραάμ καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἀβραάμ, Ἀβραάμ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπε· λάβε τὸν υἱόν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν, ὃν ἠγάπησας, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ ἀνένεγκε,” ἤδη δὲ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνενηνοχότος, τότε “ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγων· Ἀβραάμ, Ἀβραάμ. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἐγώ. καὶ εἶπε· μὴ ἐπιβάλης τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπὶ τὸ παιδάριον, μηδὲ ποιήσης αὐτῷ μηδέν.”
- 196 Εἰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ φιλικοῦ θιάσου καὶ ὁ ἀσκητὴς ὢν εἰκότως προνομίας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιωθεὶς ἀνακαλεῖται· “εἶπε γάρ μοι” φησὶν “ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ καθ’

<sup>a</sup> Or “it,” i.e. the Sacred Word.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “Council.” Though God deals with His friends separately, they may be thought of as forming an intimately associated body. Cf. φιλικοῦ θιάσου § 196.

## ON DREAMS, I. 193-196

XXXIV. When, however, God <sup>a</sup> has come 193  
to the company <sup>b</sup> of His friends, He does not begin to  
say His say before He has addressed each such friend  
calling him by name, in order that they may prick up  
their ears, and with stillness and attention so listen to  
the sacred precepts as to remember them for ever ;  
for it is also said in another place, “ Keep silence, and  
hearken ” (Deut. xxvii. 9). It is on this wise that 194  
Moses is addressed at the Bush, for we read “ When  
He saw that he drew nigh to look, the Lord called him  
from out of the bush saying, ‘ Moses, Moses.’ And he  
said, ‘ What is it ? ’ ” (Ex. iii. 4). And  
Abraham, at the offering up of his beloved and only  
son as a burnt offering, is so addressed, both when he  
was beginning <sup>c</sup> to offer the sacrifice, and when, after  
giving proof of his piety, he was prevented from  
causing to disappear from among men the nature  
which learns untaught, called Isaac. For when he 195  
was at the beginning we are told “ God did prove  
Abraham, and said unto him, ‘ Abraham, Abraham ’ ;  
and he said ‘ Here am I.’ And He said, ‘ Take thy  
beloved son, whom thou lovedst, even Isaac, and offer  
him up.’ ” And when he had now brought the victim  
to the altar, then “ an angel of the Lord called to him  
out of heaven, saying ‘ Abraham, Abraham.’ And  
he said, ‘ Here am I.’ And he said, ‘ Lay not thine  
hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto  
him ’ ” (Gen. xxii. 1, 2, 9-12).

The Practiser being one of the band of friends 196  
of God is, as we might expect, accorded the same  
prerogative and addressed by name ; for we read  
“ The angel of God said to me in sleep, ‘ Jacob.’ And

<sup>a</sup> An odd use for “ at the opening of the story of the sacrifice.”

- 197 ὕπνον· Ἰακώβ. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα· τί ἐστιν;” ἀνα-  
 κληθεὶς δὲ προσοχῇ χρῆται, τὰ φανέντα σημεῖα  
 πειρώμενος ἀκριβοῦν, ἔστι δὲ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν λόγων  
 οἷα θρεμμάτων· ὁχεῖαί τε καὶ γενέσεις· “ἀνα-  
 βλέψας” γάρ φησι “τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδε τοὺς  
 τράγους καὶ τοὺς κριοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐπὶ τὰ  
 198 πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας.” αἰπολίου μὲν δὴ τράγος,  
 ποιμνῆς δὲ κριοῦς ἡγεμών ἐστι· τὰ δὲ ζῶα ταῦτα  
 δυεῖν λόγων σύμβολα τελείων, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος  
 καθαίρει καὶ κενοῖ ψυχὴν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὁ δὲ  
 ἕτερος τρέφει καὶ πλήρη κατορθωμάτων ἐργάζεται.  
 τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγελάρχαι λόγοι·  
 αἱ δὲ ἀγέλαι προβάτοις καὶ αἰξὶ φερωνύμως δια-  
 τεθεῖσαι ἄττουσι καὶ προβαίνουσι μετὰ σπουδῆς  
 199 πρὸς δικαιοσύνην. ἀναβλέψας | οὖν τὸ τέως με-  
 [651] μυκὸς ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας εἶδε τοὺς ἀναλογούντας  
 τράγοις καὶ κριοῖς τελείους λόγους ἡκονημένους  
 πρὸς τε μείωσιν ἀδικημάτων καὶ ὧν χρή πράττειν  
 συναύξησιν, πῶς ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας,  
 τὰς ἔτι νέας καὶ ἀπαλὰς ψυχὰς ἄρτι ἡβώσας καὶ  
 ἄνθει τῷ τῆς ἀκμῆς ὠραῖζομένας, ἀναβαίνουσιν  
 οὐκ ἄλογον ἡδονὴν διώκοντες, ἀλλ’ ἀοράτῳ σπορᾷ  
 200 φρονήσεως χρώμενοι δογμάτων. εὐπαις γὰρ ὁ  
 γάμος οὗτος οὐ σώματα συμπλέκων, ἀλλ’ εὐφύεσι  
 ψυχαῖς τελείας ἀρετὰς ἀρμοζόμενος. ἐπιβαίνετε  
 οὖν οἱ σοφίας ὀρθοὶ λόγοι πάντες, ὁχεύετε, σπείρετε,  
 καὶ ἦν ἂν ἴδητε ψυχὴν βαθεῖαν, εὐγειον, παρθένον,  
 μὴ παρέλθῃτε, καλέσαντες δ’ εἰς τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ  
 συνουσίαν ἑαυτῶν τελειώσατε καὶ ἐγκύμονα ἀπερ-

<sup>a</sup> i.e. πρόβατον is derived from προβαίνω, αἶξ from ἀττσω.

## ON DREAMS, I. 197-200

I said, 'What is it?' (Gen. xxxi. 11). And having 197  
been addressed by name he pays attention, endeavouring to note precisely the signs which appeared : and the signs are the couplings and breedings of thoughts in the guise of animals ; for we read : " He lifted up his eyes and saw the he-goats and the rams mounting upon the sheep and the goats " (*cf.* Gen. xxxi. 12). A he-goat is leader of a herd of goats, a ram of a flock 198  
of sheep ; and these animals are figures of two perfect ways of thinking, of which the one cleanses and purges a soul from sin, and the other nourishes it and renders it full of high achievements. Such are the leading thoughts at the head of the herds within us ; and the herds, possessed of dispositions answering to the names of sheep and goats<sup>a</sup> which represent them, dart and go forward towards righteousness with earnestness. Having therefore opened the hitherto 199  
closed eye of the understanding, Jacob saw the perfect thoughts which correspond to he-goats and rams brought to the sharpest edge both for the diminishing of sins and the increase of all that we ought to do,—saw how they mount the sheep and the goats, that is to say the souls that are still young and tender, just fresh and in the very prime and flower of youth,—saw that they do so, not in the pursuit of irrational pleasure, but using the invisible seed of the doctrines of sound sense. For rich in offspring is this wedlock, 200  
seeing that it does not bring one body to the embraces of another but mates well-endowed souls with perfect virtues. Mount then, all ye right thoughts and reasonings of wisdom, impregnate, impart seed, and whenever you catch sight of a soul of deep rich virgin soil, pass it not by, but inviting it to union and intercourse with yourselves, render it pregnant and so

γάσασθε· τέξεται γὰρ πάντα ἀστεία, γενεὰν ἄρρενα  
 “διαλεύκων, ποικίλων, σποδοειδῶν ραντῶν.”

- 201 XXXV. “Ἦν δ’ ἔχει τῶν γεννημάτων τούτων  
 ἕκαστον δύναμιν, ἐρευνητέον. διάλευκοι μὲν τοίνυν  
 εἰσὶν οἱ τηλαυγέστατοι καὶ ἀριδηλότατοι, τοῦ  
 “διὰ” πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τιθεμένου, ἀφ’  
 οὗ διάδηλον καὶ διάσημον τὸ μέγας δῆλον καὶ  
 202 μέγας ἐπίσημον ἔθος ὀνομάζειν ἐστί. βούλεται  
 οὖν τῆς τὸν ἱερὸν σπόρον παραδεξαμένης ψυχῆς  
 τὰ πρωτότοκα γεννήματα διάλευκα εἶναι, φωτὶ  
 εὐοκίτα οὐκ ἀμυδρῶ, φέγγει δὲ τηλαυγεστάτῳ, οἷα  
 γένοιτ’ ἂν ἀφ’ ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων ἄσκιος ἐν αἰθρία  
 κατὰ μεσημβρίαν αὐγή· βούλεται δὲ καὶ  
 ποικίλα οὐ πολυμόρφου καὶ πολυτρόπου<sup>1</sup> λέπρας  
 ἀκαθάρτου τρόπον, διὰ γνώμης ἀβεβαιότητα χρησό-  
 μενα ἀστάτῳ καὶ φορουμένῳ βίῳ, ἀλλὰ γράμμασιν  
 ἐγκεκολαμμένα, καὶ σφραγίσιν διαφόροις δοκίμοις  
 δὲ πάσαις τετυπωμένα, ὧν αἱ ιδιότητες ἀνα-  
 μιχθεῖσαι καὶ ἀνακραθεῖσαι μουσικὴν συμφωνίαν  
 203 ἐργάσονται. τὴν γὰρ ποικιλτικὴν<sup>2</sup> τέχνην  
 ἐνόμισαν μὲν τινες οὕτως ἡμελημένον καὶ ἀφανὲς  
 εἶναι πρᾶγμα, ὥστε ὑφάνταις αὐτὴν ἀνέθεσαν.  
 ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦνομα τέθηπα,  
 καὶ μάλισθ’ ὅταν εἰς τὰ γῆς τμήματα καὶ τὰς ἐν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. πολυμόρφῳ (καὶ ποικίλῳ) καὶ πολυτρόπῳ. I prefer Mangey’s ποικίλα οὐ ποικιλία πολυμόρφῳ καὶ πολυτρόπῳ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ποικίλην.

<sup>a</sup> See note on § 209.

<sup>b</sup> The introduction of the idea of “engraved with seals” into the description of ποικιλία is based, I suspect, on Ex. xxxvi. 15 (xxxix. 8) ff., where the λογέιον described as an ἔργον ὑφαντὸν ποικιλία is said to have stones ἐγγεγραμμένας

effect its consummation ; for all that it brings forth shall be goodly, male offspring " consisting of pure white, speckled and ashy-sprinkled " <sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxxi. 10).

XXXV. We must search for the force and meaning 201 of each of these births. Thoroughly-white, then, are the brightest and most conspicuous, " thorough " being often applied to what is great, whence has come the custom of calling what is largely evident and largely notable " thoroughly-evident " and " thoroughly-notable." His wish then is that the 202 firstborn progeny of the soul which has received the holy seed should be " thoroughly-white," resembling not a dim light, but a brilliant shining, such as a cloudless ray coming from the sun's beams would appear in a clear atmosphere at noontide.

It is his wish that they be also variegated, not after the fashion of foul leprosy the changeful disease, which assumes so many different forms, nor destined, owing to lack of firmness of judgement, to lead an unstable agitated life, but engraved with inscriptions, and stamped with seals differing one from another but all of them genuine,<sup>b</sup> the blending and combination of their proper marks producing a harmony like that of music.

For the art of variegation 203 has been looked upon by some as so obscure and paltry a matter that they have relegated it to weavers. I on the contrary regard with awe not only the art itself but its very name, and most of all when I fix my eyes upon the sections of the earth, upon the

*εις σφραγίδας*. " Genuine " I take to be suggested by Gen. xxx. 42, where the *ποικίλα* of the lambs are called *ἐπίσημα* contrasted with the *ἄσημα* which Laban takes. This antithesis of *ἐπίσημα* )( *ἄσημα* naturally suggests coins, and this again *δόκιμα* )( *ἄδόκιμα*. Cf. *Quis Rerum* 180, *De Fuga* 9. The thought recurs in §§ 208, 226, 255.



οὐρανῷ σφαίρας καὶ ζώων καὶ φυτῶν διαφορὰς  
καὶ τὸ παμποίκιον ὕφασμα, τουτονὶ τὸν κόσμον,  
204 ἀπιδῶ. τὸν γὰρ τοῦ πλέγματος παντὸς τούτου  
δημιουργὸν εὐρετὴν τῆς ποικιλικῆς ἐπινοεῖν εὐθὺς  
ἐπιστήμης ἀναγκάζομαι, καὶ σέβομαι μὲν τὸν  
εὐρόντα, τιμῶ δὲ τὴν εὐρεθεῖσαν, τὸ δ' ἔργον κατα-  
πέπληγμαι, καίτοι μηδὲ πολλοστὸν μέρος αὐτοῦ  
δυνηθεὶς ἰδεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ φανέντος μοι μέρους,  
εἰ δὴ καὶ πέφηνεν, ἀκριβῶς τὸ ὅλον εἰκάζων ἀνα-  
205 λογίας ἐλπίδι. θαυμάζω μέντοι καὶ | τὸν  
[652] σοφίας ἐραστήν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν τέχνην ἐπιτετή-  
δευκε, πολλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα ἐκ διαφερόντων εἰς  
ταὐτὸ συνάγειν<sup>1</sup> καὶ συνυφαίνειν ἀξιῶν. λαβὼν γὰρ  
ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς παιδικῆς γραμματικῆς δύο τὰ πρῶτα,  
τό τε γράφειν καὶ τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς  
τελειοτέρας τὴν τε παρὰ ποιηταῖς ἐμπειρίαν καὶ  
τὴν ἀρχαίας ἱστορίας ἀνάληψιν, παρὰ δὲ ἀριθ-  
μητικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας τὸ ἀνεξαπάτητον ἐν οἷς  
ἀναλογίας καὶ λογισμῶν ἐστι χρεία, παρὰ δὲ  
μουσικῆς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ μέτρα,<sup>2</sup> τὰ τε ἐναρμόνια καὶ  
χρωματικὰ καὶ διατονικὰ συνημμένα τε αὖ καὶ  
διεzeugμένα μέλη, παρὰ δὲ ῥητορικῆς εὗρεσιν,  
φράσιν, τάξιν, οἰκονομίαν, μνήμην, ὑπόκρισιν, παρὰ  
δὲ φιλοσοφίας ὅσα τε ἐν ταύταις παραλέλειπται  
καὶ ἄλλα ἐξ ὧν ἅπας ὁ ἀνθρώπων βίος συνέστηκεν,  
ἐν ἔργον εὐανθέστατον ἡρμόσατο, εὐμάθειαν πολυ-  
206 μαθείᾳ μίξας. καὶ τὸν τούτου τοῦ πλέγ-  
ματος δημιουργὸν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος Βεσελεὴλ ἐκάλεσεν,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συνάγων.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. places the commas differently. See App. pp. 603 f.

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Cong.* 148.

<sup>b</sup> See App. p. 604.

spheres of heaven, the many different kinds of animals and plants, and that vast variegated piece of embroidery, this world of ours. For I am straightway 204 compelled to think of the artificer of all this texture as the inventor of the variegator's science, and I do homage to the inventor, I prize the invention, I am dumbfounded at the result, and that though I am incapable of seeing even the smallest part of it, but from the part brought within the range of my vision, if indeed it has been brought, I form in detail a conjecture about the whole on the strength of what analogy leads me to expect. Further- 205

more, I admire the lover of wisdom, for having taken up this same art, in that he sees fit, when he finds a multitude of different things, to bring them together out of difference into oneness and to weave them together. For instance, he takes from the "grammar" taught to children the two first subjects, writing and reading; from the more advanced "grammar" acquaintance with the poets and a learning of ancient history<sup>a</sup>; from arithmetic and geometry absolute accuracy in matters which require a making of calculations and noting of proportion; from music rhythms and metres and melodies enharmonic, chromatic, diatonic, conjunct too and disjunct; from rhetoric, conception, expression, arrangement, treatment, memory, delivery<sup>b</sup>; from philosophy everything that has been omitted in the items given already, and all things else that constitute the whole life of men,—and from these combined he frames a single work gay and bright to a degree, blending wide learning with readiness to learn still more.

The artificer of this fabric was 206 called by the holy word Bezaleel (Ex. xxxi. 2 ff.),

- ὁς ἐρμηνευθεὶς ἐστὶν ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ. τὰ γὰρ μιμήματα οὗτος, τὰ δὲ παραδείγματα ἀρχιτεκτονεῖ Μωυσῆς· διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν οἷα σκιάς ὑπεγράφετο, ὁ δ' οὐ σκιάς, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς ἀρχετύπους ἐδη-  
 207 μιούργει φύσεις. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἅγια ποιικιλτικῇ τέχνῃ κατεσκευάσται καὶ ὁ σοφὸς ποικιλτῆς μόνος ἐν τοῖς ἱεροφαντηθεῖσι χρησμοῖς ἀνείρηται XXXVI. καὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλὸν ποίκιλμα, ὃδε ὁ κόσμος, ἐπιστήμῃ πανσόφῳ τετελεσιούργηται, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὡς ἐργαλεῖον<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀποδέχε-  
 208 σθαι ποικιλτικὴν; ἥς<sup>2</sup> ἀφίδρυμα ἱερώτατον πᾶς ὁ σοφίας οἶκος ἀγαλματοφορήσει καὶ κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ἀφ' ἥς ποικίλων λόγων ἰδέας ὁ ἀσκητὴς ἐκπονεῖ· μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς διαλεύκους εὐθύς τοὺς ποικίλους εἶδε, παιδείας κόμματι χαραχθέντας.  
 209 Τρίτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ σποδοειδεῖς ῥάντοί. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν εἴποι τῷ γένει καὶ τούτους εἶναι ποικίλους; ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ περὶ θρεμμάτων διαφορᾶς ἢ τοσαύτη σπουδὴ, περὶ μέντοι  
 210 τῆς πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν ἀγωγῆς ὁδοῦ. βούλεται γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ ταύτην<sup>3</sup> ἰόντα σποδῶ καὶ ὕδατι περιρ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μεγαλεῖον.<sup>2</sup> MSS. οὐ.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ταῦτα ὅτ ταύτη.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. Bezaleel is called σοφός ("filled with the spirit of wisdom" Ex. xxxi. 3), and the work is ἔργον ποικιλτοῦ (Ex. xxvi. 36 and elsewhere).

<sup>b</sup> The section is obscure, but the meaning perhaps may be something as follows. Knowledge shaped by the tool of variegation in divine hands stands like a sacred statue in the temple of the universe. And this serves as a model to the Practising Soul (=the lover of wisdom in § 205), when he creates the varieties of human knowledge described in that section. The point of the last words is that this agrees with the order of the vision in which the διαλεύκοι, here standing for the higher ideal knowledge, are followed by the ποικίλοι.

which is when interpreted "in the shadow of God." For it is the copies of which he is chief builder, whereas Moses builds the patterns; for this reason the one drew an outline as it were of shadows, while the other fashioned no shadows, but the existences themselves that served as archetypes.

Now if the holy tabernacle was built by the variegator's art, and the name of "variegator" or embroiderer is reserved for the sage in the oracles of revelation,<sup>a</sup> XXXVI. and the beautiful variegated fabric of God, even this world of ours, has been wrought in its completeness by a knowledge full of all wisdom, how can we do otherwise than welcome variegation as a tool for the making of knowledge? Its most holy image shall be enshrined in all the house of Wisdom both in heaven and on earth. And from it are derived the varieties of thinking which the Practiser's labour creates, for after those of thorough-white he straightway saw those that were variegated, bearing the impress of the stamp of training.<sup>b</sup>

Third come the ashy-sprinkled. And yet what man of sound sense would not say that these also are of the variegated kind? The fact is that it is not about the difference between beasts that the lawgiver shews this deep concern, but rather about the way that leads to nobility of life.<sup>c</sup> For he wishes the man who goes in quest of this to besprinkle himself with

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Philo does not deny that the literal meaning of *σποδοειδής παντοί* is ash-coloured and spotted (or with ash-coloured spots?) and that this indicates much the same as variegated, but spiritually what is intended is "sprinkled with ashes and water," the allegorical meaning of which is explained in the next section.

## PHILO

- ραίνεσθαι, διότι γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ λόγος ἔχει φυρα-  
θέντα καὶ μορφωθέντα πρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρωποπλάστου  
εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀποκριθῆναι σῶμα, οὐ χειρόκμητον,  
211 ἀλλὰ φύσεως ἔργον ἀοράτου. σοφίας οὖν ἐστὶν  
ἀρχὴ μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι ἑαυτοῦ, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν  
συνεκρίθη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αἰὲ λαμβάνειν· οὕτως γὰρ  
[653] μεγαλαυχίαν, τὸ κακῶν | θεομισέστατον, ἐκνύψαιτ'  
ἄν. τίς γὰρ εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενος, ὅτι τέφρα καὶ  
ὕδωρ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τῆς γενέσεως αἱ ἀρχαί, φυσηθεὶς  
212 ὑπ' οἰήσεως μετέωρος ἀρθήσεται; διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
τοὺς μέλλοντας ἱερουργεῖν περιρραίνεσθαι τοῖς λεχ-  
θεῖσιν ἐδικαίωσεν, οὐδένα θυσιῶν ἄξιον νομίσας,  
ὃς μὴ πρότερον ἑαυτὸν ἔγνωκε καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην  
οὐδένειαν κατέλιπεν, ἐξ ὧν συνεκρίθη στοιχείων  
τὸ μηδενὸς ἄξιος εἶναι τεκμηράμενος.
- 213 XXXVII. Τὰ τρία ταῦτα σημεία, τὸ διάλευκον,  
τὸ ποικίλον, τὸ σποδοειδὲς ῥαντόν, περὶ μὲν τὸν  
ἀσκητὴν ἅτε μήπω τέλειον ἀτελῆ, περὶ δὲ τὸν  
214 τέλειον φαίνεται καὶ αὐτὰ τέλεια. ὃν δὲ τρόπον,  
θεασώμεθα· τὸν μέγαν ἀρχιερέα, ὁπότε μέλλοι τὰς  
νόμῳ προστεταγμένας ἐπιτελεῖν λειτουργίας, ὁ  
ἱερὸς ἐδικαίωσε λόγος ὕδατι καὶ τέφρα περιρ-  
ραίνεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἑαυτοῦ—καὶ  
γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς Ἀβραάμ, ὅτε ἐντευξόμενος ἦει τῷ  
θεῷ, γῆν καὶ σποδὸν εἶπεν ἑαυτόν,—ἔπειτ' ἐν-  
δύεσθαι τὸν ποδήρη χιτῶνα καὶ τὸ ποικίλον ὃ

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\* "Ashes," however, are not mentioned here. See App. p. 604.

## ON DREAMS, I. 210-214

ashes and lustral water, inasmuch as it is recorded that earth and water mixed together and shaped were by the power of the Moulder of men set apart to form this body of ours, wrought as no handiwork, but a product of nature working all unseen. It is, then, 211 the beginning of wisdom not to be forgetful of one's own self, but ever to set before one's eyes the elements of which one consists ; for in this way a man would purge out of himself high vaunting, the most God-aborred of evil things. For who, when he lays to heart that ashes and water are for him the beginnings of existence, will be puffed up by conceit and raised aloft ? That is why the lawgiver required those who 212 were about to sacrifice to besprinkle themselves with the materials I have mentioned. He held no one worthy of offering sacrifices who has not first come to know himself and comprehended human nothingness, inferring from the elements of which he is composed that he is nothing worth.

XXXVII. These three signs, the thorough-white, 213 the variegated, the ashy-sprinkled, are seen to be imperfect in the Practiser inasmuch as he is not yet perfect, whereas in the perfect man they too are perfect. Let us see in what way this is true. When 214 the great High-priest was about to perform the public services enjoined by law, the holy word required that he should in the first place sprinkle himself with water and ashes (Ex. xxix. 4)<sup>a</sup> as a reminder to him of himself—for even that wise one, Abraham, when he was on his way to intercede with God, spoke of himself as earth and ashes (Gen. xviii. 27)—in the next place that he should put on the tunic reaching to the feet, and over it that which he has entitled the

- κέκληκεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιστήθιον, τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν  
 215 φωσφόρων ἄστρον ἀπεικόνισμα καὶ μίμημα. δύο  
 γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἱερὰ θεοῦ, ἐν μὲν ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, ἐν  
 ᾧ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πρωτόγονος αὐτοῦ θεῖος λόγος,  
 ἕτερον δὲ λογικὴ ψυχὴ, ἧς ἱερεὺς ὁ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
 ἄνθρωπος, οὗ μίμημα αἰσθητὸν ὁ τὰς πατρίους  
 εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ἐστίν, ᾧ τὸν εἰρημένον  
 ἐπιτέτραπται χιτῶνα ἐνδύεσθαι, τοῦ παντός ἀντί-  
 μιμον ὄντα οὐρανοῦ, ἵνα συνιερουργῇ καὶ ὁ κόσμος  
 216 ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ τῷ παντὶ ἄνθρωπος. δύο  
 μὲν οὖν ἦδη, τὸν τε ῥαντὸν καὶ τὸν ποικίλον τύπον,  
 ἔχων ἐπιδέδεικται· τὸν δὲ τρίτον καὶ τελειότατον,  
 ὃς ὀνομάζεται διάλευκος, αὐτίκα σηματοῦμεν.  
 ὅταν εἰς τὰ ἐσωτάτω τῶν ἀγίων ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος  
 ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσῇ, τὴν μὲν ποικίλην ἐσθῆτα ἀπαμπί-  
 σχεται, λινῇ δὲ ἑτέραν, βύσσου τῆς καθαρωτάτης  
 217 πεποιημένην, ἀναλαμβάνει. ἡ δ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον  
 εὐτονίας, ἀφθαρσίας, αὐγοειδεστάτου φέγγους· ἀρ-  
 ραγῆς τε<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἡ ὀθόνη καὶ ἐξ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀπο-  
 θνησκόντων γίνεται καὶ ἔτι λαμπρότατον καὶ  
 φωτοειδέστατον ἔχει μὴ ἀμελῶς καθαρθεῖσα χρῶμα.  
 218 διὰ δὲ τούτων ἐκείνο αἰνίττεται, ὅτι τῶν ἀδόλως  
 καὶ καθαρῶς θεραπευόντων τὸ ὄν οὐδεὶς ἐστίν ὃς  
 μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἰσχυρογνωμοσύνη κέχρηται κατα-  
 φρονήσας τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, ἃ δελεά-  
 [654] ζοντα κηραίνει καὶ ἀσθένειαν ἐργάζεται, | ἔπειτα  
 ἀφθαρσίας ἐφίεται γελάσας ὅσα οἱ θνητοὶ τυφο-  
 πλαστοῦσι, τελευταῖον δὲ ἀληθείας ἀσκίῳ φέγγει  
 καὶ περιαιγεῖ καταλάμπεται, μηδὲν ἔτι τῶν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Some mss. καθαρὰ τε, others ἀρραγεστέρα (-έστατον).

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the twelve signs of the Zodiac, cf. *De Spec. Leg.* i. 87.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. not of wool, cf. *De Ebr.* 86.

## ON DREAMS, I. 214-218

embroidered or variegated breastplate (Ex. xxix. 5), a representation and copy of the shining constellations.<sup>a</sup> For there are, as is evident, two temples of God : 215 one of them this universe, in which there is also as High Priest His First-born, the divine Word, and the other the rational soul, whose Priest is the real Man ; the outward and visible image of whom is he who offers the prayers and sacrifices handed down from our fathers, to whom it has been committed to wear the aforesaid tunic, which is a copy and replica of the whole heaven, the intention of this being that the universe may join with man in the holy rites and man with the universe.

The High Priest has 216 now been exhibited as having two characteristic marks, the sprinkled and the variegated : the third and most perfect, which is styled thorough-white, we will now proceed at once to indicate. When this same High Priest goes into the inmost part of the Holy Place, he divests himself of the variegated robe, and puts on another one of linen made from the purest kind (Lev. xvi. 4), a figure of strong fibre, 217 imperishableness, most radiant light : for fine linen is hard to tear, and is made from no mortal creature,<sup>b</sup> and moreover when carefully cleaned has a very brilliant and luminous colour. What is symbolically 218 intimated by these figures is, that among those who worship Him that is with guileless purity, there is not one that does not, in the first place, exercise strength of will and judgement by a contempt for human interests which ensnare and hurt and enfeeble us ; and, in the second place, laugh to scorn all the unsubstantial aims of mortal men, and set his heart on immortality ; and, last of all, live irradiated by the cloudless splendour of truth, no longer entertaining



ψευδοῦς δόξης, ἃ σκότῳ φίλα εἶναι συμβέβηκε, προσιέμενος.

- 219 XXXVIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς τρισὶ ταῖς εἰρημέναις τυπωθεῖς σφραγίσιν, τῇ διαλεύκῳ, τῇ ποικίλῃ, τῇ σποδοειδεῖ ῥαντῇ, τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἀναγεγράφθω· τὸν δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης πολιτείας ἐφιέμενον, Ἰωσήφ ὄνομα, τῶν μὲν ἄκρων ἰδεῖν ἔστι μὴ μεταποιούμενον χαρακτήρων, μόνου δὲ τοῦ
- 220 μέσου καὶ ποικίλου. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι χιτῶνα ποικίλον ἔσχεν, οὔτε καθαρσίοις περιρρανάμενος ἱεροῖς, ἀφ' ὧν ἑαυτὸν ἂν ἔγνω τέφρας καὶ ὕδατος συμφόρημα, οὔτε τῆς πανλεύκου καὶ φωτοειδестаτῆς ἐσθῆτος, ἀρετῆς, ψαῦσαι δυνηθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπαμπισχόμενος ὕφασμα παμποίκιλον, ᾧ βραχύτατον μέρος ἀληθείας ἐγκαταμέμικται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα μοῖραι ψευδῶν εὐλόγων πιθανῶν εἰκότων, ἐξ ὧν οἱ Αἰγύπτου πάντες ἀνέβλαστον σοφισταί, οἰωνομάντεις, ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, τερατοσκόποι, δεινοὶ παλεῦσαι καὶ κατεπᾶσαι καὶ γοητεῦσαι, ὧν τὰς ἐπιβούλους τέχνας
- 221 μέγα ἔργον διεκδῦναι. διὸ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα τοῦτον εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς φυσικῶς αἵματι πεφυρμένον, ἐπειδὴ πᾶς ὁ τοῦ πολιτευομένου βίος πέφυρται, πολεμῶν τε καὶ πολεμούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προσπιπτουσῶν ἀβουλήτων συντυχιῶν βαλλόμενος καὶ
- 222 τοξευόμενος. ἐρεύνησον οὖν τὸν λίαν δημοτικόν, ᾧ τὰ πόλεως πράγματα ἐφορμεῖ, μὴ καταπλαγεῖς τοὺς θαυμαστικῶς ἔχοντας αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἐμφωλευούσας νόσους εὐρήσεις, πολλὰς δ' ἐξημμένον κῆρας καὶ βιαίως ἐκάστην τὴν ψυχὴν αὐχενίζουσιν καὶ ἀφανῶς αὐτῇ προσπαλαίουσαν καὶ

any of the creations of false opinion so dear to darkness.

XXXVIII. Let this stand as my description of the 219 great High Priest marked with the three seals aforesaid, the thorough-white, the variegated, and the ashy-sprinkled. The man whose desires are set on human statecraft, Joseph by name, lays claim, as we can see, neither to the first nor to the third of these marks, but to the intervening one, the variegated, only. For we are told that he had a coat of varied 220 colours (Gen. xxxvii. 3). He did not besprinkle himself with lustral rites, from which he would have learned that he was an amalgam of ashes and water, and was incapable of touching the all-white and gleaming vestment, which is virtue, but arrayed himself in the woven robe of statecraft, a robe richly variegated, containing but a most meagre admixture of truth, but many large portions of false, probable, plausible, conjectural matter, out of which sprang up all the sophists of Egypt, augurs, ventriloquists, soothsayers, proficients in decoying, charming, and bewitching, whose insidious artifices it is no easy task to escape. So Moses shews the insight of a philosopher 221 in introducing this coat all blood-stained (Gen. xxxvii. 31), since the whole life of the statesman is stained, warring and being warred upon, receiving blows and shots from the mishaps which befall it. Search then 222 the man who is thoroughly immersed in public business, the man on whom the interests of the state depend, and do not be daunted by those who hold him in admiration. You will find many a disease lurking in him, many a baneful thing fastened upon him, each one of them violently gripping his soul and invisibly wrestling with it, striving to overthrow it

- ζητοῦσαν ἀνατρέφαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν, ἥ τοῦ πλήθους  
 τῇ προστασίᾳ δυσχεράναντος ἢ κατὰ ἀντεπίθεσιν  
 223 δυνατωτέρου ἀνδρός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁ φθόνος βαρὺς  
 καὶ δυσαπότριπτος ἐχθρός, ἐπιφυόμενος αἰεὶ ταῖς  
 λεγομέναις εὐπραγίαις, ὃν οὐ ῥάδιον ἐκφυγεῖν.
- 224 XXXIX. τί οὖν ὥς ἐσθῆτα πολυτελῆ  
 τὴν ἐπηνθισμένην πολιτείαν ἀναψάμενοι γαυριῶμεν,  
 τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τῆς φανεράς ὀψεως ἀπατώμενοι, τὸ  
 δ' ἀφανὲς καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἐπίβουλον καὶ σφαλερόν  
 225 αἰσχος αὐτῆς οὐ κατανοοῦντες; ἀποδυσάμενοι δὴ  
 τὸν ἀνθηρόν τοῦτον χιτῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ἐνδυνάμεθα  
 ἀρετῶν ποικίλμασιν ἐνυφασμένον· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ  
 τὰς ἐνέδρας ἀποδρασόμεθα, ἃς ἀτεχνία καὶ ἀν-  
 ἐπιστημοσύνη καὶ ἀπαιδευσία καθ' ἡμῶν τιθέασιν,  
 226 ὧν ὁ Λάβαν ἐστὶ θιασώτης. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ  
 ἐκάθηνεν ἡμᾶς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος τοῖς εἰς ἀγιστείαν |  
 [655] εὐτρεπισθεῖσι περιρραντηρίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις  
 φιλοσοφίας ἀληθοῦς κατεποίκιλε λόγοις ἀγαγὼν  
 εἰς τὸ δοκίμιον καὶ διασήμους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ  
 λαμπροὺς ἐποίησεν, αἰτιᾶται τὸ ἐπίβουλον ἦθος,  
 πρὸς τὴν τῶν λεχθέντων ἀνηρεθισμένον λώβην.  
 227 φησὶ γάρ· “ἐώρακα ὅσα σοι Λάβαν ποιεῖ,”  
 τάναντία δῆπουθεν οἷς ἐδωρησάμην ἐγώ, τὸ δυσ-  
 κάθαρτον καὶ τὸ ἀδόκιμον, τὸ πάντῃ σκοταῖον.  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ χρή κατεπτηχέαι τὸν  
 ἐλπίδι θείας συμμαχίας ἐφορμοῦντα, ᾧ καὶ λέγεται·  
 “ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ.”  
 228 πάγκαλόν γε αὔχημα ψυχῇ, τὸ ἀξιοῦν θεὸν ἐπι-  
 φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐνομιλεῖν αὐτῇ. μὴ παρέλθῃς δὲ τὸ  
 εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ ἀκριβῶς ἐξέτασον, εἰ τῷ ὄντι δύο

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and cast it down, either because the multitude are dissatisfied with his leadership, or because a more powerful rival is attacking him. Envy again is a grievous foe, difficult to shake off, a growth which always settles on what men call "doing well," and hard it is to escape from. XXXIX. Why

then do we invest ourselves with the gauds of political importance, as with some costly garment, and bear ourselves proudly in it, deceived by the fairness of what meets the eye, and not perceiving its insidious and dangerous ugliness which is out of sight and hidden from observation? Come, let us cast off this showy tunic, and put on the sacred one inwoven with the varied embroidery of virtues. So shall we escape also the ambushments, which unskilfulness, ignorance and indiscipline set for our ruin, to which company Laban belongs. For when the holy word

had cleansed us with the water of sprinkling made ready for our sanctification, and bringing us to the test had decked us with the varied richness of the secrets of true philosophy, and had made us clear and distinct and bright, it censures the evil-designing character stirred up to spoil the effects of the said treatment. For he says, "I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee" (Gen. xxxi. 12), the reverse, that is, of all that I bestowed upon thee, even sore foulness and spuriousness and darkness in every part.

Yet there can be no cowering fear for the man who relies on the hope of the divine comradeship, to whom are addressed the words "I am the God who appeared to thee in the place of God" (Gen. xxxi. 13). Surely a right noble cause of vaunting it is for a soul, that God deigns to shew Himself to and converse with it. And do not fail to mark the language used, but carefully

εἰσὶ θεοί· λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ  
 ὀφθείς σοι,” οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ ἐμῷ, ἀλλ’ “ ἐν τόπῳ  
 229 θεοῦ,” ὡς ἂν ἐτέρου. τί οὖν χρή λέγειν; ὁ μὲν  
 ἀληθεῖα θεὸς εἰς ἔστιν, οἱ δ’ ἐν καταχρήσει λεγόμε-  
 νοι πλείους. διὸ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἐν τῷ παρόντι  
 τὸν μὲν ἀληθεῖα διὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου μεμνήνυκεν εἰπών·  
 “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός,” τὸν δ’ ἐν καταχρήσει χωρὶς  
 ἄρθρου φάσκων· “ ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ,” οὐ τοῦ  
 230 θεοῦ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ μόνον “ θεοῦ.” καλεῖ δὲ θεὸν τὸν  
 πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ νυνὶ λόγον, οὐ δεισιδαιμονῶν  
 περὶ τὴν θέσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀλλ’ ἐν τέλος προ-  
 τεθειμένος, πραγματολογῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐτέροις  
 σκεψάμενος, εἰ ἔστι τι τοῦ ὄντος ὄνομα, σαφῶς  
 ἔγνω ὅτι κύριον μὲν οὐδέν, ὃ δ’ ἂν εἶπη τις, κατα-  
 χρώμενος ἐρεῖ· λέγεσθαι γὰρ οὐ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ  
 231 μόνον εἶναι τὸ ὄν. XL. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ  
 καὶ τὸ θεσπισθὲν λόγιον τῷ πυνθανομένῳ, εἰ ἔστιν  
 ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ὅτι “ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν,” ἢ ὢν δυνατόν  
 ἀνθρώπῳ καταλαβεῖν μὴ ὄντων περὶ θεόν, ἐπιγνώ-  
 232 τὴν ὑπαρξιν.<sup>1</sup> ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀσωμάτοις καὶ θερα-  
 πευτρίσιν αὐτοῦ ψυχαῖς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστιν  
 ἐπιφαίνεσθαι διαλεγόμενον ὡς φίλον φίλαις, ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> The construction is extremely awkward. The majority of mss. have ἀδύνατον, which coupled with Wend.’s conjecture of τῶν for μὴ would give a more tolerable sentence. Mangey’s translation, also reading ἀδύνατον, “that man may believe in the existence of those qualities in God the absence of which is incomprehensible to him,” gives a sense which is suited to the argument which follows, but how could such an inference be drawn from ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν?

<sup>a</sup> Philo of course fails to understand that the LXX τόπος θεοῦ is a translation of the Hebrew place-name Bethel.

<sup>b</sup> If this is the right translation of the passage, Philo would seem to use δεισιδαιμονία, as the Latin *superstitio*

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inquire whether there are two Gods ; for we read " I am the God that appeared to thee," not " in my place " but " in the place of God," as though it were another's.<sup>a</sup> What, then, are we to say? He that is truly God is One, but those that are improperly so called are more than one. Accordingly the holy word in the present instance has indicated Him Who is truly God by means of the articles saying " I am the God," while it omits the article when mentioning him who is improperly so called, saying " Who appeared to thee in the place " not " of the God," but simply " of God." Here it gives the title of " God " to His chief Word, not from any superstitious nicety in applying names, but with one aim before him, to use words to express facts.<sup>b</sup> Thus in another place, when he had inquired whether He that is has any name, he came to know full well that He has no proper name,<sup>c</sup> and that whatever name anyone may use of Him he will use by licence of language ; for it is not the nature of Him that is to be spoken of, but simply to be.

XL. Testimony to this is afforded also by the divine response made to Moses' question whether He has a name, even " I am He that is " (Ex. iii. 14). It was given in order that, since there are not in God things which man can comprehend, man may recognize His subsistence. To the souls indeed which are incorporeal and are occupied in His worship it is likely that He should reveal Himself as He is, conversing with them as friend with friends ; but to souls which are still in a

sometimes is, for over-fine scrupulousness in the use of words. But is this possible? See App. pp. 604 f. for this and the connexion of thought in these sections.

<sup>a</sup> The reference is to Ex. vi. 3. See *De Mut.* 13 f.

δὲ ἔτι ἐν σώματι ἀγγέλοις εἰκαζόμενον, οὐ μετα-  
βάλλοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν—ἄτρεπτος γάρ,—ἀλλὰ  
δόξαν ἐντιθέντα ταῖς φαντασιουμέναις ἑτερόμορφον,  
ὡς τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ μίμημα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀρχέτυπον  
233 ἐκεῖνο εἶδος ὑπολαμβάνειν εἶναι. παλαιὸς  
μὲν οὖν ἄδεται λόγος, ὅτι τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώποις εἰ-  
καζόμενον ἄλλοτε ἄλλοις περινοσθεῖ τὰς πόλεις ἐν  
κύκλῳ, τὰς τε ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας ἐξετάζον·  
καὶ τάχα μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῶς, πάντως δὲ λυσιτελῶς  
234 καὶ συμφερόντως ἄδεται. ὁ δὲ λόγος  
σεμνότερον καὶ ἀγιώτερον ταῖς περὶ τοῦ ὄντος  
ἐννοίαις αἰεὶ χρώμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀφρόνων  
[656] βίον | παιδεῦσαι γλιχόμενος ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν εἵκασεν,  
235 οὐ μέντοι τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους οὐδενί· πρόσωπον διὰ  
τοῦτο καὶ χεῖρας καὶ βάσεις καὶ στόμα καὶ φωνὴν  
ὀργὰς τε καὶ θυμούς, ἔτι δὲ ἀμυντήρια ὅπλα καὶ  
εἰσόδους μέντοι καὶ ἐξόδους καὶ τὰς ἄνω καὶ κάτω  
καὶ πανταχῇ κινήσεις περιέθηκεν, οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο τῶν λόγων ἀναφέρων, ἀλλὰ  
236 πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελεῖν τῶν μανθανόντων. εἰσὶ γάρ  
τινες ἀμβλεῖς πάνυ τὰς φύσεις, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι  
θεὸν ἀνευ σώματος ἐπινοῆσαι τὸ παράπαν· οὓς  
ἀμήχανον ἑτέρως ἢ τρόπον τοῦτον νοθετεῖν λέγον-  
τας, ὅτι ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἐξανα-  
χωρεῖ καὶ κάτεισι καὶ ἀνέρχεται καὶ φωνῇ χρῆται  
καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις δυσχεραίνει καὶ ἀπαρ-  
αιτήτως πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς ἔχει καὶ βέλη μέντοι.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps <ιερός> λόγος.

<sup>a</sup> An obvious allusion to *Od.* xvii. 485:

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,  
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας,  
ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες,

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body, giving Himself the likeness of angels, not altering His own nature, for He is unchangeable, but conveying to those which receive the impression of His presence a semblance in a different form, such that they take the image to be not a copy, but that original form itself.

Indeed an old saying 233 is still current that the deity goes the round of the cities, in the likeness now of this man now of that man, taking note of wrongs and transgressions.<sup>a</sup> The current story may not be a true one, but it is at all events good and profitable for us that it should be current.

And the sacred word ever enter- 234 taining holier and more august conceptions of Him that is, yet at the same time longing to provide instruction and teaching for the life of those who lack wisdom, likened God to man, not, however, to any particular man.<sup>b</sup> For this reason it has ascribed to 235 Him face, hands, feet, mouth, voice, wrath and indignation, and, over and beyond these, weapons, entrances and exits, movements up and down and all ways, and in following this general principle<sup>c</sup> in its language it is concerned not with truth, but with the profit accruing to its pupils. For some there are 236 altogether dull in their natures, incapable of forming any conception whatever of God as without a body, people whom it is impossible to instruct otherwise than in this way, saying that as a man does so God arrives and departs, goes down and comes up, makes use of a voice, is displeased at wrongdoings, is inexorable in His anger, and in addition to all this has provided Himself with shafts and swords and all other

<sup>b</sup> For the thought in this and the following sections *cf.* *De Sac.* 94 f., *Quod Deus* 53 f.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *Quod Deus* 53.



- καὶ ξίφη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς τιμωρίας ὄργανα  
 237 ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τῶν ἀδίκων προευτρέπισται. ἀγα-  
 πητὸν γάρ, ἐὰν τῷ διὰ τούτων ἐπικρεμασθέντι  
 φόβῳ σωφρονισθῇαι δυνηθῶσι. καὶ σχεδὸν δύο  
 εἰσὶν αὗται μόναι αἱ τῆς νομοθεσίας πάσης ὁδοί,  
 μία μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀπονέουσα, δι' ἧς  
 κατασκευάζεται “οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός,”  
 ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ πρὸς τὰς τῶν νωθεστέρων δόξας, ἐφ'  
 ᾧν λέγεται· “παιδεύσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός, ὡς εἴ τις  
 παιδεύσειεν ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.”
- 238 XLI. τί οὖν ἔτι θαυμάζομεν, εἰ ἀγγέλοις, ὁπότε  
 καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν δεομένων ἐπικουρίας  
 ἀπεικάζεται; ὥσθ' ὅταν φῇ· “ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεός  
 ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ,” τότε νόησον, ὅτι τὸν  
 ἀγγέλου τόπον ἐπέσχευ ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν, οὐ μετα-  
 βάλλων, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μήπω δυναμένου τὸν ἀληθῆ  
 239 θεὸν ἰδεῖν ὠφέλειαν. καθάπερ γὰρ τὴν ἀνθήλιον  
 αὐγὴν ὡς ἥλιον οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν  
 ἰδεῖν ὁρῶσι καὶ τὰς περὶ σελήνην ἄλως ὡς αὐτὴν  
 ἐκείνην, οὕτως καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνα, τὸν  
 240 ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὡς αὐτὸν κατανοοῦσιν. οὐχ  
 ὁρᾷς τὴν ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν “Ἀγαρ, ὅτι τῷ ἀγγέλῳ  
 φησί· “σὺ ὁ θεός ὁ ἐπιδῶν με;” οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὴ  
 τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἰδεῖν αἴτιον, γένος οὔσα τῶν ἀπ'  
 Αἰγύπτου. νυνὶ δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἄρχεται βελτιούμενος  
 τὸν ἡγεμόνα πασῶν τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων φαν-  
 241 τασιοῦσθαι. διὸ καὶ αὐτός φησιν· “ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps “on the present occasion,” contrasted not only with the Hagar story, but also with the Ladder Vision. The thought seems to be that while the Hagar-mind and even the Jacob-mind, in its lower stage, draw no distinction between the higher and the lower manifestations of the divine and mistake the Angel or the Logos for “the God,”

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instruments of vengeance against the unrighteous. For it is something to be thankful for if they can be 237 taught self-control by the terror held over them by these means. Broadly speaking the lines taken throughout the Law are these two only, one that which keeps truth in view and so provides the thought " God is not as man " (Num. xxiii. 19), the other that which keeps in view the ways of thinking of the duller folk, of whom it is said " the Lord God will chasten thee, as if a man should chasten his son " (Deut. viii. 5).

XLI. Why, then, do we wonder any 238 longer at His assuming the likeness of angels, seeing that for the succour of those that are in need He assumes that of men ? Accordingly, when He says " I am the God who was seen of thee in the place of God " (Gen. xxxi. 13), understand that He occupied the place of an angel only so far as appeared, without changing, with a view to the profit of him who was not yet capable of seeing the true God. For just as those 239 who are unable to see the sun itself see the gleam of the parhelion and take it for the sun, and take the halo round the moon for that luminary itself, so some regard the image of God, His angel the Word, as His very self. Do you not see how Hagar, who is the 240 education of the schools, says to the angel " Thou art the God that didst look upon me " ? (Gen. xvi. 13) ; for being Egyptian by descent she was not qualified to see the supreme Cause. But in the passage upon which we are occupied,<sup>a</sup> the mind is beginning, as the result of improvement, to form a mental image of the sovereign Ruler of all such Potencies. Hence it is 241

the Practiser has now reached the point where he can comprehend the highest as really implicit in the lower, and this truth is revealed to him by God Himself.

θεός," οὐ τὴν εἰκόνα ὡς ἐμὲ πρότερον ἐθεάσω καὶ  
 στήλην ἐπίγραμμα ἐγκολάψας ἱερώτατον ἀνέθηκας·  
 τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἐμήνυνεν, ὅτι μόνος ἔστηκα ἐγὼ  
 καὶ τὴν τῶν πάντων φύσιν ἰδρυσάμην, τὴν ἀταξίαν  
 καὶ ἀκοσμίαν εἰς κόσμον καὶ τάξιν ἀγαγὼν καὶ τὸ  
 πᾶν ἐπερείσας,<sup>1</sup> ἵνα στηριχθῇ βεβαίως τῷ κραταιῷ  
 [657] καὶ ὑπάρχω μου | λόγῳ.

242 XLII. Στήλη γὰρ τριῶν πραγμάτων σύμβολον,  
 στάσεως ἀναθέσεως ἐπιγράμματος. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
 στάσις καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δεδήλωται, ἡ δὲ ἀνάθεσις

243 ἀναγκαῖα μηνυθῆναι· πᾶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος  
 ἀνάθημα θεοῦ τοῦ πεποιηκότος τὸ ἀνάθημα· καὶ  
 ὅσαι μέντοι κοσμοπολίτιδες ψυχαὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς,  
 ἑαυτὰς ἀνιεροῦσιν ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀντισπώμεναι θνη-  
 τοῦ, καθαγιαζοῦσαι δὲ καὶ καλλιεροῦσαι τὸν ἑαυτῶν

244 ἄφθαρτον βίον οὐδέποτε κάμνουσι. μάταιος δ'  
 ὅστις μὴ θεῷ στήλην ἀνατίθῃσιν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ, τὰ  
 γενέσεως ἰστὰς τῆς πάντῃ σαλευομένης καὶ ἐπι-  
 γραμμάτων καὶ ἐπαίνων ἀξιῶν, ἃ ψόγου καὶ κατ-

245 παράπαν ἢ γραφέντα εὐθὺς ἀπαλειφθῆναι. διὸ καὶ  
 φησιν ἄντικρυς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος· "οὐ στήσεις σεαυτῷ  
 στήλην". ἔστηκε γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ἀλή-  
 θειαν οὐδέν, καὶ διαρραγῶσί τινες ψευδόμενοι.

246 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἴονται μόνον παγίως ἐρρηεῖσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> See on § 158.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀνθρώπων.

<sup>a</sup> There is of course no suggestion of an inscription either in Gen. xxxi. 13 or in the original story, cf. Gen. xxviii. 18. But Philo, familiar with inscriptions on dedicatory slabs, takes the phrase "he set it up as a pillar" to mean that the soul, firmly convinced of God's stability, *records* (cf. ὕμνος ἐγχαράξεις, § 256) its conviction and dedicates itself.

that He Himself says "I am the God," whose image thou didst aforetime behold deeming it to be I Myself, and didst dedicate a pillar engraved with a most holy inscription<sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxxi. 13); and the purport of the inscription was that I alone am standing (Ex. xvii. 6) and that it was I alone that established the being of all things, bringing confusion and disorder into order and array, and sustained the universe to rest firm and sure upon the mighty Word, who is My viceroy.

XLII. For "pillar" is a symbol of three things, of standing, of dedicating, of inscription. The standing and inscription have been made clear, but the dedicating demands explanation. The whole heaven and the whole world is an offering dedicated to God, and He it is who has created the offering; and all God-beloved souls, citizens of the world, consecrate themselves, allowing no mortal attraction to draw them in the opposite direction, and they never grow weary of devoting and sanctifying their own imperishable life. Foolish is the man who dedicates a pillar not to God but to himself, erecting<sup>b</sup> what pertains to creation with its tossing this way and that, and holding worthy of laudatory inscriptions things which, richly deserving to be denounced and reprov'd, had better never have been made subjects for inscriptions at all, or if once so made have been forthwith erased. This is why the holy word says expressly "Thou shalt not erect a pillar to thyself" (Deut. xvi. 22); for in reality nothing human does stand, even though some falsely say so till they burst.<sup>c</sup> Nay, they do not only think that they are firmly established but also that

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "making to stand." See App. p. 605.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *De Corona* § 21 οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαπραγῆς ψευδόμενος and *ibid.* § 87.

- ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ἄξιοι καὶ ἐπιγραμμαμάτων εἶναι, τοῦ  
μόνου τιμῆς ἄξιου καὶ ἐστῶτος ὄντως ἐπιλελη-  
σμένοι. ἀποκλίναντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκτραπο-  
μένους τὴν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγουσαν ὁδὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον  
ἐξέτρεψεν αἰσθησις, ἡ σύμφυτος αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> γυνή, καὶ  
247 ἠνάγκασεν ἐξοκεῖλαι. τοιγάρτοι περικαταχθείσα<sup>2</sup>  
ὥς ναῦς ἡ ὅλη ψυχὴ τρόπον στήλης ἀνετέθη. τὴν  
γὰρ Λὼτ γυναῖκα ἐπιστραφεῖσαν εἰς τοῦπίσω  
φασὶν οἱ χρησμοὶ γενέσθαι στήλην ἁλός, εἰκότως  
248 γε καὶ προσηκόντως· εἰ γάρ τις μὴ τὰ πρόσω, τὰ  
θέας καὶ ἀκοῆς ἄξια, διορᾷ—ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶν ἀρεταὶ  
καὶ τὰ κατὰ ἀρετὰς ἔργα,—περιβλέπεται δὲ τὰ  
ὀπίσω καὶ τὰ νώτια, κωφὴν δόξαν καὶ τυφλὸν  
πλοῦτον καὶ ἀναίσθητον εὐσαρκίαν καὶ νοῦ κενὴν  
εὐμορφίαν καὶ ὅσα συγγενῇ τούτοις μεταδιώκων,  
ἄψυχος ἀνακείσεται στήλῃ περὶ ἑαυτὴν καταρ-  
ρυεῖσα· οἱ γὰρ ἅλεις οὐ βέβαιον.
- 249 XLIII. Παγκάλως οὖν ὁ ἀσκητὴς μελέτη συνεχεῖ  
μαθῶν, ὅτι γένεσις κινητὸν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς, τὸ δὲ  
ἀγέννητον ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀκίνητον, ἀνίστησι τῷ  
θεῷ στήλην καὶ ἀναστήσας ἀλείφει· λέγεται γάρ·  
250 “ἡλεψάς μοι στήλην.” ἀλλὰ μὴ νομίσης ἐλαίῳ  
λίθον ἀλείφεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ περὶ τοῦ μόνου ἐστάναι  
τὸν θεὸν ἐν ψυχῇ δόγμα γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ συν-  
ασκεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλειπτικῆς ἐπιστήμης, οὐχ ἡ τὰ  
σώματα πιαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἧς διάνοια ἰσχυρὴν  
251 κτᾶται καὶ ῥώμην ἀνανταγώνιστον. φίλαθλος γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτῶ.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. suggests περικαταγεῖσα. But the form κατεάχθην has sufficient authority.

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 605.

<sup>b</sup> Or “looks round with admiration,” as elsewhere in Philo.

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they deserve honours and inscriptions, being oblivious of Him Who is alone deserving of honour and really stands. For when they turn away and stray out of the course which leads to virtue, sense-perception, the woman inherent in their nature, makes them stray still more, and forces them to run aground. Wherefore shattered to pieces like a ship, the whole 247 soul is set up <sup>a</sup> after the fashion of a pillar. For the sacred records say that Lot's wife having turned to what was behind her became a pillar of salt (Gen. xix. 26). And that is fit and natural, for if one has 248 not a clear view of what is farther on, of what is worth seeing and hearing, of virtues, that is to say, and virtuous actions, but turns round to look at <sup>b</sup> what is behind and at his back ; if he pursues the deafness of glory, the blindness of wealth, the stupidity of bodily robustness, and the empty-mindedness of external beauty, and all that is akin to these, he will be set up as a soulless pillar, with its substance streaming down from it ; for salt has no firmness.

XLIII. Right well, then, does the Practiser, having 249 learned by continuous exercises that creation is of itself a thing of movement, whereas the Unoriginate is free from alteration and from movement, raise a pillar to God, and having raised it anoints it : for we read " Thou anointedst unto Me a pillar " (Gen. xxxi. 13). But imagine not that here we have a 250 stone anointed with oil ; rather that the doctrine of God as the only Being that stands is exercised and practised in a soul with the trainer's science, not that by which bodies are made stout and brawny, but that by which understanding acquires a vigour and strength which no opponent can overcome. For he 251

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- καὶ φιλογυμναστῆς ὁ πρὸς τὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐπι-  
 [658] τηδευμάτων ὥρμημένος | θήραν· ὥστ' εἰκότως τὴν  
 ἀδελφὴν ἱατρικῆς τέχνης ἀλειπτικὴν ἐκπονήσας,  
 πάντα τοὺς περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας ἀλείψας  
 καὶ συγκροτήσας λόγους, ἀνάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ  
 252 ἐχυρώτατον ἀναθήσει θεῷ. διὸ καὶ μετὰ  
 τὴν τῆς στηλῆς ἀνάθεσιν φησιν, ὅτι “ ἠΰξω μοι  
 εὐχὴν.” εὐχὴ δέ ἐστι κυρίως εἰπεῖν ἀνάθεσις,  
 ὁπότε μὴ μόνον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ κτήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν  
 κεκτημένον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδιδούς διδόναι λέγεται θεῷ  
 253 δῶρον. “ ἅγιος ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐστὶν ὁ τρέφων  
 κόμην τρίχα κεφαλῆς ” ὁ εὐξάμενος<sup>1</sup>. εἰ δὲ ἅγιος,  
 ἀνάθημα πάντως, μηδενὸς ἔτ' ἀνιέρου καὶ βεβήλου  
 254 προσαπτόμενος. ἐγγυᾶται δέ μου τὸν λόγον ἡ  
 προφήτις καὶ προφητοτόκος Ἄννα, ἥς μεταληφθὲν  
 τοῦνομα καλεῖται χάρις. τὸν γὰρ υἱὸν διδόναι φησὶ  
 τῷ ἁγίῳ δῶρον Σαμουήλ, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον,  
 ἀλλὰ τρόπον ἐνθουσιῶντα καὶ κατεχόμενον ἐκ  
 μανίας θεοφορήτου. Σαμουήλ δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται  
 τεταγμένος θεῷ.  
 255 Τί οὖν ἔτι, ψυχὴ, ματαιάζεις καὶ κενὰ πονεῖς,  
 ἀλλ' οὐ φοιτᾷς πρὸς τὸν ἀσκητὴν, τὰ κατὰ τοῦ  
 πάθους καὶ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ἀναλαβεῖν ὅπλα καὶ  
 παλαισμάτα μαθησομένη; τάχα γὰρ μαθοῦσα ἀγέ-  
 λαρχήσεις, οὐκ ἀσήμου καὶ ἀλόγου καὶ ἀναγώγου,  
 256 δοκίμου δὲ καὶ λογικῆς καὶ ποικίλης ἀγέλης· ἥς

<sup>1</sup> Most mss. have ὁ εὐξάμενος, Wend. with some εὐξάμενος. The article is needed. The argument is that the vow involves self-dedication, because, though in itself it is merely a dedication of the hair, ἅγιος shews that the man himself is included.

that has set out for the pursuit of noble practices is a lover of contest and a lover of exercises. Hence having thoroughly mastered the sister art to that of the physician, namely that of the trainer, having put all thoughts of virtue and piety through a course of training and drill, he will dedicate to God an offering most beauteous and firmly established.

Accordingly after the dedication of the pillar he goes 252 on to say, "Thou didst vow to me a vow" (*ibid.*). Now a vow is in the fullest sense a dedication, seeing that a man is said to give a gift to God when he renders to Him not only his possessions but himself the possessor of them. For the lawgiver says, "He 253 shall be holy that letteth the locks of the hair of his head grow long" (Num. vi. 5), that is, the man who has made the vow; and if he is holy, he is nothing else than a dedicated offering, seeing that he no more comes in contact with anything unhallowed and profane. What I say is vouched for by that prophetess and 254 mother of a prophet, Hannah, whose name is in our tongue "Grace." For she says that she is giving as a gift to the Holy One her son Samuel (1 Sam. i. 11),<sup>a</sup> not meaning a human being but rather an inspired temper possessed by a God-sent frenzy. And "Samuel" means "appointed for God."

Why then, O soul, dost thou any longer trifle and 255 engage in profitless labours, and not rather become a pupil of the Practiser, and learn to use weapons and engage in wrestlings against passion and vainglory? For haply, when thou hast learned, thou shalt be a herdsman, not of a herd without mark, without reason, without discipline, but of one bearing the stamp of genuineness, endowed with reason, and with varied

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 605.



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εἰ γένοιο ἡγεμών, τὸ μὲν οἰκτρὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος  
ὀλοφυρῇ, τὸ δὲ θεῖον οὐ παύσῃ προστρεπομένη,<sup>1</sup>  
τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐκ ἐπιλείψεις εὐδαιμονίζουσα, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ ὕμνους ἱεροπρεπεῖς στήλαις ἐγχαράξεις, ἵνα  
μὴ μόνον λέγῃς εὐτρόχως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ᾄδῃς μουσικῶς  
τὰς τοῦ ὄντος ἀρετάς. οὕτως γὰρ δυνήσῃ καὶ εἰς  
τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον ἐπανελθεῖν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης  
μακρὰν καὶ ἀνήνυτον ζάλην<sup>2</sup> ἐκφυγοῦσα.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προτρεπομένη.

<sup>2</sup> The majority of MSS. have ἀλήτ(θ)ειαν. I suggest ἄλην,  
cf. τὸν νοῦν ἐξ ἄλης πολυχρονίου πάντῃ πλανηθέντα *De*  
*Praem.* 117.

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markings. Shouldst thou become its leader, thou wilt 256  
bewail the pitiable race of men, but wilt never cease  
to approach the Deity with supplications ; thou wilt  
never tire of proclaiming the blessedness of God, nay,  
wilt grave on pillars holy hymns, that thou mayest  
not only tell in eloquent language but also sing in  
sweet melody the excellences of Him that is. For  
so shalt thou be able also to return to thy father's  
house, and be quit of that long endless distress which  
besets thee in a foreign land.



## ANALYTICAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK II

THIS long treatise, the conclusion of which has been lost, seems to me to have a poverty of thought which makes it the weakest of the whole series. And though it may be merely a coincidence, it is a curious fact that it is hardly ever quoted or referred to by later writers. Further, it has less manuscript authority than any other, except *De Posteritate Caini*. Only one ms. used by Wendland contains it, and even this, as the many footnotes to the text will shew, has a quite unusual number of corruptions and lacunas.<sup>a</sup>

The treatise follows at once on the preceding and deals with the third kind of dreams, the characteristic of which is that they contain no direct divine message, but something is seen by the dreamer, obscure in itself but explained by the art of dream interpretation. There are three pairs of dreams, one those of Joseph himself as a boy (1-154), another of the chief baker and chief butler in prison (155-214), another of Pharaoh (215 to the end), the two last pairs being interpreted by Joseph himself.

After the distinction between the three kinds of dreams has been noted (1-4), the subject of Joseph's

<sup>a</sup> It is also contained in the ms. in Trinity College Library referred to in the Introduction to *De Mutatione*. I have collated it and found it to be a close representation of the A used by Wendland, with much the same corruptions and lacunas. For such results as I have obtained see App. p. 606.

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two dreams is introduced (5-7) ; but, before they are discussed, we must remember what Joseph represents. Here he is not so much the politician as the representative of the ordinary mixed character in whom the claims of the soul are constantly disputed by those of the body and external things ; and in such a character vainglory (κέννη δόξα) or vanity (τὺφος) is sure to appear (8-16).

The first dream begins, "I thought we were binding sheaves." After noting that "thought" indicates the vagueness of the Joseph-mind (17-20), Philo points out that the dreamer only supposes himself and his brothers to be engaged in the inferior task of binding, not of reaping, which needs, he thinks, the skill to distinguish the good corn from the worthless (21-22). This leads to a further thought on spiritual reaping. We find the phrase, "When you reap your reaping," which he takes to mean that when the harvest of virtue is reaped there is a further stage where this very reaping is reaped away in the consciousness that it is of God and not of ourselves (23-24). Some similar duplicates are adduced, and the double cave of Machpelah and the two kinds of music are taken to indicate a similar sort of distinction between our acceptance of the good in creation and our acknowledgement of its dependence on the divine, and so "Ye shall not consummate the rest of the reaping" implies that the consummation does not belong to man (25-30).

But what are the sheaves? Evidently in some degree drawn by the similarity of sound in δράγματα and πράγματα, Philo interprets them as "doings" used in the sense of chief characteristics. He describes in much the same terms as elsewhere the

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leading attributes of the eleven brothers (31-41). The leading attribute of Joseph is vainglory, and this is illustrated by a few incidents in Joseph's life and by the interpretation of his name as "addition," for vainglory adds luxuries to the simple life (41-47). This leads to a long commonplace against luxury as shewn in food and drink (48-51), clothing (52-53), houses (54-55), beds (56-57), unguents (58-59), drinking-cups (60-61), and golden crowns instead of flower garlands (64). Luxury, in fact, is the beast which was supposed to have devoured Joseph and thus made Jacob mourn for him, a contrast to Nahab and Abihu in whose case Moses forbade all mourning (64-67). At this point the connexion of thought gets difficult.<sup>a</sup> Cutting off the hand of the immodest woman is treated as the duty of cutting ourselves off from absorption in lower aims and contrasted with the full handful which the priest takes and offers (68-74), and we then recur to the thought of 23 ff., though stated in a different way, that the spiritual reaping of virtues must be dedicated to God (75-77).

"My sheaf rose up and stood upright and your sheaves turned round and did homage to mine." This example of the arrogance of vainglory suggests to Philo the ascendancy of the tyrant in ordinary life and the need of caution in dealing with him. In such cases frank speaking is no virtue, any more than sailing in the teeth of a storm or than facing wild beasts when unarmed (78-89). Abraham did homage to the children of Heth for the cave of Machpelah, and so must the weak propitiate the mighty (90-92). The brethren, however, do not take this line, for they reply, "Shalt thou indeed be king and lord over us?"

<sup>a</sup> See note *ad loc.*

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This shews us that their opposition to Joseph represents the resistance of right reason to vainglory in the soul. We may dismiss, therefore, any thoughts of the unbrotherliness of the ten, and see merely the refusal of the better part within us to acknowledge any king but God (93-100). And Philo himself, while confessing his weakness, feels that even when he is most helpless he desires to follow this better judgement (101-104). And perhaps too the Joseph in us will be converted. What else indeed is suggested by the story of Joseph, with its various signs of something higher, crowned by his final acceptance by Moses, when his bones are carried by the liberated people out of Egypt? (105-109).

The second dream was that of the sun, moon and stars bowing down to Joseph. It chiefly differs from the first in being concerned with heavenly instead of earthly phenomena (110-112). Philo, after noting apparently without actual disapprobation the theory that the divine natures of the heavenly bodies do actually contend for pre-eminence (113-114), explains the dream from one point of view as describing the arrogance of those who regard themselves as superior not only to men but to nature (115-116). Thus Xerxes turned land into sea by cutting through Mount Athos and shot his arrows at the sun (117-120). The foolish Germans try to repel the tide with armed forces (121-122), and a little before in Alexandria a tyrannous ruler, when trying to coerce the Jews into Sabbath-breaking, had argued with them that, in the event of a deluge or earthquake or thunderstorm, they would not hesitate to forgo their regular customs, and that he himself was as powerful as any of these natural forces (123-129). Such a person,

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Philo thinks, will consider himself aggrieved if the seasons do not conform to his expectations (130-132). But a more general interpretation is possible. We may regard the sun as right reason, the moon as discipline or education, and the stars as the thoughts engendered by these two in the soul, which the lower Joseph-like thoughts would fain bring into subjection (133-135). Thus while Jacob's answer, "What is this dream which thou hast dreamt?" implies that Joseph is describing a spiritual conflict of this nature (135-138), the words that follow, "Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren bow down before thee?" are the refusal of right reason to submit to vanity (139-140). At the same time, we are told that his father kept the saying in his heart; and from this Philo diverges to the need for caution and self-distrust. How constantly do we find examples of long success ended by disaster, of good life followed by moral decay in old age (141-149)! And this thought suggests the image of the fountain of peace which we sometimes taste and then find denied to us—a sad condition, yet better than to drink our fill of the fountain of unreason, when the unreasoning powers master the governing element in the soul and produce that anarchy which the experience both of men and animals shews to be fatal to happiness (149-154).

In the dreams of the chief butler and baker the two men represent drunkenness and gluttony (155-158). The dream of the butler is then quoted in full (159). We note that its opening words, "In my sleep," are appropriate to that deep drunken sleep in which all the wicked are plunged (160-162), and also "the vine was before me" shews the love which the



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wicked feel for the sources of their spiritual drunkenness (162-163). But before going further we must observe that the vine may be also a symbol of gladness of the true kind. Philo describes at some length how convivial meetings shew sometimes good feeling and at other times quarrelsomeness and hatred (164-168). We find this favourable meaning of "vine" in the story of the scouting party of Numbers xiii. Those seekers for virtue who are unable to carry the main stalk of wisdom and joy cut off and carry away at least one great cluster (169-171). And how good a thing is this gladness is shewn by the application of the word to God Who is glad when men do well (172-178), and from which we may deduce that our duty is to make Him glad (179-180). But the vine of the cup-bearer is not of this sort. He will indeed plead that it cannot be, seeing that he is cup-bearer to Pharaoh, not to God Whose cup-bearer is the Logos himself (181-183). How different are these two! Pharaoh's cup-bearer is called an eunuch: the Logos on the other hand is represented by the High Priest: and what is signified spiritually by eunuch and high priest is described at some length in Philo's usual way (184-190). If we need a further description of the vine of folly we shall find it in the text which speaks of the vine of Sodom and the branch of Gomorrah, for Sodom is blindness and Gomorrah (the measure) typifies the human mind which holds itself and not God to be the measure of all things (191-194). A few more phrases in the dream are then dealt with. As *πυθμήν* may mean not only stalk but root or extremity, Philo finds a figure of the way in which folly brings the soul down to extreme misery (195-199). Again, "Pharaoh's cup was in my hand"

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indicates that our own hands or actions are needed to give passion full scope (199-201) ; and " I squeezed the grapes into the cup " represents how the fool glories in using every drop of the drink of folly (202-204).

The dream of the chief baker is dismissed very shortly. The three baskets which he carries are the pleasures of the past, the present and the future, while the birds which descend and devour the baked meats are the divine retributions which overtake the pleasure-seeker and leave him headless and crucified (205-214).

We now pass on to the two parallel dreams of Pharaoh in which the seven lean devour the seven fat kine, and the seven bad the seven good ears. But in what has been preserved at any rate no notice is taken of the substance of these dreams, and the discussion is confined with digressions to the opening phrases of the first dream : " I thought I stood upon the edge of the river." After quoting the two dreams (215-218), Philo takes the words " I thought I stood." Here we have the Pharaoh-mind profanely claiming the standing which belongs only to God, and this thought is supported by some familiar texts (219-222). Yet God imparts this stability primarily to the Logos which under the name of Covenant is said to be made to stand upon the just Noah, thus shewing that the just man becomes as it were the pedestal (223-225) ; secondly to the wise man, for Abraham stands before God and Moses stood " between God and you," thus shewing the sage as something intermediate between God and man (226-233); and thirdly to the progresser who stands midway between the full life of virtue and the death of vice

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(234-236). How vain then is the claim of the Pharaoh-mind to stand (237) !

The river is speech, which may be either good or bad (238-240). In its good sense, which includes reason, we find it in the river of Eden which divides into four heads (*ἄρχαί*) or virtues ; and as *ἄρχαί* means also rules or sovereignties, we have a hint of the thought of the sage as king (241-244). Also we find in the Psalms the phrase "the river of God," clearly indicating the divine Logos (245), and as we hear also of the river "making glad the city of God," Philo digresses to consider what the city of God is. In one sense it is the world ; in another the righteous soul ; and its name of Jerusalem, vision of peace, fits this meaning well, for God is peace and dwells in the peace-loving soul (246-258). Also Abraham is given all the land from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates where the latter is soul and what soul loves, and the former does not mean that the river of Egypt or body is included in the gift ; rather that river is bad and soulless speaking and thinking, and its nature is typified by its producing frogs and bringing death to the fish which represent true thoughts (259-260).

The edge or lip (*χέλως*) reminds us that the closing of the lips gives silence, and their opening speech, and we must remember that each has its proper season (261-263). Various texts enjoining silence are quoted (264-267), but there are also occasions which call for song, like the song of triumph of Exodus xv. or that of the well in Numbers xxi., or for oratory like that enjoined in Deut. xxii. on the bringing of firstfruits, and a short meditation on the details of this passage follows (268-273). With the wicked

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wrong speaking is more frequent than wrong silence, and three kinds of such speaking are distinguished (274-275). There are the pleasure-lovers represented by Pharaoh who was met by Moses at the "lip" of the river (276-278); the sophists represented by the people of Egypt, who were seen dead at the "lip" of the sea (279-282); the deniers of divine providence represented by the builders of Babel of whom it is said "the whole earth was of one lip" (283-284). The confusion which overtakes this third class, who are the advocates of anarchy, is enlarged on, and while repentance will bring forgiveness, persistence can only bring the divine punishment (285-295). This point is supported by a text from Leviticus on the soul which "distinguishes with its lips to do ill or well," which Philo understands as a presumptuous claim to knowledge of the nature of good and ill. Yet this too, by proclaiming its sin, may win forgiveness (296-299).

The fragment which follows begins a discussion, why the phrase "lip of the river" is only found in connexion with the river of Egypt. Philo censures the critics who regard such points as hair-splitting, and reiterates his conviction that the Scripture does not mean to teach us geography but the realities of life. The continuation is lost (302-end).

## B'

- [659] I. | Τὸ τρίτον εἶδος τῶν θεοπέμπτων ὀνείρων  
<sup>1</sup> ἀναγράφοντες εἰκότως ἂν ἐπίμαχον Μωυσῆν καλοῖ-  
 μεν,<sup>1</sup> ἢ, ὥς ἔμαθεν οὐκ εἰδώς, ἀγνοοῦντας καὶ ἡμᾶς  
 ἀναδιδάξῃ περὶ τῶν σημείων, ἕκαστον αὐγάζων.  
 συνίσταται δὲ τὸ τρίτον εἶδος, ὅποταν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις  
 ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἡ ψυχὴ κινουμένη καὶ ἀναδονοῦσα ἑαυτὴν  
 κορυβαντιᾷ καὶ ἐνθουσιῶσα δυνάμει προγνωστικῇ  
<sup>2</sup> τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίζει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἦν  
 ἄρχοντος τῆς κινήσεως θεοῦ καὶ ὑπηχούντος ἀορά-  
 τως τὰ ἡμῖν μὲν ἄδηλα, γνώριμα δὲ ἑαυτῷ· τὸ  
 δὲ δεύτερον τῆς ἡμετέρας διανοίας τῇ τῶν ὄλων  
 συγκινουμένης ψυχῇ καὶ θεοφορήτου μανίας ἀνα-  
 πιμπλαμένης, ἥ<sup>2</sup> θέμις πολλὰ τῶν ἀποβησομένων  
<sup>3</sup> προαγορεύειν. διὸ ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὰς μὲν  
 κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σημαινόμενον<sup>3</sup> φαντασίας τρανῶς  
 πάνν καὶ ἀριδῆλως ἐμήνυσεν, ἅτε τοῦ θεοῦ χρησιμοῖς  
 σαφέσιν εἰκότα διὰ τῶν ὀνείρων ὑποβάλλοντος,  
 τὰς δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον οὔτε σφόδρα τηλαυγῶς οὔτε  
 σκοτίως ἄγαν· ὧν<sup>4</sup> ὑπόδειγμα ἡ ἐπὶ<sup>5</sup> τῆς οὐρανοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. καλεῖ μὲν (καλοῦμεν).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. σημαινόμενος.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ὄν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. εἰ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ὑπὸ.

<sup>a</sup> See note on *De Som.* i. 1-2.

## BOOK II

I. In setting forth the third kind of God-sent 1  
dreams we may fitly summon Moses to our assist-  
ance, that, as he learned when he did not know, he  
may teach us too in our ignorance regarding their  
tokens, by throwing light on each. This third kind  
of dreams arises whenever the soul in sleep, setting  
itself in motion and agitation of its own accord, be-  
comes frenzied, and with the prescient power due to  
such inspiration foretells the future. The first kind 2  
of dreams we saw to be those in which God originates  
the movement and invisibly suggests things obscure  
to us but patent to Himself: while the second kind  
consisted of dreams in which the understanding moves  
in concert with the soul of the Universe and becomes  
filled with a divinely induced madness, which is per-  
mitted to foretell many coming events.<sup>a</sup>

In accordance with these distinctions, the Sacred 3  
Guide gave a perfectly clear and lucid interpretation  
of the appearances which come under the first de-  
scription, inasmuch as the intimations given by God  
through these dreams were of the nature of plain  
oracles. Those which fall under the second descrip-  
tion he interpreted neither with consummate clear-  
ness nor with excessive indistinctness. A specimen  
of these is the Vision that appeared on the heavenly

κλίμακος φανείσα ὄψις. αὕτη γὰρ αἰνιγματώδης  
 μὲν ἦν, τὸ δὲ αἶνιγμα οὐ λίαν τοῖς ὀξύ καθορᾶν  
 4 δυναμένοις ἀπεκρύπτετο. αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον  
 εἶδος φαντασίαι μᾶλλον τῶν προτέρων ἀδηλούμεναι<sup>1</sup>  
 διὰ τὸ βαθὺ καὶ κατακορὲς ἔχειν τὸ αἶνιγμα  
 ἐδεήθησαν καὶ τῆς ὄνειροκριτικῆς ἐπιστήμης.  
 πάντες γοῦν οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ ἀναγραφέντες<sup>2</sup> ὄνειροι τῷ  
 νομοθέτῃ διακρίνονται πρὸς σοφῶν τὴν λεχθεῖσαν |  
 5 τέχνην ἀνδρῶν. τίνος οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ὄνει-  
 [660] ροι; ἢ παντί τῳ δῆλον, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, οἱ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου Φαραὼ καὶ οὓς ὁ τε<sup>3</sup> ἀρχισιτο-  
 6 ποιὸς καὶ ἀρχιοινοχόος εἶδον αὐτοί<sup>4</sup>; πρέποι δ' ἂν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων αἰεὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀπάρχεσθαι.  
 πρώτοι δ' εἰσιν οὓς ἐθεάσατο Ἰωσήφ, ἀπὸ δυεῖν  
 τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν, οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς, διττὰς  
 φαντασίας λαβών· ἀπὸ μὲν γῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν ἀμνητὸν  
 ὄναρ—τοιούτου δ' ἐστίν· “ὥμην ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν  
 δράγματα ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνέστη δὲ τὸ ἐμὸν  
 δράγμα,”—τὸ δὲ περὶ τὸν<sup>5</sup> ζῶδιακὸν κύκλον \* \* \*<sup>6</sup>  
 “ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἔνδεκα ἀστέρες  
 7 προσεκύνουν με.” διάκρισις δὲ τοῦ μὲν προτέρου  
 μετὰ σφοδρᾶς ἐπανατάσεως τοιαύτη· “μὴ βασι-  
 λεύων βασιλεύσεις ἐφ' ἡμῖν; ἢ κυριεύων κυριεύσεις  
 ἡμῶν;” τοῦ δὲ ὑστέρου ὀργὴ πάλιν δικαία· “ἄρά  
 γε ἐλευσόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί  
 σου προσκυνῆσαι σοι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν;”

8 II. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ θεμελίῳν τρόπον προκατα-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δηλούμεναι. <sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀναγραφόντες. <sup>3</sup> MSS. οὔτε.

<sup>4</sup> So MSS.: perhaps αὐτοῦ. <sup>5</sup> MSS. τὸ.

<sup>6</sup> Both Mangey and Wend. suppose a lacuna here, e.g. ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐράνου· λέγει γάρ. It does not seem to me absolutely necessary.

## ON DREAMS, II. 3-8

stairway. For this vision was indeed enigmatic, but the riddle was not in very high degree concealed from the quick-sighted. The appearances of the 4 third kind being more obscure than the former, owing to the deep and impenetrable<sup>a</sup> nature of the riddle involved in them, demanded a scientific skill in discerning the meaning of dreams. Accordingly all the dreams of this sort recorded by the lawgiver received their interpretation at the hands of men who were experts in the aforesaid science. Whose 5

then are the dreams? Does not everybody perceive that they are those of Joseph, those of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and those which the chief baker and chief butler themselves saw? It would seem fitting 6 always to begin our teaching with those which come first; and first to come are those which Joseph saw when from the divisions of the universe, two in number, heaven and earth, two visions were presented to him. From the earth came the dream of the reaping. It runs on this wise: "Methought that we were binding sheaves in the midst of the plain, and my sheaf rose up" (Gen. xxxvii. 7). The other has to do with the zodiac: "As it were the sun and the moon and eleven stars worshipped me" (*ibid.* 9). On the former dream an interpretative 7 judgement is pronounced in a tone of vehement menace to this effect: "Shalt thou indeed be king over us? or shalt thou indeed be lord over us?" (*ibid.* 8). The latter dream again incurs well-merited displeasure: "Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren come to bow down to the ground to worship thee?" (*ibid.* 10).

II. So much by way of a foundation. As we go 8

<sup>a</sup> Or "intense blackness." See note on *Leg. All.* ii. 67.



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βεβλήσθω, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τοῖς σοφῆς ἀρχιτέκτονος, ἀλληγορίας, ἐπόμενοι παραγγέλμασιν ἐποικοδομῶμεν, ἐκάτερον δὴ<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὀνειράτων ἀκριβοῦντες. ἃ δὲ χρὴ πρὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἀκοῦσαι, λεκτέον· τὴν τὰγαθοῦ φύσιν οἱ μὲν ἔτειναν ἐπὶ πολλά, οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀρίστῳ προσεκλήρωσαν μόνῳ· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκέρασαν, οἱ δὲ  
9 καὶ ἄκρατον εἶασαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν μόνον τὸ καλὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰπόντες, ἀμιγῇ διαφυλάξαντες αὐτήν, ἀπένειμαν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν, λογισμῷ, οἱ δὲ μίξαντες τρισὶν ἐφήρμοσαν, ψυχῇ, σώματι, τοῖς ἐκτός. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι μὲν τῆς μαλακωτέρας καὶ τρυφερᾶς διαίτης, τὸν πλείω χρόνον ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι καὶ τοῖς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐκτεθηλυμένοις ἔθεσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀπ' αὐτῶν σπαργάνων ἀνατραφέντες· οἱ δ' ἕτεροι σκληροδίαιτοι, πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρῶν κουροτροφηθέντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ φρονήματα, τὸ συμφέρον πρὸ τοῦ ἡδέος ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ τροφαῖς ἀθλητικαῖς πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ ῥώμην, οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν,  
10 χρώμενοι. δεῦν δὴ θιάσων ἡγεμόνας εἰσάγει Μωυσῆς, τοῦ μὲν γενναίου τὸν αὐτομαθῆ καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον Ἰσαάκ—ἀναγράφει γὰρ αὐτὸν (ἀπο)γαλακτιζόμενον, ἀπαλαῖς καὶ γαλακτώδεσι νηπίαῖς τε καὶ παιδικαῖς τροφαῖς οὐ δικαιούντα χρῆσθαι τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' εὐτόνοις καὶ τελείαις, ἅτε ἐκ βρέφους εὖ πρὸς ἀλκὴν πεφυκότα καὶ ἐπακμάζοντα καὶ ἀνηβῶντα αἰεί,—τοῦ δὲ εἰκοντος

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διὰ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔθνεσι.

## ON DREAMS, II. 8-10

on to build the superstructure let us follow the directions of Allegory, that wise Master-builder, while we investigate the details of either dream. There are, however, in both dreams some prefatory remarks to be listened to first. Some have given the nature of that which is good a wide application, making it extend to many objects ; while others have assigned it only to that which is most excellent : the former have regarded it as mixed, while the latter have left it free from admixture. Now, those who have main- 9 tained that only the morally beautiful is good, preserving it unmixed, have attributed the good to the reasoning faculty, the noblest part in us ; while those who have regarded it as mixed have associated it with three things, soul, body, and things external to us. The latter class belong to the softer and luxurious way of life, having been reared up for the greater part of the time from their very cradle in the women's quarter and in the effeminate habits of the women's quarter. Those others are austere of life, reared by men, themselves too men in spirit, eager for what will do them good rather than for what is pleasant, and taking food suited to an athlete with an eye to strength and vigour, not to pleasure.

There are two companies as leaders of which Moses 10 introduces Isaac and Joseph. The noble company is led by Isaac who learns from no teacher but himself, for Moses represents him as weaned (Gen. xxi. 8), absolutely disdaining to make any use of soft and milky food suited to infants and little children, and using only strong nourishment fit for grown men, seeing that from a babe he was naturally stalwart, and was ever attaining fresh vigour and renewing his youth. The company which yields and is ready to

- 11 καὶ εὐενδότου τὸν Ἰωσήφ. οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἀλογεῖ  
 μὲν τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν ἀρετῶν, προμηθεῖται δὲ καὶ  
 [661] τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐσταθείας, | ἐφίεται <δὲ> καὶ  
 τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς εὐπορίας· ἀνθέλκεται δὲ εἰκότως  
 πολλὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου προτεθειμένους, καὶ ἀντι-  
 σπώμενος ὑφ' ἐκάστου σείεται<sup>1</sup> καὶ κλονεῖται μὴ  
 12 δυνάμενος στηριχθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥσπερ αἱ  
 ἔνσπονδοι πόλεις εἰρήνην ἄγουσι \* \* \*<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀν-  
 επιτίθενται, ὡς ἐν μέρει κρατεῖν τε καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι·  
 πολλὴ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ῥυεῖσα πρὸς<sup>3</sup> πλοῦτον καὶ  
 δόξαν ὁρμὴ τὰς περὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν φροντίδας  
 ἐξενίκησεν, εἴτα ἀντιβιασθεῖσα πάλιν ὑπὸ ἀμφοῖν  
 13 <ἢ> ὑπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐνικήθη. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον  
 ἀθροαὶ καὶ αἱ σώματος ἡδοναὶ καταρραγεῖσαι πάντα  
 ἐξῆς τὰ νοητὰ ἐπέκλυσάν τε καὶ ἡφάνισαν· εἴτ' οὐκ  
 εἰς μακρὰν ἀντιπνεύσασα σοφία λάβρῳ καὶ σφοδρῶ  
 πνεύματι τό τε ῥεῦμα τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐχάλασε καὶ  
 συνόλως τὰς διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀπάσας σπουδὰς  
 14 τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπράννε. τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ κύκλος  
 εἰλεῖται περὶ τὴν πολύτροπον ψυχὴν αἰδίου πολέμου·  
 καθαιρεθέντος γὰρ ἐνὸς ἐχθροῦ φύεται πάντως  
 δυνατώτερος ἕτερος, ὕδρας τῆς πολυκεφάλου τὸν  
 τρόπον· καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνης φασὶν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐκτμη-  
 θείσης κεφαλῆς ἀναβλαστάνειν ἄλλην, αἰνιττόμενοι  
 τὸ πολύμορφον καὶ πολύγονον τῆς ἀθανάτου κακίας  
 15 δυσάλωτον γένος. μηδὲν οὖν ἐν ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *ιέται*.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. suggests the insertion of *αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι*, ἀλλὰ πολε-  
 μοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις. But see note on opposite page.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. *περὶ*.

<sup>a</sup> Some more neutral word or phrase is required rather

## ON DREAMS, II. 11-15

give in is led by Joseph, for he is one who does not 11 indeed take no account of the excellences of the soul, but is thoughtful for the well-being of the body also, and has a keen desire to be well off in outward things ; and he is naturally drawn in different directions since he has set before him many ends in life, and as he experiences one counter-attraction after another, he is shaken this way and that and can never attain to fixity. For indeed our aims<sup>a</sup> do not rest in peace like 12 cities under a treaty, (but engage in war and deliver attacks) and counter-attacks, in turn winning victory and suffering defeat. For at times the appetite flows strongly to wealth and reputation and completely masters the interests of body and soul, and then again is met and driven back by an opposing force, and vanquished by both or one of them. In 13 the same way the pleasures of the body descend upon us in gathered force like a cataract deluging and obliterating one after another all the things of the mind ; and then, after no long interval, Wisdom with strong and vehement counterblast both slackens the impetus of pleasures and mitigates in general all the appetites and ambitions which the bodily senses kindle in us. Such is the cycle of unceasing warfare 14 ever revolving round the many-sided soul ; for, when one foe has been laid low, another yet mightier is sure to spring up, after the fashion of the many-headed Hydra ; for we are told that on it another head grew to take the place of that which had been cut off ; and this is a figurative way of teaching how hard it is to vanquish undying vice so varied in its form, so varied in its offspring. Do not, then, 15

than Wend.'s *ἐπιθυμῖαι, ε.γ. σπουδαί*. The combat is not between the lusts, but between soul, body, and external interests.

- κρίνας ποτέ προς \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> τῷ Ἰωσήφ, ἀλλ' ἴσθι ὅτι πολυμιγοῦς καὶ κεκραμένης<sup>2</sup> δόξης ἐστὶν εἰκὼν. ἐμφαίνεται γὰρ καὶ τὸ λογικὸν ἐγκρατείας εἶδος, ὃ τῆς ἄρρενος γενεᾶς ἐστὶ, κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἰακώβ
- 16 τυπωθέν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ ἄλογον<sup>3</sup> αἰσθήσεως, μητρῷω γένει τῷ κατὰ Ῥαχὴλ ἐξεικονισθέν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ τῆς σωματικῆς ἡδονῆς σπέρμα, ὃ ἀρχαιονοχῶν καὶ ἀρχισιτοποιῶν καὶ ἀρχιμαγείρων συνδιαιτήσεις ἐνεσφράγισαν· ἐμφαίνεται καὶ τὸ τῆς κενῆς<sup>4</sup> δόξης, ἐφ' ἣν ὡς ἐφ' ἄρμα διὰ τὸ κοῦφον ἀναβαίνει, φυσώμενος καὶ μετέωρον αἰωρῶν<sup>5</sup> ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει ἰσότητος.
- 17 III. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ χαρακτήρ διὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ὑποτυποῦται· τῶν δ' ὀνειράτων ἐκάτερον μὲν ἀκριβωτέον, πρότερον δὲ τὸ περὶ τῶν δραγμάτων ἐρευνητέον. “ὥμην” φησὶν “ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν δράγματα.” τὸ μὲν “ὥμην” εὐθέως ἀδηλοῦντος καὶ ἐνδοιάζοντος καὶ ἀμυδρῶς ὑπολαμβάνοντος, οὐ παγίως καὶ τηλαυγῶς ὀρῶντος,
- 18 ἀνάφθεγμα<sup>6</sup> ἐστὶ. τοῖς γὰρ ἐκ βαθέος ὕπνου διανισταμένοις καὶ ἔτι ὀνειρώττουσιν ἀρμόττον λέγειν “ὥμην,” οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐγρηγοροσὶ παντελῶς καὶ
- 19 τρανῶς ἐμβλέπουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ἀσκητῆς Ἰακώβ “ὥμην” ἐρεῖ, ἀλλ' “ἰδοὺ κλῆμαξ ἐστηριγμένη, ἧς [662] ἡ κεφαλὴ | ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,” καὶ πάλιν·

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a lacuna in A (Wend.'s ms.) of ten to eleven letters, for which he suggests -κλήρου μόνον.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. κεκρυμμένης.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. λογικόν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. καινῆς.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἑώρων.

<sup>6</sup> ἀνάφθεγμα. Wend. suspected this word, which is not noted in Stephanus, nor the old L. & S. But ἀναφθέγγομαι is well supported and ἀνάφθεγμα itself is quoted in L. & S. 1927 from Philodemus as well as from here.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. ἐγρηγόρει.

## ON DREAMS, II. 15-19

select any single thing (and regard it) as Joseph's sole portion, but be well assured that he represents Opinion with its vast medley of ingredients. For there is manifest in him, on the one hand, the rational strain of self-control, which is of the masculine family, fashioned after his father Jacob : manifest, 16 again, is the irrational strain of sense-perception, assimilated to what he derives from his mother, the part of him that is of the Rachel type : manifest also is the breed of bodily pleasure, impressed on him by association with chief butlers and chief bakers and chief cooks : manifest too is the element of vain-glory, on to which as on to a chariot his empty-headedness makes him mount up, when (Gen. xli. 43) puffed with pride he lifts himself aloft to overthrow equality from its seat.

III. In what we have said so far we have been 17 giving a rough sketch of Joseph's character. We must now consider in detail each of his dreams. And the one which must be examined first is the one concerning the sheaves. "Methought," says he, "that we were binding sheaves" (Gen. xxxvii. 7). The very first word, "methought," is the utterance of one at a loss, hesitating, dimly supposing, not seeing steadily and distinctly. For "methought" 18 is a word which becomes those waking up out of deep sleep and still in dreamland, not those who are thoroughly awake and see things clearly. You will 19 not find the Practiser Jacob saying "methought," but "behold a stairway firmly fixed, whose top reached to heaven" (Gen. xxviii. 12), and again "at

- “ ἡνίκα ἐνεκίσσων τὰ πρόβατα, εἶδον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, καὶ ἰδοὺ οἱ τράγοι καὶ οἱ κριοὶ ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰς αἰγας, διάλευκοι καὶ ποικίλοι καὶ σποδοειδεῖς ῥαντοί.”
- 20 τῶν γὰρ τὸ καλὸν δι’ ἑαυτὸ αἵρετὸν νομιζόντων καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντασίας εἰλικρινεστέρας καὶ καθαρωτέρας ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἶναι συμβέβηκεν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς μεθ’ ἡμέραν δοκιμωτέρας πράξεις.
- 21 IV. Ἀγαμαι δ’, ὅταν ἀκούω τοῦ διηγουμένου τὸ ὄναρ, ὅτι ὑπέλαβε δράγματα καταδεῖν, οὐ θερίζειν. ἐκείνο μὲν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ἔργον, τοῦτο δ’ ἡγεμόνων καὶ γεωργίας ἐμπειροτάτων τὸ
- 22 ἐπιτήδευμα. τὸ γὰρ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν σκυβάων ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τροφίμα μὴ τροφίμων καὶ νόθων γνήσια καὶ ἀνωφελοῦς ρίζης καρπὸν ὠφελιμώτατον, μὴ ἐν οἷς ἡ γῆ βλαστάνει μᾶλλον ἢ<sup>1</sup>
- 23 διάνοια φύει, τελειοτάτης ἀρετῆς ἐστίν. ὁ γοῦν ἱερὸς λόγος τοὺς ὁρῶντας εἰσάγει θερίζοντας καί, τὸ παραδοξότατον, οὐ κριθὰς ἢ πυρούς, ἀλλὰ τὸν θερισμὸν αὐτὸν ἐκθερίζοντας· λέγεται οὖν· “ ὅταν θερίζητε τὸν θερισμὸν ὑμῶν, οὐ συντελέσετε τὸ
- 24 λοιπὸν τοῦ θερισμοῦ.” βούλεται γὰρ τὸν ἀστείον οὐ μόνον κριτὴν εἶναι τῶν διαφερόντων, <διακρίνοντα> καὶ διαστέλλοντα <τὰ><sup>2</sup> ἐξ ὧν γίνεται τινα καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ δύνασθαι διακρίνειν δοκεῖν ἀναιρεῖν, ἀμῶντα τὸν ἀμητὸν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν<sup>3</sup> ἀποτέμνοντα διὰ τὸ καὶ πεποιθέναι καὶ Μωυσεὶ λέγοντι πιστεύειν, ὅτι “ μόνου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ κρίσις ἐστίν,” παρ’ ὃν αἱ συγκρίσεις

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps μᾶλλον ἢ <ἢ> διάνοια.

<sup>2</sup> <τὰ> my insertion.

<sup>3</sup> So Mangey: mss. and Wend. ἐπιβουλὴν. For ἰδίαν ἐπιβολὴν cf. *De Som.* i. 1.

## ON DREAMS, II. 19-24

the time that the sheep conceived, I saw them with my eyes in my sleep, and behold the he-goats and the rams leaped upon the sheep and the goats wholly white, and streaked, and sprinkled as though with ashes " (Gen. xxxi. 10, 11). For the very visions seen 20 in their sleep are of necessity clearer and purer in the case of those who deem the morally beautiful eligible for its own sake, even as their doings by day are bound to be more worthy of approbation.

IV. Now, when I listen to him who is telling the 21 dreams I marvel at his deeming that they were tying up sheaves, not reaping them. The former is the work of unskilled underlings, the latter the business of masters and of those thoroughly well versed in farm work. For the power to distinguish necessities of 22 life from refuse, and plants which supply nourishment from those which do not, and genuine from spurious, and a highly profitable fruitage from a root that is devoid of profit, in things yielded by the understanding, not in those which the soil puts forth, is a mark of consummate excellence. So the sacred story 23 represents those whose eyes are open as reaping, and, what is most unexpected, not reaping barley or wheat but reaping out the reaping itself : accordingly it is said " When ye reap your reaping, ye shall not finish that which remains of the reaping " (Lev. xix. 9). For the lawgiver wishes the virtuous man to be not 24 only a judge of things that differ, distinguishing and separating things which produce and their productions, but to do away with the very conceit that he has the power to distinguish, mowing the very mowing and cutting away the workings of his own mind, in obedience to and belief in Moses' saying that " judgement belongs to God only " (Deut. i. 17),



## PHILO

- καὶ αἱ διακρίσεις τῶν ἀπάντων· ὅφ' οὗ καλὸν  
ὁμολογεῖν ἡττᾶσθαι καὶ τῆς αἰοιδίμου νίκης εὐ-  
25 κλεέστερον. ὁμοίον ἐστὶ τῷ τὸν θερισμόν θερίζειν  
τὸ δις περιτέμνειν, ὅπερ ὡς ὅτε<sup>1</sup> ἐκαινούργησεν  
ἐξευρὼν περιτομῆς περιτομήν, τὴν “ἀγνείαν  
ἀφαγνίζεσθαι,<sup>2</sup>” τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτὴν  
καθαίρεσθαι, παραχωροῦντας τῷ θεῷ τὸ φαιδρύνειν  
καὶ μηδέποτε νομίσαντας ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἑαυτοὺς  
ἄνευ θείας ἐπιφροσύνης τὸν κηλίδων ἀνάμεστον  
ἐκνύσασθαι καὶ ἀπολούσασθαι<sup>3</sup> βίον.
- 26 ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τὸ διπλοῦν σπήλαιον,  
αἱ διπλαῖ καὶ περιμάχητοι μνήμαι,<sup>4</sup> ἥ τε περὶ τοῦ  
γεγονότος καὶ ἥ περὶ τοῦ πεποιηκότος, αἷς ἐν-  
τρέφεται ὁ ἀστείος, θεωρῶν μὲν τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ, φιλο-  
πευστῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ γεννήσαντος πατρός.
- 27 ἀφ' ὧν οἶμαι καὶ τὴν ἐν μουσικῇ δις διὰ πασῶν  
εὐρεθῆναι συμφωνίαν· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ  
τὸν δημιουργὸν τελειοτάταις μελωδίαις εὐδαιμονί-  
28 ζεσθαι δυσίν, οὐχὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ  
[663] ὑμνούμενα | διέφερεν, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς μελωδίας  
καὶ συμφωνίας διακεκρίσθαι, τὴν μὲν συνημμένην  
ἀπονέμοντας<sup>5</sup> τῷ συνημμένῳ καὶ ἐκ διαφερόντων

<sup>1</sup> Wend. suggests ὅπερ ὡσαύτως: perhaps ὡς περ ποτὲ.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀφανίζεσθαι.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐκνίψαι καὶ ἀπολούσαι.

<sup>4</sup> So MSS.: Wend. γινώμαι. See note *a* below.

<sup>5</sup> Mangey ἀπονέμοντα: Wend. conjectures ἀπονέμοντος <τοῦ λόγου>: or perhaps <τοῦ οντος>? I can see no construction for either -τα or -τας.

<sup>a</sup> Memories (μνήμαι), a quite intelligible word, though in itself less natural than judgements or opinions (γινώμαι), is, I believe, right. Cf. *De Post.* 62, where after speaking of the “double cave” (LXX for Machpelah) he says ἡ Χεβρῶν αὕτη, μνήμας ἐπιστήμης καὶ σοφίας θησαυροφυλακοῦσα. The thought is

## ON DREAMS, II. 24-28

with Whom in all matters comparisons and distinctions rest : to acknowledge defeat at whose hands is a noble thing and more glorious than far-famed victory. Like the "reaping the reaping" is the 25 two-fold circumcision, which we meet with in such a case as that of the lawgiver devising as a new practice a circumcision of circumcision (Gen. xvii. 13), or "the consecration of a consecration" (Num. vi. 2), that is, the purification of the very purification of the soul, when we yield to God the prerogative of making bright and clean, and never entertain the thought that we ourselves are sufficient apart from the divine overseeing guidance to cleanse our life and remove from it the defilements with which it abounds.

To this class belongs also the 26 "double cave" (Gen. xxiii. 9), that pair of precious memories<sup>a</sup> concerned, one with all that has come into being, the other with Him who has made it. These constitute the nurture of the man of worth, for whom all things in the universe are objects of contemplation, and who loves to inquire also concerning the Father who brought them into being. I imagine 27 that the discovery of the double diapason<sup>b</sup> in music is to be traced to this same pair. For both the work and its Fashioner must needs be celebrated by two quite perfect melodies, not the same in each case. For since the themes of praise were different it was 28 necessary for the corresponding musical harmonies to be distinct also, the conjunct assigned to the conjunct universe, compacted as it is of different

perhaps drawn from the word *μνημεῖον* applied to the cave in Gen. xxiii. 6. For the favourable way in which duality is regarded in these sections, contrasted with that in § 70, see note *ad loc.*, App. p. 608.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 606 f.

## PHILO

- ἄρμοσθέντι κόσμῳ, τὴν δὲ διεξευγμένην τῷ πάσης  
γενέσεως διεξευγμένῳ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν θεῷ.  
29 γνώμην δὲ ἀποφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ ἱεροφάντης φιλ-  
ἄρετον λέγων· “οὐ συντελέσετε<sup>1</sup> τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ  
θερισμοῦ,” μεμνημένος τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεως,  
καθ’ ἣν ὡμολόγει “τὸ τέλος εἶναι κυρίου,” παρ’  
ὃν τὸ<sup>2</sup> κῦρος καὶ ἡ τούτων βεβαίωσις ἐστίν.  
30 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ θερίζειν ἀμύνητος  
αὐχεῖ λέγων<sup>3</sup>. “ὥμην ἃ μὴ ἐθέρισα καταδεῖν σὺν  
ἐτέροις δράγματα,” καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο παρ’ ἑαυτῷ,  
ὅτι δούλων καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνων ἦδε ἐστὶν ὑπηρεσία,  
καθὰ καὶ μικρῷ πρότερον εἶπον.  
31 Δράγματα δ’ ἀλληγοροῦντές φαμεν εἶναι πράγ-  
ματα, ὧν ἕκαστος ὡς οἰκείας τροφῆς ἐπιδράττεται,  
ἐν ἣ ἡ ζήσασθαι καὶ βιώσασθαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἐλπίζει.  
32 V. μυρίαί μὲν οὖν τῶν δραγμάτων, λέγω δὴ τῶν  
ὡσανεὶ τρεφόντων πραγμάτων, διαφοραί, μυρίαί  
δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιδραττομένων καὶ αἰρουμένων τὰ  
δράγματα, ὡς ἀπάσας οὐτ’ εἰπεῖν οὐτ’ ἐπινοῆσαι  
δυνατόν· τινὰς δ’ οὐκ ἄτοπον δείγματος ἔνεκα  
ἐρμηνεύσαι, ὧν καὶ τὸ ὄναρ διηγούμενος ἐπεμνήσθη.  
33 φησὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· “ὥμην ἡμᾶς δεσμεύειν  
δράγματα.” ἀδελφοὶ δ’ εἰσὶν ὁμοπάτριοι μὲν  
δέκα, ὁμογάστριος δὲ εἷς· ἐκάστου δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ-  
νομα σύμβολον ἀναγκαιοτάτου πραγματοῦς ἐστι,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συντελέσαι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. παρόντος.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. λέγειν.

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<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps better “you will not,” i.e. Philo, as elsewhere, understands the indicative (ἀποφαίνεται), to lay down a spiritual fact rather than a command. See note on *De Som.* i. 101, and references there given. The section has perhaps no connexion of thought with the preceding. His

## ON DREAMS, II. 28-33

parts, the disjunct reserved for Him Who is in virtue of His existence disjunct from all creation, even God. There is again a statement breathing love of virtue 29 expressed in the words of the Sacred Guide, "Ye shall not<sup>a</sup> make an end of what remains of the reaping" (Lev. xix. 9), for he does not forget the principle with which he set out, acknowledging that "the end is the Lord's" (Num. xxxi. 28 ff.), with whom rests the lordship and establishment of these things.

But in fact the man who has never learned the 30 mysteries of reaping vaunts him saying, "Methought I was in company with others binding sheaves which I had not reaped" (Gen. xxxvii. 7), and failed, as I pointed out a little while ago, to take into account that this is a service performed by unskilled slaves.

When we assign to words their figurative meaning 31 we say that sheaves are "doings" which each of us grasps with the hand as his proper nourishment, hoping that he will find life and occupation therein for ever. V. Now, the varieties of the sheaves, that 32 is to say of the doings which may be called our nourishment, are so countless, so countless also the various sorts of men who lay hold of and make choice of the sheaves, that it is impossible to recount or even to conceive of them all. It may not, however, be out of place to instance some of these varieties which are introduced in his story of his dream. For he says to 33 his brothers, "Methought we were binding sheaves" (*l.c.*). Brothers he has ten who are sons of the same father as he, one who is son of the same mother; and the name of each of them is the symbol of a most

point in quoting the text lay in the first part "reap the reaping," but as usual he is drawn into making some comment on the rest of the verse.

- 'Ρουβὴν μὲν εὐφυΐας—υἱὸς γὰρ ὄρων καλεῖται, ἥ  
 μὲν υἱός, οὐ τέλειος, ἥ δὲ ὁρατικὸς καὶ ὁξὺ καθορῶν,  
 34 εὐφυΐης,—μαθήσεως δὲ Συμεῶν—εἰσακοή γὰρ  
 ἐρμηνεύεται,—ἐνεργειῶν δὲ καὶ πράξεων σπου-  
 δαίων καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἁγίων Λευί, τῶν δὲ εἰς θεὸν  
 ὠδῶν τε καὶ ὕμνων Ἰούδας, Ἰσάαχάρ δὲ μισθῶν,  
 οἱ ἐπ' ἔργοις καλοῖς ἀποδίδονται<sup>1</sup>—τάχα δ' αὐτὰ  
 τὰ ἔργα ὁ τέλειος μισθὸς ἦν,—Ζαβουλὼν δὲ φωτός,  
 ἐπειδὴ ῥύσις<sup>2</sup> νυκτερίας ὀνομάζεται—ῥεύσης δὲ  
 καὶ ἀπολιπούσης νυκτὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης φῶς ἀνίσχει,—  
 35 διακρίσεως δὲ καὶ τομῆς<sup>3</sup> πραγμάτων Δάν, ἐπι-  
 θέσεως δὲ καὶ ἀντεπιθέσεως πειρατικῆς Γάδ,  
 Ἀσὴρ δὲ τοῦ φυσικοῦ<sup>4</sup> πλούτου—μακαρισμὸς γὰρ  
 ἐρμηνεύεται, ἐπειδὴ μακάριον κτῆμα νενόμισται  
 36 πλοῦτος,—εἰρήνης δὲ Νεφθαλείμ—διανοίγεται  
 (γὰρ) καὶ εὐρύνεται πάντα εἰρήνῃ, ὡς συγκλείεται  
 [664] | πολέμῳ· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα μεταληφθὲν πλατυσμὸς ἢ  
 διανεωγμένον ἐστί,—Βενιαμὴν δὲ τοῦ νέου καὶ  
 γέροντος χρόνου· λέγεται γὰρ ἐρμηνευθεὶς υἱὸς  
 ἡμερῶν<sup>5</sup> εἶναι, ἡμέραις δὲ καὶ νυξὶν ὁ νέος ὁμοῦ  
 καὶ γέρων αἰὼν<sup>6</sup> ἀναμετρεῖται.  
 37 Ἐπιδράττεται γοῦν ἕκαστος τῶν οἰκείων καὶ  
 ἐπιδραξάμενος τὰ μέρη πάντα συνδεῖ· ὁ μὲν  
 εὐφυΐης εὐθιξίας, ἐπιμονῆς, μνήμης, ἐν οἷς ἡ  
 εὐφυΐα· ὁ δὲ εὐμαθῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἡσυχίας, προσ-  
 οχῆς· ὁ δὲ ἐγχειρητῆς [τῆς] θαρραλεότητος, παρα-  
 38 κекινδυνευμένης ἐδτολμίας· ὁ δὲ εὐχάριστος ἐπαί-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιδίδονται.<sup>4</sup> MSS. ψυχικοῦ.<sup>2</sup> MSS. φύσις.<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἡμῶν.<sup>3</sup> MSS. τροπῆς.<sup>6</sup> MSS. αἰῶνα.

## ON DREAMS, II. 33-38

essential "doing." "Reuben" is the symbol of good natural endowments, for "seeing son" he is called, in so far as he is a son not perfect, but in so far as he is a man with power to see and keenness of vision, well endowed by nature. Symeon, which 34 means "diligent listening," is the symbol of aptness to learn; Levi of excellent activities and practices and sacred ministries; Judah of songs and hymns addressed to God; Issachar of rewards rendered as recompense for noble deeds, the deeds themselves, it may be, constituting the perfect reward; Zabulon of light, since he is named "night's flowing," and when night fails and flows away, light of necessity dawns; of distinguishing and analysing matters Dan is the 35 symbol; Gad of piratical attack and counter-attack; Asher, whose name signifies "felicitation," symbolizes natural wealth, which has the reputation of being a possession conferring felicity; Naphthali's name 36 denotes a "broadening" or "flung wide open," and so he is a symbol of peace, by which all things are opened out and given width, just as they are shut in by war. Benjamin is a symbol of time, both that of youth and that of old age, for his name is said to mean "son of days," and youth and old age are alike measured by days and nights.

Thus each one of them grasps the sheaves that 37 are proper to him, and when he has grasped them binds all these parts together. The man well endowed by nature grasps quickness of apprehension, persistence, goodness of memory, the qualities in which excellence of natural endowment shows itself; the apt learner grasps listening, silence, attention; the enterprising man, venturesomeness and courage ready to take risks; the man of thanksgiving takes 38

# PHILO

- νων, ἐγκωμίων, ὕμνων, εὐδαιμονισμῶν κατὰ τε τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ ᾄδειν· ὁ δὲ μισθῶν ἐφιέμενος ἀόκνου συνεχείας, τλητικωτάτης καρτερίας καὶ 39 ἐπιμελείας σὺν εὐκαταφροντίστῳ<sup>1</sup> ταχυτῆτι· ὁ δὲ φῶς ἀντὶ σκοτόους μεταδιώκων ἐγρηγόρσεως, ὀξυωπίας· ὁ δὲ τομῆς καὶ διακρίσεως πραγμάτων ζηλωτῆς λόγων ἡκονημένων, τοῦ μὴ ὑφ' ὁμοίων ὡς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπατάσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πρὸς χάριν, 40 τοῦ ἀδεκάστου· ὁ δὲ πειρατικώτερον ἐνεδρεύων τοὺς ἀντιλοχῶντας ἀπάτης, φενακισμοῦ, γοητείας, σοφισμάτων, προσποιήσεως, ὑποκρίσεως, ἅπερ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ψεκτὰ ὄντα κατ' ἐχθρῶν γινόμενα ἐπαινέται· ὁ δὲ πλουτεῖν τὸν φύσεως πλοῦτον ἐπιτηδεύων ἐγκρατείας, ὀλιγοδεΐας· ὁ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐρῶν εὐνομίας, 41 εὐδικίας,<sup>2</sup> ἀτυφίας, ἰσότητος. VI. ἐκ τούτων τὰ τῶν ὁμοπατρίων ἀδελφῶν δράγματα καταδεΐται, τὰ<sup>3</sup> δὲ τοῦ ὁμογαστρίου ἐξ ἡμερῶν καὶ χρόνου, τῶν οὐδενὸς αἰτίων ὡς ἀπάντων αἰτίων.
- 42 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἐνυπνιαστής καὶ ὄνειροπόλος—ἦν γὰρ ἀμφότερα—τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὡς μεγίστου καὶ λαμπροτάτου καὶ βιωφειλεστάτου κτήματος ἐπιδράττεται. διὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπ' ὄνειράτων, ἃ νυκτὶ φίλα, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς σωματικῆς χώρας γνωρίζεται, οὐκ ἀπὸ πραγμάτων τηλαυγῶν ἐναργείας,<sup>4</sup> ἃ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἡμέρας δεΐται.
- 43 εἴτ' ἐπίτροπος ἢ κηδεμὼν Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἀνα-

<sup>1</sup> So MSS.: Wend. ἀνανταγωνίστῳ. See App. p. 607.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. εὐδοκίας.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. τοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐνεργείας.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. everything happens in time, but is not caused by it. Wend.'s proposed emendation τῶν δ' οὐδενὸς αἰτίων, ὧν δ'

hold of commendations, eulogies, odes, panegyrics both in speech and song ; the man who is bent on rewards, lays his hand on unflinching assiduity, fortitude that never gives in, and the carefulness in which speed is combined with caution ; he who is in pursuit 39 of light replacing darkness grasps wakefulness and keen-sightedness ; the man who aims at analysis and accurate distinctions, lays hold of keen-edged arguments, of power to resist the delusion of confusing likeness and identity, of impartiality, of integrity ; he 40 who pirate-like counters ambush by ambush grasps trickery, quackery, sorcery, fallacies, pretence, feigning, practices which are in themselves reprehensible but when resorted to in dealing with enemies are belauded ; he that makes it his object to be rich in nature's riches, will lay his hands on self-control and parsimony ; the lover of peace on good order, just dealing, freedom from arrogance, equality.

VI. These are the constituent parts of the sheaves 41 bound by the brothers of the dreamer, sons of the same father as he, while the sheaf of his uterine brother is made up of days and time, cause of nothing as cause of everything.<sup>a</sup>

The dreamer 42 himself, interpreter of dreams to boot, lays hold of vainglory, deeming it a possession of highest importance and splendour and advantage to human life. Accordingly it is in the first instance from dreams, things beloved of night, that he becomes known to the sovereign of the land of the body, not from "doings" luminous with the self-evidence of manifest fact, things which need day to exhibit them.

The next step is that he is proclaimed procurator or 43

*οὐκ ἀνευ πάντα* gives the sense, but is both arbitrary and unnecessary.



- κηρύττεται, ταῖς τιμαῖς τοῦ βασιλέως οἰσόμενος  
 δευτερεία, ἅπερ ἡττης καὶ ἀτιμίας ἀφανέστερα  
 καὶ καταγελαστότερα παρὰ φρονήσει γράφεται  
 44 δικάζουση. εἶτα “ κλοιὸν χρυσοῦν,”  
 ἀγχόνην ἐπιφανῇ, κύκλον καὶ τροχὸν ἀνάγκης  
 ἀτελευτήτου, περιτίθεται<sup>1</sup>—οὐκ ἀκολουθίαν καὶ τὸ  
 ἐξῆς ἐν βίῳ καὶ τὸν εἰρμὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγ-  
 [665] μάτων, ὡς ἡ Θάμαρ· οὐ | γὰρ κλοιός, ἀλλὰ  
 ὀρμίσκος αὐτῆς ὁ κόσμος—καὶ δακτύλιον μέντοι  
 βασιλικόν, δῶρον <ἄδωρον>,<sup>2</sup> πίστιν ἄπιστον, ἐναν-  
 τιούμενον τῷ δοθέντι πάλιν<sup>3</sup> τῇ Θάμαρ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 45 βασιλέως τοῦ ὀρώντος, Ἰσραήλ, Ἰούδα. δίδωσι  
 γὰρ οὗτος τῇ ψυχῇ σφραγίδα, πάγκαλον δῶρον,  
 διδάσκων ὅτι <ὁ θεός> ἀσχημάτιστον οὖσαν τὴν  
 τῶν πάντων οὐσίαν ἐσχημάτισε καὶ ἀτύπτωτον  
 ἐτύπωσε καὶ ἄποιον ἐμόρφωσε καὶ τελειώσας τὸν  
 ὅλον ἐσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνι καὶ ἰδέα, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ  
 46 λόγῳ. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνός γε<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δευ-  
 τερεῖον ἄνεισιν ἄρμα [ἧ] ὑποτυφούμενος ὑπ’ αἰώρας  
 φρενῶν καὶ κενοῦ φύσῆματος καὶ σιταρχεῖ, τῷ  
 σώματι θησαυροφυλακῶν καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ  
 πορίζων τὰς τροφάς· ἐπιτειχισμὸς δὲ κατὰ τῆς  
 47 ψυχῆς βαρὺς οὗτός ἐστι. τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει καὶ  
 ζηλώσει τοῦ βίου μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τοῦνομα οὐχ  
 ἡκιστα· πρόσθεσις γὰρ Ἰωσήφ ἐρμηνεύεται. κενὴ  
 δὲ δόξα προστίθισιν αἰεὶ γνησίῳ μὲν τὸ νόθον,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περιτιθέναι.<sup>2</sup> Cf. Soph. *Ajax*, 665.<sup>3</sup> MSS. αὐτῆς: Mangey αὐτῇ.<sup>4</sup> MSS. τε.

<sup>a</sup> Or “cord,” cf. *De Fug.* 150, *De Mut.* 135. The interpretation of the ὀρμίσκος given here combines the two different interpretations given in those passages. See note on *De Fuga* 150.

## ON DREAMS, II. 43-47

protector of all Egypt, to stand second only to the sovereign in the signs of honour shewn to him, a position set down as more insignificant and absurd in wisdom's judgement than the infliction of indignity and defeat.

In the next place he puts 44  
round his neck "a golden collar" (Gen. xli. 41 f.), a manifest halter, a circlet and hoop of unending necessity, not a life of orderly sequence, not the chain which marks Nature's doings: these are properties of Tamar, whose adornment is not a collar but a necklace<sup>a</sup> (Gen. xxxviii. 18). Yes, and he puts on his finger a royal ring (Gen. xli. 42), a gift and pledge, by which nothing is given, nothing pledged, in sharp contrast once more to that which was given to Tamar by Judah, king of the nation that sees, even Israel. For this king gives the soul a seal (Gen. 45  
xxxviii. 18), a gift all-beauteous, by which he teaches it that when the substance of the universe was without shape and figure God gave it these; when it had no definite character God moulded it into definiteness, and, when He had perfected it, stamped the entire universe with His image and an ideal form, even His own Word.<sup>b</sup>

To go back to Joseph. 46  
He mounts the second chariot (Gen. xli. 43), elated by mental dizziness and empty conceit, and becomes the victualler (*ibid.* 48) and keeper of the body's treasures, providing food for it from all quarters: and thus threatens serious danger to the soul. Not 47  
the least significant testimony to his principle and ambition for life is his name. "Joseph" means an "adding," and vainglory is always making additions. To what is genuine it adds what is counterfeit, to

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *De Mut.* 135. For the distinction between *εἰκὼν* and *ἰδέα* see App. p. 607.

## PHILO

οἰκείῳ δὲ τὸ ἀλλότριον, ἀληθεῖ<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος, αὐτάρκει δὲ τὸ πλεονάζον, ζωῇ δὲ θρύψιν, βίῳ δὲ τύφον.

- 48 VII. Τί δ' ἐστὶν ὃ βούλομαι δηλοῦν, σκοπεῖ. σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς τρεφόμεθα, καὶ ἡ εὐτελεστάτη μᾶζα καὶ ὕδωρ ναματιαῖον. τί οὖν ἡ κενὴ δόξα προσεπέθηκεν ἀμήτων καὶ μελιπήκτων πεμμάτων γένη μυρία καὶ οἴνων ἀμυθήτων πολυέργους καὶ παμποικίλους κράσεις πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς μετουσίαν τροφῆς παρηρτυμένας;
- 49 πάλιν ἡδύσματα πρὸς ἐδωδὴν ἀναγκαῖα γήτεια καὶ λάχανα καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκροδρύνων καὶ ἔτι τυρὸς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὁμοιότροπον· εἰ δὲ θέλεις, ἐπὶ σαρκοβόρων ἀνθρώπων ἰχθὺς ἔτι καὶ κρέας πρὸς
- 50 τούτοις γράφομεν. ἀρ' οὖν οὐκ αὐταρκες ἦν ἀπανθρακίσαντας καὶ αὐτοσχεδίως ὀπτήσαντας πυρὶ τρόπον ἡρωικῶν ὄντως ἀνδρῶν προσφέρεσθαι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> ὁ γαστρίμαργος μόνον ὄρμῃ, σύμμαχον δὲ τὴν κενὴν δόξαν λαβὼν καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ λίχνον πάθος ἐγείρας ὀψαρτύτας καὶ τραπεζοποιούς εὐδοκίμους τὴν τέχνην ἀναζητεῖ καὶ περι-
- 51 βλέπεται. οἱ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τῆς ταλαίνης γαστρὸς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνευρημένα δελέατα ἀνακινήσαντες καὶ χυλῶν ιδιότητας σκευάσαντές τε καὶ διαθέντες ἐν κόσμῳ προσσαίνουσι καὶ τιθασεύουσι γλῶτταν· εἴτ' εὐθὺς ἀγκιστρεύονται τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὴν ἐπιβάθραν, γεῦσιν, δι' ἧς ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου δοῦλος ὁ δειπνοθήρας οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεφάνη.
- 52 τίς γε μὴν οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἀμπεχόνῃ πρὸς τὰς [666] ἀπὸ κρυμοῦ | καὶ θάλπους ἐγγινομένας βλάβας τῷ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀληθέσι.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τούτων.

## ON DREAMS, II. 47-52

what is appropriate what is alien, to what is true what is false, to what is sufficient what is excessive, to vitality debauchery, to life's maintenance vanity.

VII. Mark what it is that I wish to make clear. 48 Food and drink nourishes us, though it be the plainest barley-cake and water from the spring. Why then has vainglory superadded countless sorts of milk cakes and honied pastry and elaborate and diversified blends of innumerable wines highly seasoned with a view to indulgence in pleasure rather than partaking of nourishment? Again, relishes of the simplest 49 kind are onions, greens, many fruits and cheese, and anything else of that kind as well : if you like, we will put down beside these fish and meat in the case of men who are not vegetarians. Would it not, then, 50 have been quite sufficient, after broiling them on the coals or roasting them in a rough and ready way just as real heroes used to do,<sup>b</sup> to eat them? Nay, this is not all that your epicure craves for. Having procured the alliance of vainglory and stirred up the greediness within him he is on the look-out for and hunts up pastry-cooks to dress their food and serve their table, men who are famous masters of their art. These set at work the baits that have been found out 51 ages ago to tempt our miserable belly, and make up and arrange in proper order decoctions of special flavour with which they coax the tongue into subservience : hereupon they forthwith get on to their hook the sense of taste which gives them access to the senses in general : and by means of taste the glutton is quickly revealed as no freeman but a slave. 52 Clothing, as everybody knows, was produced at first to guard against the harm done to

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 607.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *e.g.* II. ix. 211 ff.

- σώματι κατεσκευάσθη τὸ πρῶτον; ἀλεξάνεμος  
 53 μέν, ὥς οἱ ποιηταὶ πού φασι, χειμῶνι \* \* \*.<sup>1</sup> τίς  
 οὖν τὰς πολυτελεῖς ἀλουργίδας, τίς τὰ διαφανῆ καὶ  
 λεπτὰ θέριστρα, τίς τὰς ἀραχνοῦφείς ἀμπεχόνας,  
 τίς τὰ ἐπηνθισμένα ἢ βαφαῖς ἢ πλοκαῖς διὰ τῶν  
 βάπτειν ἢ ὑφαίνειν ποικίλα ἐπισταμένων καὶ τὴν ἐν  
 ζωγραφίᾳ μίμησιν παρενημερούντων δαιδαλεύεται;  
 τίς; οὐχ ἡ κενὴ δόξα;  
 54 VIII. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἰκίας διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐδέησεν  
 ἡμῖν αἰτίας, καὶ ὅπως μὴ πρὸς θηρίων ἢ θηριωδεσ-  
 τάτων<sup>2</sup> τὰς φύσεις ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτρεχόντων βλαπτώ-  
 μεθα. τί οὖν τὰ μὲν ἐδάφη καὶ τοὺς τοίχους  
 πολυτελέσι λίθοις διακοσμοῦμεν; τί δὲ Ἀσίαν  
 καὶ Λιβύην καὶ πᾶσαν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰς νήσους  
 ἐπερχόμεθα, κίονας ἀριστίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένους καὶ  
 55 ἐπιστυλίδας ἐρευνῶντες; τί δὲ περὶ Δωρίου καὶ  
 Ἰωνικὰς καὶ Κορινθιακὰς γλυφὰς καὶ ὅσα<sup>3</sup> οἱ  
 ἐντρυφῶντες (τοῖς καθεστῶσι<sup>4</sup> νόμοις προσεξεῦρον  
 σπουδάζομέν τε καὶ φιλοτιμούμεθα, κιονόκρανα  
 κοσμοῦντες; τί δὲ χρυσορόφους ἀνδρῶνας καὶ  
 κυναικωνίτιδας κατασκευάζομεν; ἄρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν  
 56 γενὴν δόξαν; καὶ μὴν πρὸς γε ὕπνον  
 μαλακὸν μὲν ἔδαφος αὐταρκες ἦν—ἐπεὶ καὶ μέχρι  
 νῦν τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς χαμευνεῖν ἐκ  
 παλαιῶν ἐθῶν κατέχει λόγος,—εἰ δὲ μή, σσιβάς  
 γοῦν (ἦ)<sup>5</sup> ἐκ λίθων λογάδων ἢ ξύλων εὐτελῶν  
 57 πεποιημένη κλίνη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐλεφαντόποδες τὰ  
 ἐνήλατα καὶ κλιντῆρες ὀστράκοις πολυτελέσι καὶ
- <sup>1</sup> Lacuna of one line: supply e.g. τῷ δὲ θέρει ἀναψύχουσα  
 as Wend. (or σκιάζουσα?). <sup>2</sup> Perhaps θηριωδεστέρων.  
<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὅσους. <sup>4</sup> MSS. ζῶσι. See App. pp. 607 f.  
<sup>5</sup> <ἦ> my insertion.

## ON DREAMS, II. 52-57

the body by great cold and heat, "wind-proof," as I think the poets have it,<sup>a</sup> in winter and (cooling in summer). Who, then, is the cunning worker of those 53 costly sea-purples, those light transparent summer gauzes, those spider-web shawls, those costumes dyed or woven into gay colouring by hands expert in producing variety by either art, which outdo the painter's power of imitating nature? Who? I ask. Is it not vainglory?

VIII. Once more, we 54 felt the need of a house to live in for the same reasons, and that we may not suffer from the incursions of wild beasts or of men worse than beasts. Why then do we decorate the pavements and walls with costly marbles? Why do we scour Asia and Libya and all Europe and the islands searching for choicest columns and architraves? Why for the adornment 55 of the capitals of our columns do we vie with each other in enthusiasm over Doric and Ionic and Corinthian carvings and other embellishments devised by those who scorn to keep to the established styles? Why do we build men's and women's apartments with golden ceilings? Is it not owing to vainglory?

For sleep, all that was needed was a 56 soft piece of ground (for it is reported that to this very day the Naked Philosophers among the Indians retain their primitive custom of making earth their couch), or, if more was required, a bed of rushes<sup>b</sup> or of unhewn stones or common timber. But in fact 57 beds with ivory legs to their framework are provided, and sofas with costly mother-of-pearl and many-hued

<sup>b</sup> Or "straw." If *η* is omitted as in other editions, *στιβας* is used as an adjective, for which I have not seen any authority, nor is the meaning clear.

ποικίλαις χελώναις ἐνδεδεμέναις μετὰ πολλῶν  
 πόνων καὶ δαπανημάτων ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατα-  
 σκευάζονται, τινὲς δὲ ὀλοάργυροι καὶ ὀλόχρυσοι καὶ  
 λιθοκόλλητοι στρωμναῖς<sup>1</sup> ἀνθηροποικίλοις καὶ χρυ-  
 σοπάστοις ὡς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν καὶ πομπήν, οὐ τὴν  
 καθ' ἡμέραν χρήσιν, διακεκοσμημένοι,<sup>1</sup> ὧν<sup>2</sup> δημι-  
 58 ουργὸς ἢ κενὴ δόξα. τί δὲ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας  
 ἐκθλιβομένου καρποῦ πλέον ἔδει ζητεῖν πρὸς ἀλείμ-  
 ματα; καὶ γὰρ λεαίνει καὶ κάματον σώματος λύει  
 καὶ εὐσαρκίαν ἐμποιεῖ, καὶ εἴ τι κεχαλασμένον  
 εἴη, σφίγγει πυκνότητι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἥττον ἐτέρου  
 59 ῥώμην καὶ εὐτονίαν ἐντίθησιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπετει-  
 χίσθη<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ὠφελοῦσι τὰ ἡδέα τῆς κενῆς δόξης  
 ἀλείμματα, εἰς ἃ καὶ μυρεψοὶ πονοῦσι καὶ χῶ-  
 ραι μεγάλαι συντελοῦσι, Συρία, Βαβυλών, Ἰνδοί,  
 Σκύθαι, παρ' οἷς αἱ τῶν ἀρωμάτων γενέσεις εἰσὶ.  
 60 IX. πρὸς γε μὴν τὸ πίνειν τίνος ἔδει  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ φύσεως ἐκπώματος ἀκρότησι τέχνης  
 εἰργασμένου; τὸ δὲ ἔκπωμα αἱ ἡμέτεραι χεῖρές |  
 [667] εἰσιν, ἃς εἰς ταυτό τις συναγαγὼν καὶ κοιλάνας, εὖ  
 μάλα τῷ στόματι προσθείς, ἐπιχέοντος ἐτέρου τὸ  
 ποτὸν οὐ μόνον ἄκος τῆς<sup>4</sup> δίψης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλεκτον  
 61 ἡδονὴν κτᾶται. εἰ δὲ ἔδει πάντως ἐτέρου, τὸ  
 γεωργικὸν κισσύβιον οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλων  
 ἐπιφανῶν τέχνας<sup>5</sup> ἀναζητεῖν ἔδει; τί δὲ ἀργυρῶν  
 καὶ χρυσῶν κυλίκων ἄφθονον πλῆθος κατασκευά-  
 ζεσθαι, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὸν φρναττόμενον μέγαρα τυφὸν  
 καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αἰώρας φορουμένην<sup>6</sup> κενὴν δόξαν;

<sup>1</sup> MSS. στρωμναῖ and διακεκοσμημένοι: A ἀνθηροποικίλους καὶ χρυσοπάστους: Trin. -οις -οις ἔργοις. The text as here printed is by Mr. Whitaker's emendation, cf. *De Som.* i. 123.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὧς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀπετειχίσθη.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. τε.

<sup>5</sup> I should prefer to read τεχνίτας, cf. § 50.

## ON DREAMS, II. 57-61

tortoiseshell inlaid with much toil and outlay of money and expenditure of time. Some are all of silver or all of gold or of mosaic work elaborately furnished with bedding of gold tissue and brocaded with flowers evidently for show and display, not for everyday use. Of these vainglory is the artist.

For unguents what need was there to 58 look for anything more than the fruit-juice pressed from the olive? For indeed it produces smoothness, and counteracts physical exhaustion, and brings about good condition. If a muscle be relaxed it braces it and renders it firm, nor is there anything surpassing it for infusing tone and vigour. But to attack the 59 position of such wholesome kinds vainglory's delicate unguents were set up. For these great countries where spices grow are laid under contribution, Syria, Babylon, the lands of the Indians and the Scythians; and on these the labour of perfumers is expended.

IX. Again, for drinking what more was 60 needed than Nature's cup, art's very masterpiece? Of that cup our hands are the material. Let a man hold them close together and hollow them; then let him carefully lift them to his mouth while someone else pours the water into them. He obtains not only the quenching of his thirst, but pleasure untold. But if a different one must needs have been 61 found, was not the rustic mazer sufficient? Was it necessary to go in search of works of art by other famous artists? Why was it necessary that a lavish quantity of gold and silver goblets should be manufactured save for the sake of vanity, so loud in its insolence, and vainglory swinging so dizzily to and fro?



- 62 ὅταν καὶ στεφανοῦσθαί τινες ἀξιῶσι  
 μὴ δάφνης μηδὲ κιττοῦ, μὴ ἕων ἢ κρίνων ἢ ῥόδου  
 ἢ θαλλοῦ συνόλως ἢ τινος<sup>1</sup> ἄνθους εὐώδει στεφάνῳ  
 παρελθόντες τὰ θεοῦ δῶρα, ἃ διὰ τῶν ἐτησίων  
 ὥρων ἀναδίδωσι, χρυσοῦς <δ'> ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς,  
 βαρύτατον ἄχθος, αἰωρῶσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ καὶ  
 πληθούσῃ<sup>2</sup> χωρὶς αἰδοῦς, ἄλλο τι<sup>3</sup> νομιστέον ἢ ὅτι  
 κενῆς δόξης εἰσὶ δοῦλοι, φάσκοντες οὐκ ἐλεύθεροι  
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνες εἶναι;
- 63 Ἐπιλείπει με ἡ ἡμέρα τὰς διαφθοράς<sup>4</sup> τοῦ  
 ἀνθρωπείου βίου διεξιόντα. καίτοι τί δεῖ μακρη-  
 γορεῖν; τίς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοός ἐστι, τίς δὲ οὐ  
 θεατής; τίς μὲν οὖν οὐ τρίβων καὶ ἐθάς<sup>5</sup>; ὥστε  
 παγκάλως προσθήκην τὸν ἀτυφίας μὲν ἐχθρόν,  
 64 τύφου δ' ἐταῖρον<sup>6</sup> ὠνόμασεν ὁ ἱερός λόγος. καθάπερ  
 γὰρ τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἐπιφύονται βλάσται περισσαί,  
 μεγάλαι τῶν γνησίων λῶβαι, αἷς καθαίρουσι καὶ  
 ἀποτέμνουσι προνοία τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ γεωρ-  
 γοῦντες, οὕτω τῷ ἀληθεῖ καὶ ἀτύφῳ βίῳ παρανέ-  
 βλασθεν ὁ κατεψευσμένος καὶ τετυφωμένος, οὗ μέχρι  
 ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας οὐδεὶς εὖρηται γεωργὸς ὅς τὴν  
 65 βλαβερὰν ἐπίφυσιν αὐταῖς ῥίζαις ἀπέκοψε. τοιγαρ-  
 οῦν εἰδότες οἱ φρονήσεως ἀσκηταὶ τὸ κατάπλαστον<sup>7</sup>  
 τοῦτ' αἰσθήσει πρῶτον, <εἴτα> διανοία μεταδιώ-  
 κοντα ἄντικρυς ἐκβοῶσι. "θηρίον πονηρὸν ἤρπασε  
 66 καὶ κατέφαγεν Ἰωσήφ." ἀλλ' οὐ θηρίον ἐξηγριω-  
 μένον ὢν ὁ πολυπλοκώτατος τῶν πεφυρμένων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εἴ τινος.<sup>2</sup> MSS. πλήθους.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἄτε.<sup>4</sup> MSS. διαφθοράς.<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἔθος.<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἕτερον.<sup>7</sup> MSS. κατάπλειστον.

<sup>a</sup> The common phrase for the forenoon, e.g. Plat. *Gorg.* 469 D.

## ON DREAMS, II. 62-66

When, again, we see people wanting 62 to be crowned not with a garland of laurel or ivy, not with a sweet-smelling wreath of violets or lilies or roses or olive or any flower at all, but passing by God's gifts, which He distributes as the seasons of the year run their course ; when they poise over their head golden wreaths, a grievous weight, without any shame in mid-market at the hour when it is full,<sup>a</sup> what else can we think of them than that they are slaves of vainglory, though they assert that they are not only free, but actually lords and rulers of many others ?

The day will pass before I have given the sum of 63 the corruptions of human life, and indeed why need we dwell at length upon them ? For who has not heard, who has not seen them ? Indeed who is not conversant and familiar with them ? And therefore the Holy Word did well in giving the name of Addition to one who was the enemy of simplicity and the friend of vanity. For just as we find on trees, to the 64 great damage of the genuine growth, superfluities which the husbandmen purge and cut away to provide for their necessities, so the true and simple life has for its parasite the life of falsity and vanity, for which no husbandman has hitherto been found to excise the mischievous overgrowth, root and all. And so 65 the practisers of sound sense, perceiving that Joseph first with his senses, and afterwards with his understanding, pursues this way of artificiality, cry outright, " An evil beast has seized and devoured him " <sup>b</sup> (Gen. xxxvii. 33). And indeed this life of confused 66 mankind, so full of complications, of vain inventions,

<sup>b</sup> That in the history this statement is a falsehood makes no difference to Philo's exegesis. Cf. *De Mig.* 21 and note.

ἀνθρώπων τυφοπλασθηεῖς βίος, οὗ πλεονεξία καὶ  
πανουργία σοφαὶ δημιουργοί, τοὺς προσιόντας  
ἅπαντας ἐὼχεῖται; τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἔτι

ζῶσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς νεκροῖς προτεθήσεται<sup>1</sup> πένθος,  
ἀξίαν ὀλοφύρσεως καὶ θρήνων καρπουμένοις ζῶν·  
ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἰακώβ τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἔτι ζῶντα πενθεῖ.

67 ἄλλ' οὐ Μωυσῆς ἔασι τοὺς περὶ Ναδάβ<sup>β</sup> ἱερούς  
λόγους πενθεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀγρίου πονηροῦ  
θηρὸς ἀρπασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ἀσβέστου καὶ  
ἀθανάτου φέγγους ἀνελήφθησαν, ὅτι τὴν ἔνθερμον  
καὶ διάπυρον καὶ σαρκῶν ἀναλωτικὴν καὶ ὄξυ-  
κίνητον πρὸς τὴν<sup>3</sup> | εὐσέβειαν σπουδὴν, ἣ γενέσεως  
μέν ἐστιν ἀλλοτρία, θεοῦ δὲ οἰκεία, τὸν μελλητὴν<sup>4</sup>  
ὄκνον ἐκποδῶν ἀνελόντες, εὐαγῶς καθιέρωσαν, οὐ  
δι' ἀναβαθμῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐλθόντες—ἀπείρηται  
γὰρ νόμῳ,—ἀλλὰ δεξιῶ πνεύματι ἐπουρίσαντες<sup>5</sup>  
καὶ ἄχρι τῶν οὐρανοῦ περιόδων παραπεμφθέντες,  
θυσίας ὁλοκαύτου καὶ ὁλοκάρπου τρόπον εἰς αἰθε-  
ρίους αὐγὰς ἀναλυθέντες.

68 X. Ἀποκοπτόεν οὖν, ὡ ψυχὴ πειθαρχοῦσα τῷ διδάσκοντι, τὴν σεαυτῆς χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴν ἄρξεται τῶν γεννητικῶν ἢ γενέσεως ἢ ἀνθρωπείων

69 σπουδασμάτων ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι. πολλάκις γὰρ ὑφ’  
\* \* \*<sup>6</sup> προσαψαμένην<sup>7</sup> τῶν διδύμων χεῖρα ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. προστεθήσεται.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. 'Αδὰμ.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. TE.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. μὲν δὲ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀπουρίσαντες.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps ὑφ<ηγείται τὴν>.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. προσαψαμένων.

<sup>a</sup> Evidently an allusion to the "strange fire" ( $\pi\upsilon\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\tau\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ) which N. and A. offered. Philo gives here a glimpse of the way in which he arrived at the strange perversion of the story which he consistently makes (*De Fuga* 59 and elsewhere).

<sup>b</sup> The connexion of thought seems to be drawn from the fact that δράγματα are things grasped, cf. ἐπιδράττεται § 37, and

## ON DREAMS, II. 66-69

which has covetousness and knavery for its cunning architects, what is it but a ferocious beast which feasts on all who come near to it? And therefore such as these will be the subject of mourning, as though they were dead, even while they still live, since the life that they obtain is meet to be lamented and bewailed; for Jacob, we are told, mourned for Joseph while still alive. On the other 67 hand Moses will not suffer Nadab and his brother, those holy principles, to be mourned (Lev. x. 6). They were not seized by a savage, evil beast, but were taken up by a rush of fire unquenchable, by an undying splendour, since in sincerity they cast aside sloth and delay, and consecrated their zeal, hot and fiery, flesh-consuming and swiftly moving, to piety, a zeal which was alien<sup>a</sup> to creation, but akin to God. They did not mount by steps to the altar, which the law had forbidden (Ex. xx. 26), but wafted by a favouring breeze and carried even to the revolving heavens were there like the complete and perfect burnt offering resolved into ethereal rays of light.

X. So then, O soul, that art loyal to thy teacher, 68 thou must cut off thy hand, thy faculty, when it begins to lay hold of the genitals, whether they be the created world or the cares and aims of humanity.<sup>b</sup> For he often<sup>c</sup> bids us cut away the hand that has taken 69

we therefore have the contrast between what should and what should not be grasped. The life of luxury described in the preceding sections is here equated with the *γεννητικά*, and this leads on to the contrast of the true *δράγμα* or *δράξ* described in §§ 71 ff.

<sup>a</sup> If *πολλάκις* is retained, the meaning must be that Moses' frequent injunctions to honour God and virtue rather than man and human things is equivalent to "cutting off the hand." But I suspect that we should read *πολλαχόθεν*, "for many reasons."

## PHILO

κόπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐδεξιώσατο ἦν ἐχθαίρειν  
ἐχρῆν ἡδονῇν, δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι παρ' ἡμᾶς τὸ  
σπείρειν ἐνόμισεν, εἰθ' ὅτι τῷ γενομένῳ τὴν τοῦ  
70 ποιούντος ἀνέθηκε<sup>1</sup> δύναμιν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὅτι ὁ  
γῆινος ὄγκος, Ἀδάμ, ὅταν ἄψηται τοῦ διδύμου  
ξύλου, θνήσκει, δυάδα τιμήσας πρὸ μονάδος καὶ  
τὸ γενόμενον πρὸ τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἐκθαυμάσας;  
ἀλλὰ σύ γε τοῦ μὲν “καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς”  
βαίνει καὶ τὰς καταγελάστους τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου  
σπουδᾶς ὡς τὴν φοβερὰν ἐκείνην χάρυβδιν ἀποδί-  
δρασκε καὶ μηδὲ ἄκρω, τὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦτο, ποδὸς  
71 δακτύλῳ<sup>2</sup> ψαύσης. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
ἐπαποδύσῃ λειτουργίαις, ὅλην τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν  
εὐρύνασα εὖ μάλα τῶν παιδείας καὶ σοφίας θεωρη-  
μάτων ἐπίδραξαι. καὶ γὰρ πρόσταξις ἐστὶ τοιαύτη·  
“ἐὰν ψυχὴ προσφέρῃ δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν, σεμίδαλις  
ἔσται τὸ δῶρον,” εἰτ' ἐπιφέρει. “καὶ δραξάμενος  
πλήρη τὴν δράκα ἀπὸ τῆς σεμιδάλεως σὺν τῷ  
ἐλαίῳ καὶ παντὶ τῷ λιβάνῳ ἐπιθήσει<sup>3</sup> τὸ μνημόσυνον  
72 ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.” ἄρ' οὐ παγκάλως ψυχὴν  
εἶπεν ἀσώματον τὴν μέλλουσαν ἱεουργεῖν,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ' οὐ  
τὸν δίδυμον ἐκ θνητοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτου συνεστώτα  
ὄγκον; τὸ γὰρ εὐχόμενον, τὸ εὐχάριστον, τὸ  
θυσίας ἀμώμους<sup>5</sup> ἀληθῶς ἀνάγον ἐν μόνον ἦν ἄρα,  
73 ἡ ψυχὴ. τίς οὖν ἡ ψυχῆς ἀσωμάτου θυσία; τίς  
ἡ σεμίδαλις, ἐκκεκαθαρμένης<sup>6</sup> ταῖς παιδείαις<sup>7</sup> ὑποθή-

<sup>1</sup> ἐνέθηκε.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. τῷ τοῦ λόγου ποδὶ τοῦτο: Wend. δὴ τοῦτο. Perhaps omit ποδὶ as a duplicate of δακτύλῳ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἱεουργίαν.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀμώμον.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἐκκεκαθαρμένη.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. παιδείαις.

<sup>a</sup> So the LXX for the word which E.V. translates “secrets.”

## ON DREAMS, II. 69-73

hold of the "pair" <sup>a</sup> (Deut. xxv. 11, 12), first because it has thereby given a welcome to the pleasure which it should hate, secondly because it has judged that to beget rests with ourselves, and thirdly because it has ascribed to the created the power of its maker. Observe that Adam, that mass of earth, <sup>b</sup> is doomed to 70 die when he touches the twofold tree (Gen. ii. 9 <sup>c</sup>), thus honouring the two before the one, and revering the created rather than the maker. Not so be it with thee. Pass clear away "from the smoke and wave," <sup>d</sup> and flee fast from the silly cares and aims of mortal life as from that dread Charybdis and touch it not, as the saying goes, with the tip of thy toe.

But when thou hast stripped thyself to serve the holy 71 rites, then widen hand and power and take a right good grip of the lessons of instruction and wisdom, for there is an ordinance running thus: "If a soul bring a gift or sacrifice, the gift shall be fine flour," and then it continues, "and taking a full handful from the fine flour, with the oil and all the frankincense, he shall lay the memorial on the altar" (Lev. ii. 1, 2). This is an excellent saying, that the server 72 of the sacrifice should be an unbodied soul, not the twofold gross mass compounded of mortal and immortal. For that which prays, which gives thanks and offers sacrifice truly without blemish, must be as he says a "one" only, the soul. What then is the 73 offering of an unbodied soul? What but the fine flour, the symbol of a will, purified by the councils of

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Gen. iii. 19, "the earth, out of which thou wast taken."

<sup>c</sup> Or better, Gen. iii. 3, see App. p. 608.

<sup>d</sup> Od. xii. 219:

τούτου (i.e. Charybdis) μέν καπνοῦ καὶ κύματος ἐκτὸς ἔεργε  
νῆα.

- καὶς γνώμης σύμβολον, τροφήν ἄνοσον καὶ ζωὴν  
 74 ἀνυπαίτιον ποιεῖν ἱκανῆς; ἀφ' ἧς δραξάμενον<sup>1</sup> τὸν  
 ἱερέα ὅλη τῇ δρακί, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ πάσαις ταῖς διανοίαις  
 λαβαῖς, πλήρη τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν εἰλικρινεστάτων καὶ  
 καθαρωτάτων δογμάτων γενομένην αὐτὴν ὡς  
 ἱερεῖον τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνάγειν προστέτακται, πύονα  
 καὶ λιπῶσαν, θείῳ φωτὶ χαίρουσαν<sup>2</sup> καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ  
 δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν ἀναδιδομέναις  
 καταπνεομένην αὖραις, ὡς εὐωδέστατον καὶ προσ-  
 ηνέστατον αἰεὶ καρποῦσθαι βίον· τὸ γὰρ ἔλαιον καὶ  
 [669] ὁ | λιβανωτός, ὧν ἐπιδράττεται σὺν τοῖς λευκο-  
 75 πύροις ὁ ἱερεὺς,<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα αἰνίττεται. XI. διὰ  
 τοῦτο καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐξαίρετον ἑορτὴν ἀνέθηκε τῷ  
 δράγματι, πλὴν οὐ παντί, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς  
 γῆς. “ὅταν” γάρ φησιν “εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν γῆν,  
 ἣν ἐγὼ δίδωμι ὑμῖν, καὶ θερίζετε τὸν θερισμὸν  
 αὐτῆς, οἴσετε δράγματα ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ θερισμοῦ  
 76 ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα,” τὸ δέ ἐστιν· ὅταν εἰσέλθῃς,  
 ὦ διάνοια, εἰς τὴν ἀρετῆς χώραν, ἣν ἐμπρεπὲς μόνῳ  
 δωρεῖσθαι θεῷ, τὴν εὐβοτον, τὴν εὐγειον, τὴν  
 καρποφόρον, εἴτα οἰκεία εἴ γ' ἔσπειρας<sup>4</sup> ἀγαθὰ  
 θερίζῃς αὐξηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τελεσφόρου, μὴ πρό-  
 τερον οἴκαδε συγκομίσης, τουτέστι μὴ ἀναθῇς μηδ'<sup>5</sup>  
 ἐπιγράψῃς σεαυτῇ τὴν τῶν περιγινομένων αἰτίαν,  
 ἣ ἀπάρξασθαι τῷ πλουτάρχῳ καὶ τὰ πλουτιστήρια  
 77 ἔργα ἐπιτηδεύειν ἀναπεύθοντι. καὶ λέγεται<sup>6</sup> “τὴν  
 ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὑμῶν” αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ  
 τῆς γῆς, προσφέρειν, ἵνα ἀμῶμεν καὶ θερίζωμεν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. δραξάμενος.<sup>2</sup> MSS. χαίρουσι.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἱερός.<sup>4</sup> MSS. εἴ γε σπείρας: Wend. [εἴ γε] σπείρασ'. The form adopted is my conjecture.<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀναθεῖς μὴ.<sup>6</sup> MSS. λέγετε.

## ON DREAMS, II. 73-77

instruction, fit to produce nourishment that gives no sickness and life that knows no guilt. From such a 74 sacrifice is the priest bidden to take his handful, take it with his whole hand, that is with all the grips of the mind, to offer the best of sacrifices, even the whole soul, brimful of truths of all sincerity and purity—a soul, too, rich with fatness, gladdened by light divine and perfumed with the breaths exhaled from justice and the other virtues, thus fitted to enjoy for ever a life of all fragrance and sweetness. For this is signified by the oil and the frankincense with which the priest fills his hand as well as with the wheaten flour.

XI. Therefore also Moses dedicated 75 a special feast for the “hand-grip of corn,” only not for all but for such as come from the holy land, for “When,” he says, “ye come into the land which I give you and ye reap its reaping, ye shall bring hand-grips of corn as a firstfruit unto the priest” (Lev. xxiii. 10). That means, “When, my mind, thou comest to 76 virtue’s land, the gift fit for God alone, the land of goodly pasturage and tilth and fruit-bearing, and then if so be that thou hast sown in accordance with it, thou reapest the good when brought to its increase by God the consummator, do not bear the harvest home, that is, do not assign or ascribe to thyself the cause of the produce until thou hast rendered the firstfruit to Him Who is the source of riches and moves thee to practise the husbandry of thy enrichment.” And we are told to bring the “firstfruit of your 77 reaping,” that is not of the land but of ourselves, that we may mow and reap ourselves, by con-



ἑαυτοὺς,<sup>1</sup> πάνθ' ὅσα καλὰ καὶ τροφίμα καὶ σπουδαῖα βλαστήματα καθιεροῦντες.

- 78 XII. Ἄλλ' ὃ γε τῶν ἐνυπνίων μύστης ὁμοῦ καὶ μυσταγωγὸς θαρρεῖ λέγειν, ὅτι ἀνέστη τὸ αὐτοῦ δράγμα καὶ ὠρθώθη. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι καθάπερ οἱ γαῦροι τῶν ἵππων τὸν αὐχένα μετέωρον ἐξάραντες, ὅσοι θιασῶται τῆς κενῆς δόξης εἰσὶν, ἐπάνω πάντων ἑαυτοὺς ἰδρύουσι, πόλεων, νόμων, ἐθνῶν πατρίων,
- 79 τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις πραγμάτων· εἴτα ἀπὸ δημαγωγίας ἐπὶ δημαρχίαν βαδίζοντες καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν πλησίον καταβάλλοντες, τὰ δὲ οἰκεῖα διανιστάντες<sup>2</sup> καὶ παγίως ὀρθοῦντες, ὅσα ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀδούλωτα φύσει φρονήματα, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπάγεσθαι μηχανῶνται.
- 80 διὸ προστίθησι· “περιστραφέντα δὲ τὰ δράγματα ὑμῶν προσεκύνησαν τὸ ἐμὸν δράγμα.” τέθηπε γὰρ ὁ μὲν αἰδοῦς ἐραστὴς τὸν σκληραύχενα, ὁ δὲ εὐλαβὴς τὸν αὐθάδη, ὁ δὲ ἰσότητα<sup>3</sup> τιμῶν τὸν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ἄλλοις ἄνισον,<sup>3</sup> καὶ μήποτ' εἰκότως·
- 81 ἄτε γὰρ θεωρὸς ὢν οὐ μόνον τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου βίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ συμπάντων ὁ ἀστείος οἶδεν ὅσον εἴωθε πνεῖν ἀνάγκη, τύχη, καιρὸς, βία, δυναστεία, καὶ ὅσας ὑποθέσεις καὶ ἡλίκας εὐπραγίας ἀπνευστὶ δραμούσας ἄχρῃ οὐρανοῦ κατέσεισαν
- 82 καὶ κατέρραξαν. ὥστε ἀναγκαίως εὐλάβειαν ἐπασπιδώσεται,<sup>4</sup> τοῦ μηδὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δεινὸν παθεῖν συγγενὲς φυλακτήριον· ὃ γάρ, οἶμαι, πρὸς πόλιν
- 83 τεῖχος, τοῦτ' εὐλάβεια πρὸς ἕκαστον. ἄρ' οὖν οὐ παραπαίουσι καὶ μεμῆνασιν ὅσοι παρρησίαν ἄκαιρον<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἑαυτοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. διαναστάντες.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὁσιότητα . . . ἀνόσιον.

<sup>4</sup> So Trin.: A ἐπασπιδῆσεται which Wend. retains, conjecturing ἐπισπᾶσεται, but cf. ἐνασπιδώσομαι Aristophanes, *Ach.* 368.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀπειρον.

## ON DREAMS, II. 77-83

secrating every nourishing, excellent and worthy growth.

XII. But he who was both the initiated and the 78 initiator in the mysteries of dreams boldly said that his sheaf rose and stood upright (Gen. xxxvii. 7). For indeed as skittish horses rear their necks proudly on high, so all the votaries of vainglory set themselves up above everything, above cities and laws and ancestral customs and the affairs of the several citizens. Then they proceed from the leadership of 79 the people to dictatorship over the people, and while they bring low the state of their neighbours they cause their own to rise and stand upright and firm, and thus they bring into subjection even souls whose spirit is naturally free and unenslaved. That is why 80 he adds, "Your sheaves turned round and made obeisance to my sheaf" (*ibid.*). For the lover of modesty is overawed by the stiff-necked, and the cautious by the self-willed, and the honourer of equality by one who is unequal both in relation to himself and others. And surely that is natural, for 81 the man of worth who surveys, not only human life but all the phenomena of the world, knows how mightily blow the winds of necessity, fortune, opportunity, force, violence and pryncedom, and how many are the projects, how great the good fortunes which soar to heaven without pausing in their flight and then are shaken about and brought crashing to the ground by these blasts. And therefore he must 82 needs take caution to shield him, as an inseparable safeguard to prevent any grave disaster suddenly befalling him, for caution is to the individual man what a wall is to a city. Surely then they are all 83 lunatics and madmen who take pains to display un-

- σπουδάζουσιν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, βασιλεῦσι καὶ τυράν-  
νοις ἔστιν ὅτε λέγειν τε καὶ ποιεῖν ἐναντία τολ-  
μῶντες, οὐκ αἰσθανόμενοι,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι (οὐ) τοὺς αὐχένας  
μόνον ὥσπερ τὰ θρέμματα ὑπεζεύχθησαν, ἀλλ'  
[670] ὅλα τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς | ψυχὰς γύναιά τε καὶ  
τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλων ἐταίρων<sup>2</sup> (καὶ)  
συγγενῶν πολυάνθρωπον οἰκειότητα καὶ κοινωνίαν  
ἐκδέδενται, καὶ ἔξεστι τῷ ἡνιόχῳ καὶ ἐπόχῳ<sup>3</sup> μετὰ  
πάσης εὐμαρείας κεντεῖν, ἐλαύνειν, ἐπέχειν, ἀνα-  
χαιτίζειν, ἅττ' ἂν ἐβελήσῃ μικρὰ καὶ μείζω δια-  
84 τιθέναι; τοιγαροῦν στιζόμενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι  
καὶ ἀκρωτηριαζόμενοι καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου  
χαλεπὰ πάντα ὡμῶς καὶ ἀηλεῶς ἀθρόα ὑπο-  
μένοντες, ἀπαχθέντες ἐπὶ πᾶσι θνήσκουσι.
- 85 XIII. ταῦτ' ἐστὶ<sup>4</sup> τῆς ἀκαίρου παρρησίας τὰ ἐπί-  
χειρα, οὐ παρρησίας παρά γε εὖ φρονοῦσι κριταῖς,  
ἀλλ' εὐηθείας καὶ φρενοβλαβείας καὶ μελαγ-  
χολίας ἀνιάτου γέμοντα.<sup>5</sup> τί λέγεις; χειμῶνά  
τις ὁρῶν ἀκμάζοντα καὶ βαρὺ πνεῦμα ἐναντίον  
καὶ λαίλαπα καταιγίζουσιν καὶ κυματούμενον  
πέλαγος, ἐνορμίζεσθαι δέον, ἐξορμίζεται καὶ ἐξ-  
86 ανάγεται; τίς ἢ κυβερνήτης ἢ ναύκληρος οὕτω  
ποτέ ἐμεθύσθη καὶ παρώνησεν, (ὥς) ὅσων εἶπον  
κατασκευάσαντων ἐβελῆσαι πλεῖν, ἵνα<sup>6</sup> ὑπέραντλος  
ἄνωθεν ἐπιχυθείσης τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ναὺς γενομένη  
πλωτῆρσιν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταποθῇ; τῷ γὰρ βου-  
λομένῳ πλεῖν ἀκινδύνως εὐδίων πνεῦμα οὐρίον τε  
87 καὶ λείον ἀναμένειν ἐξῆν. τί δέ; ἄρκτον τις (ἢ  
σὺν ἄγριον ἦ)<sup>7</sup> λέοντα μετὰ συρμοῦ θεασάμενος  
ἐπιόντα, πρᾶναι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι δέον, ἐξαγριαίνει

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αἰσθάνονται.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπ' ὡμῳ.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐτέρων.<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐπὶ.

timely frankness, and sometimes dare to oppose kings and tyrants in words and deeds. They do not perceive that not only like cattle are their necks under the yoke, but that the harness extends to their whole bodies and souls, their wives and children and parents, and the wide circle of friends and kinsfolk united to them by fellowship of feeling, and that the driver can with perfect ease spur, drive on or pull back, and mete out any treatment small or great just as he pleases. And therefore they are branded and scourged and 84 mutilated and undergo a combination of all the sufferings which merciless cruelty can inflict short of death, and finally are led away to death itself.

XIII. These are the rewards of un- 85 timely free-speaking, which in the eyes of sensible judges is not free-speaking at all; rather they are the guerdons of silliness and frenzy and incurable brain-sickness. Why? Who if he sees a storm at its height, a fierce counter-wind, a hurricane swooping down and a tempest-tossed sea, sets sail and puts out to sea when he should remain in harbour? What pilot or skipper 86 was ever so utterly intoxicated as to wish to sail with all these terrors launched upon him, only to find the ship water-logged by the down-rushing sea and swallowed up, crew and all. For he who would have a safe voyage can always wait for the sunny breeze to take him gently and smoothly on his way. Again, 87 would anyone who has seen a bear or a lion or wild boar sweeping along to attack him, instead of soothing and calming them as he should, provoke them to

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<sup>5</sup> γέμοντα though accepted by editors is quite illogical. The rewards are not full of folly. I suggest γέρα ὄντα.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἵνα ὅσον εἶπον κατασκευάσαντων ἐθελήσῃ πλύνειν.

<sup>7</sup> Lacuna in A eight to nine letters.

καὶ ἀνερεθίζει, ὅπως θοίναν καὶ εὐωχίαν ὤμο-  
 88 βόροις ἀνηλεεστάτοις<sup>1</sup> εὐτρεπίσῃ ἑαυτόν; εἰ μὴ  
 καὶ φαλαγγίοις καὶ ἀσπίσι ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα<sup>2</sup> τὸν φθοροποιὸν ἰὸν (ἐπιφέρεται)  
 οὐδενὶ λυσιτελὲς ἀνθίστασθαι,<sup>3</sup> θάνατον ἀπαραί-  
 τητον τοῖς ἅπαξ δηχθεῖσιν ἐπάγουσιν· ἀγαπητὸν  
 γὰρ κατεπάδοντας καὶ χειροήθη ποιοῦντας μηδὲν  
 89 ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν παθεῖν. εἴτ' οὐκ εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι  
 τινες συνῶν, φαλαγγίων, ἀσπίδων ἀγριώτεροι καὶ  
 ἐπιβουλότεροι; ὧν τὸ ἐπίβουλον καὶ δυσμενὲς  
 ἀμήχανον ἐτέρως ἢ τιθασείαις καὶ μειλίσμασι  
 χρωμένους διεκδύναι. τοιγάρτοι ὁ σοφὸς  
 Ἀβραὰμ τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Χέτ—ἐρμηνεύονται δὲ  
 ἐξιστάντες—προσκυνήσει, τῶν καιρῶν τοῦτο<sup>4</sup> δρᾶν  
 90 ἀναπειθόντων. οὐ<sup>5</sup> γὰρ τιμῶν γε τοὺς ἐκ φύσεως  
 καὶ γένους καὶ ἔθων ἐχθροὺς λογισμοῦ, οἳ τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς νόμισμα, παιδείαν, ἐξιστάντες καὶ κατα-  
 κερματίζοντες οἰκτρῶς ἀναλίσκουσιν, ἐπὶ τὸ προσ-  
 κυνεῖν ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ παρὸν κράτος αὐτῶν καὶ  
 τὴν δυσάλωτον ἰσχὺν δεδιὼς καὶ φυλαττόμενος  
 ἐρεθίζειν,<sup>6</sup> μέγα καὶ ἐχυρὸν κτῆμα καὶ ἀγώνισμα  
 ἀρετῆς, σοφῶν ψυχῶν ἄριστον ἐνδιαίτημα, τὸ  
 [671] διπλοῦν σπήλαιον, | ὃ μαχόμενον μὲν καὶ πολε-  
 μοῦντα οὐκ ἐνῆν, ὑπερχόμενον<sup>7</sup> δὲ καὶ θεραπεύοντα  
 91 τῷ λόγῳ κομμεῖται.<sup>8</sup> τί δέ; οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀνηλεεστάτην.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὅσοι.

<sup>3</sup> I print Wend.'s text, but it ignores the difficulty of οὐδενί. This negative after εἰ μὴ must be wrong, unless we substitute ἀλυσιτελὲς for λυσιτελὲς or ἐξ(αφ)ίστασθαι for ἀνθίστασθαι. Mangey proposed ἐπιφέρεται ὁδοῦσι, perhaps meaning the second word to replace οὐδενί. If so ὁδόντι would be better. I think Philo is capable of having written ὁδοντοφορεῖ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. τοῦ (Trin. τὸν καιρὸν).

## ON DREAMS, II. 87-91

savagery just to offer himself as a banquet to satisfy the cruel appetites of the carnivorous brutes? As well 88 might we think it advisable to fight against the stinging scorpions and asps of Egypt and all other creatures possessed of fatal poison whose single bite carries with it inevitable death—creatures whom we may well be content to tame with charms and ensure that they do us no grievous harm. Then are there not some 89 men more fierce and malicious than boars, scorpions or asps, men whose spite and malice can only be avoided by using some method of taming and soothing them?

And therefore we shall find wise Abraham doing obeisance to the sons of Cheth (Gen. xxiii. 7), whose name means “removing,” when the fitness of the circumstances prompted him to do so. For it was not out of any feeling of respect for those 90 who by nature and race and custom were the enemies of reason, who remove instruction, the true coinage of the soul, and change it into petty coins and waste it miserably, that he brought himself to do obeisance. Rather it was just because he feared their power at the time and their formidable strength and took care to give no provocation, that he will win that great and secure possession, that prize of virtue, the double cave which is the most excellent abiding-place of wise souls: the cave which could not be won by war and fighting, but with reason shewn in subservience and respectful treatment.<sup>a</sup> Again, do not we too, when 91

<sup>a</sup> In the earlier edition τῶ λόγῳ was changed to τῶ <ἀ>λόγῳ “paying court to their unreason.” But this is untenable as *θεραπεύω* is not found with a dative.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ὁ.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. ὑπερμαχόμενον.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἐρυθριάζειν.

<sup>8</sup> MSS. κομῆσθαι.

- ὅταν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβωμεν, εἰώθαμεν ἐξίστασθαι μὲν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἐξίστασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις; ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐναντίας γνώμης καὶ οὐχὶ τῆς αὐτῆς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄρχουσιν ἐν τιμῇ, τοῖς δὲ ὑποζυγίοις διὰ φόβον τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς
- 92 ἡμᾶς νεωτερισθῆναι. καὶ διδόντων μὲν τῶν καιρῶν ἐπιτιθεμένους τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν βίαν καλὸν καταλύσαι, μὴ ἐπιτρεπόντων δὲ ἀσφαλὲς ἡσυχάσαι, βουλομένοις δὲ τιν'<sup>1</sup> ὠφέλειαν εὐρίσκεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀρμόττον τιθασεῦσαι.
- 93 XIV. Διὸ καὶ νῦν ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς μὴ ὑποχωροῦντας τῷ τῆς κενῆς προστάτῃ δόξης, ἀλλὰ ἀνθισταμένους καὶ λέγοντας· “μὴ βασιλεύων βασιλεύσεις<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ἡμῖν;” οὐπω γὰρ ἰσχυρότα<sup>3</sup> ὀρώσιν αὐτόν, οὐχ ὡς φλόγα ἡμμένον τε καὶ λάμποντα ἐν ἀφθόνῳ ὕλῃ νεμόμενον, ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὡς<sup>4</sup> σπινθῆρα ἐντυφόμενον, ὀνειρώττοντα δόξαν, οὐκ
- 94 ἐναργῶς ἤδη μετιόντα. χρηστὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας ὑποβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς, ὥσει καὶ μὴ ἀλῶναι δυνησόμενοι. παρὸ λέγουσι· “μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν βασιλεύσεις;” ἴσον τῷ ζώντων, ὄντων,<sup>5</sup> ἰσχυόντων, ἐμπνεόντων ἡμῶν οἷοι δυναστεύσεις; ἀσθενησάντων μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἐπικρατήσεις, ἐρρωμένων δὲ ἐν
- 95 ὑπηκόου μοίρᾳ τετάξῃ. καὶ πέφυκεν οὕτως ἔχειν· ἐπειδὰν μὲν γὰρ ἐν διανοίᾳ (ὁ) ὀρθὸς ἰσχύη λόγος, ἡ κενὴ καταλύεται δόξα, ῥώννυνται δὲ ἀσθενήσαντος. ἕως οὖν<sup>6</sup> ἔτι σῶαν ἔχει τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς μέρος ἡκρωτηρίασται, θαρρείτω βάλλειν καὶ τοξεύειν τὸν ἐναντιούμενον τύφον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τὴν.<sup>2</sup> MSS. βασιλεύσης.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐσχυρότα.<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐθ' ὡς.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps om. ὄντων or transpose with ζώντων.<sup>6</sup> MSS. οὐ.

## ON DREAMS, II. 91-95

we are spending time in the market-place, make a practice of standing out of the path of our rulers and also of beasts of carriage, though our motive in the two cases is entirely different? With the rulers it is done to shew them honour, with the animals from fear and to save us from suffering serious injury from them. And if ever occasions permit it is good to 92 subdue the violence of enemies by attack, but if they do not permit the safe course is to keep quiet, and if we wish to gain any help from them the fitting course is to soften and tame them.

XIV. Praise therefore is due to those also who are 93 here under consideration, because they did not give way to the champion of vainglory but resisted him and said: "Shalt thou indeed reign over us? Not so" (Gen. xxxvii. 8). For they see that he is not yet become strong, that he is not as a flame fully kindled and shining brightly with abundance of fuel to feed it, but is still a mere smouldering spark, one who sees glory but as in a dream and does not yet pursue it with clear waking vision. In their hearts 94 they have a comfortable hope that they may even be able to escape his clutches, and so they say: "Shalt thou indeed be king over us?" that is, "Dost thou think to lord it over us while we still have life, existence, strength, breath? When we have grown weak, thou wilt perhaps have the mastery, but while we are strong thou wilt hold but the rank of a subject." And that is but natural, for when right reason 95 is strong in the mind, vainglory is brought low, but gains strength when reason is weak. While, then, the soul still preserves its power and no part of it is amputated, let it take courage to ply the opposing vanity with missiles and arrows and use full liberty



- ἐλευθεροστομείτω φάσκουσα· οὔτε βασιλεύσεις  
οὔτε κυριεύσεις οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐτέρων·  
96 ἀλλὰ σου τὰς ἐπανατάσεις<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐφόδω  
μιᾷ καταδραμούμεθα σὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις καὶ  
ὑπασπισταῖς, φρονήσεως ἐγγόνοις· ἐφ' ᾧν λέγεται  
ὅτι “ προσέθεντο μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἕνεκα τῶν ἐνυπνίων  
97 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕνεκα τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτοῦ.” ἀλλ' οὐ  
ῥήματα μὲν καὶ ἐνύπνια πάνθ' ὅσα ὁ τυφὸς ἂν  
εἰδωλοποιῇ, πράγματα δὲ καὶ σαφεῖς ἐνάργειαι<sup>2</sup> τὰ  
ὅσα ἐπ' ὀρθὸν βίον καὶ λόγον ἀναφέρεται; καὶ  
τὰ μὲν μίσους ἅτε κατεψευσμένα, τὰ δὲ φιλίας ἅτε  
ἀληθείας τῆς ἐπεράστου γέμοντα ἐπάξια.  
98 μηδεὶς οὖν ἔτι κατηγορεῖν ἐπιτολμάτω<sup>3</sup> τῶν το-  
σούτων τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀνδρῶν ὡς μισανθρώπου καὶ  
μισαδέλφου δεῖγμα ἦθους ἐκφερόντων, ἀλλὰ μαθῶν,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ὁ νῦν ἐπικρινόμενός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ  
τῶν ἐν ἐκάστου τῇ ψυχῇ τρόπων<sup>4</sup> ὁ δοξομανὴς καὶ  
φιλότυφος, ἀποδεχέσθω τοὺς ἄσπονδον ἔχθραν καὶ  
[672] μῖσος ἀκατάλλακτον πρὸς | αὐτὸν αἰρομένους<sup>5</sup> καὶ  
μηδέποτε τὸν στυγηθέντα πρὸς ἐκείνων στερξάτω,  
99 γνοὺς ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι<sup>6</sup> δικασταὶ γνώμης  
οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐσφάλισαν ὑγιоῦς, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες καὶ  
παιδευθέντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸν ὄντως βασιλέα, τὸν  
κύριον, προσκυνεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν ἀγανακτοῦσιν, εἴ  
τις τὴν θεοῦ τιμὴν νοσφίζειται καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας<sup>7</sup> αὐτοῦ  
100 μετακαλεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν θεραπείαν. XV. διὸ  
θαρροῦντες ἐροῦσιν· “ μὴ βασιλεύων βασιλεύσεις  
ἐφ' ἡμῖν; ” ἢ ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμεν αὐτόνομοι,  
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀθανάτου βασιλέως, τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπαναστάσεις.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπὶ τολμοτάτων.<sup>5</sup> MSS. αὐτοὺς ἐρωμένους.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐνέργειαι.<sup>4</sup> MSS. τρόπος.<sup>6</sup> MSS. τοσοῦτοι.

## ON DREAMS, II. 95-100

of speech. "Thou shalt not lord or king it over us," it will say, "nor over others while we live, but we 96 will with a single onset bear down thy threats and menaces, with the aid of the spear and shield-bearers, the children of sound sense, of whom it is said 'they went on to hate him because of his dreams and because of his words'" (*ibid.*). And are not all the phantoms 97 created by vanity but dreams and words? while all things which concern right living and thinking are facts and clear realities, and the former because of their falsity deserve our hatred, while the latter because they are filled full of the loveliness of truth deserve our love. Let no one then after 98 this dare to accuse these persons so rich in virtue as though they were displaying the marks of a misanthropic and unbrotherly character, but understanding that it is no man that is here judged but one of the traits or feelings that exist in every man's soul (in this case the mad craving for glory and love of vanity), let him give his approval to those who are moved by implacable loathing and enmity against a mind of this sort, and never tolerate the object of their abhorrence. For he knows for a certainty that 99 such judges could never have failed to give a sound verdict, but as their training from the first has taught them who is the true king, the true lord, they hate the thought of giving homage and honour to one who appropriates the honour due to God and calls away his suppliants to do service to himself. XV. Therefore they will boldly say: "Wilt thou indeed 100 be king and king it over us, or dost thou fail to know that we are not self-ruling but under the kingship of an immortal king, the one and only God? Wilt

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<sup>7</sup> MSS. *oikéras*, which I think might be retained.

βασιλευόμεθα; τί δέ; “κυριεύων κυριεύσεις ἡμῶν;” μὴ γὰρ οὐ δεσποζόμεθα καὶ ἔχομέν τε καὶ ἔξομεν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν κύριον; ὦ δουλεύοντες οὕτω γεγήθαμεν, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ δουλεύειν θεῷ πάντων ἄριστον, ὅσα ἐν γενέσει τετίμηται.

- 101 εὐξαίμην ἂν οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς δυνηθῆναι τοῖς γνωσθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τούτων ἐμμεῖναι βεβαίως· ὁπτήρες γὰρ καὶ κατὰσκοποι καὶ ἔφοροι πραγμάτων, οὐ σωμάτων, εἰσὶν ἀκριβοδίκαιοι,<sup>1</sup> πάντα νήφοντες τὸν αἰῶνα, ὥς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν εἰωθότων δελεάζειν
- 102 ἀπατᾶσθαι. μεθύω δὲ ἄχρι νῦν ἐγὼ καὶ ἀσαφείᾳ πολλῇ κέκρημαι καὶ βάκτρων καὶ τῶν ποδηγετησόντων ὥσπερ οἱ τυφλοὶ δέομαι· σκηριπτομένῳ<sup>2</sup> γὰρ ἐγγένοιτ’ ἂν ἴσως μήτε προσπταίειν μήτε
- 103 ὀλισθαίνειν. εἰ δέ τινες ἀνεξετάστους καὶ ἀπερίσκεπτους εἰδότες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ σπουδάζουσι<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ἐξητακόσιν ἅ χρῆ πάντα ἀκριβῶς καὶ περισκευμένως ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπισταμένοις, ἴστωσαν ὅτι δυσαναπορεύτοις βαράθροις περιπαρέντες οὐδ’ ἐπειγόμενοι<sup>4</sup> προελθεῖν ἔτι δυνή-
- 104 σονται. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐκείνοις, ὅταν μικρὸν ἀνεθῶ τῆς μέθης, οὕτως εἰμὶ ἐνσπονδος, ὥς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρόν καὶ φίλον εἶναι νομίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡττον τὸν ἐνυπνιαστήν, ὅτι γε καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, προβαλοῦμαι καὶ στυγήσω· καὶ οὐδεὶς εὖ φρονῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέμψαιτ’ ἂν με τῷ<sup>5</sup> τὰς πλειόνων<sup>6</sup> γνώμας τε καὶ ψήφους αἰὲ
- 105 νικᾶν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀμείνω βίον

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀκριβεῖς, δίκαιοι.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀ σκ(lacuna of five letters)μένω: Trin. σκίμπονος χρεῖά ἐστιν, ἡρσισμένω γὰρ.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀ σπου(lacuna of seven letters): Trin. σπουδὴν παρέχοντες.

## ON DREAMS, II. 100-105

thou indeed be lord and lord it over us? Are we not under a master, and have we not and shall we not have for ever the same lord, bondage to whom gives us more joy than his freedom does to any other?" For of all things that are held in honour in this world of creation bondage to God is the best.

So I myself would pray that I might hold firmly to 101  
their judgements, for they are the scouts, the watchers,  
the overseers of mental facts, not of material things,<sup>a</sup>  
strict in censorship, never failing in soberness, thus  
no more misled by the lures which so commonly  
deceive. But hitherto I have been as a drunken man 102  
beset by constant uncertainty, and like the blind  
I need staff and guiding hands, for had I a staff to  
lean on I might perhaps be saved from stumbling  
or slipping. But those who know themselves to be 103  
lacking in self-testing and thoughtfulness and yet do  
not take pains to follow those who have tested and  
thought out everything with care, those who know  
the road of which they themselves are ignorant, may  
be sure that they are pinned amid impassable ravines  
and with all their efforts will be unable to advance  
further. And I, when the drunken fit abates a little, 104  
am in such close alliance with them that I take their  
friends for my friends and their enemies for my  
enemies. Indeed, even in my present state I will  
reject and hate the dreamer because they hate him ;  
and no one of sense can blame me for this because  
the votes and decisions of the majority must always  
prevail. But when he changes his life 105

<sup>a</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐπιγινόμενοι.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. μετὰ.

<sup>6</sup> A πλείω (Trin. πλείους).

- μεταβάλη καὶ μηκέτ' ἐνυπνιάζεται μηδὲ ταῖς  
κεναῖς τῶν κενοδόξων φαντασίαις ἰλυσπώμενος  
κακοπαθῇ μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ σκότος καὶ πραγμάτων  
ἀδήλων καὶ ἀτεκμάρτων συντυχίας ὀνειροπολῇ,  
106 περιαναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βαθέος ὕπνου διατελῇ μὲν  
ἐγρηγορώς, ἐνάργειαν δὲ πρὸ ἀσαφείας καὶ πρὸ  
ψευδοῦς ὑπολήψεως ἀλήθειαν καὶ πρὸ νυκτὸς  
ἡμέραν καὶ φῶς πρὸ σκότους ἀποδέχεται καὶ τὴν  
μὲν γυναῖκα τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, σώματος ἡδονήν, εἰς  
αὐτὴν<sup>1</sup> εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτῆς ἀπολαῦσαι  
107 παρακαλοῦσαν ἀποστρέφεται διὰ πόθον ἐγκρατείας  
[673] | καὶ ζῆλον εὐσεβείας ἄλεκτον, ὧν δὲ ἔδοξεν ἄλλο-  
τριωθῆναι συγγενικῶν καὶ πατρῶων ἀγαθῶν μετα-  
ποιῆται πάλιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἀρετῆς ἐαυτῷ μέρος  
δικαιῶν ἀνακτᾶσθαι καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν ἐπανιῶν  
βελτιώσεσιν ὡς ἐπὶ κορυφῆς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καὶ  
τέλους ἰδρυθεὶς ἀναφθέγγεται, ὃ παθὼν ἀκριβῶς  
ἔμαθεν, ὅτι “ τοῦ θεοῦ ” ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς ἔτι  
108 τῶν εἰς γένεσιν ἡκόντων αἰσθητοῦ τὸ παράπαν, οἱ  
μὲν ἀδελφοὶ καταλλακτηρίους ποιήσονται συμ-  
βάσεις, τὸ μῖσος εἰς φιλίαν καὶ τὸ κακόνουν<sup>2</sup> εἰς  
εὖνοιαν μεταβαλόντες, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ τούτων ὁπαδὸς—  
πεῖθεσθαι γὰρ ὡς δεσπόταις οἰκέτης ἔμαθον—  
109 ἐπαινῶν οὐκ ἐπιλείψω τῆς μετανοίας ἐκείνων· εἴ  
γε καὶ Μωυσῆς ὁ ἱεροφάντης ἀξιέραστον καὶ  
ἀξιομνημόνευτον οὖσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐκ  
φθορᾶς ἀνασώζει διὰ συμβόλου τῶν ὁστέων, ἃ  
κατορωρύχθαι μέχρι τοῦ παντὸς οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν  
ἔαν (ἐν) Αἰγύπτῳ, παγχάλεπον ἡγούμενος, εἴ τι  
ἦνθησεν ἢ ψυχὴ καλόν, τοῦτ' ἑᾶσαι μαρανθῆναι  
καὶ κατακλυσθὲν ἀφανισθῆναι πλημμύραις, ἃς ὁ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτὸν.<sup>2</sup> MSS. κακὸν.

## ON DREAMS, II. 105-109

for the better and renounces his idle visions, his troublous crawling and cringing amid the vain fantasies of the vainglorious, and the dreams of night and darkness and the chance issues of things vague and obscure ; when he rises from his deep slumbering 106 to abiding wakefulness and welcomes clearness before uncertainty, truth before false supposition, day before night, light before darkness ; when moved by a yearning for continence and a vast zeal for piety he rejects bodily pleasure, the wife of the Egyptian, as she bids him come in to her and enjoy her embraces (Gen. xxxix. 7) ; when he claims the goods of his kins- 107 men and father from which he seemed to have been disinherited and holds it his duty to recover that portion of virtue which falls to his lot ; when he passes step by step from betterment to betterment and, established firmly as it were on the crowning heights and consummation of his life, utters aloud the lesson which experience had taught him so fully, " I belong to God " (Gen. l. 19), and not any longer to any sense object that has been created,—then his brethren will 108 make with him covenants of reconciliation, changing their hatred to friendship, their ill-will to good-will, and I, their follower and their servant, who have learnt to obey them as masters, will not fail to praise him for his repentance. And with good reason too, 109 since Moses the revealer preserves from destruction the story of his repentance, so worthy of love and remembrance, under the symbol of the bones which he held should not be suffered to remain buried for ever in Egypt (Ex. xiii. 19). For he deemed it a grievous shame to suffer any fair blossom of the soul to be withered or flooded and drowned by the streams

- τῶν παθῶν Αἰγύπτιος ποταμός, τὸ σῶμα, διὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ῥέων ἐνδελεχῶς ἐκδίδωσιν.
- 110 XVI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν δραγμάτων<sup>1</sup> φανείσα ὄψις ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ διάκρισις εἴρηται· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν καιρὸς ἤδη σκοπεῖν, καὶ ὡς ὄνειροκριτικῇ τέχνῃ
- 111 διαστέλλεται. “εἶδεν” οὖν φησιν “ἐνύπνιον ἕτερον καὶ διηγήσατο τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· ὥσπερ <ὁ> ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη καὶ ἔνδεκα ἀστέρες προσεκύνουν με. καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ εἶπε· τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὃ ἐνυπνιασθῆς; ἄρα γε ἐλθόντες ἐλευσόμεθα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου προσκυνῆσαι σοι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; ἐζήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἀδελφοί,
- 112 ὁ δὲ πατὴρ διετήρησε τὸ ῥῆμα.” φασὶ τοίνυν οἱ μετεωρολογικοί, τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον μέγιστον ὄντα τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν δυοκαίδεκα <ἐκ> ζῳδίων,<sup>2</sup> ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔσχε, κατηστερίσθαι, ἥλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην αἰεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰλουμένους ἕκαστον διεξέρχεσθαι τῶν ζῳδίων, οὐκ ἰσοταχεῖς,<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς καὶ χρόνοις ἀνίστοις, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα, τὴν δὲ δωδεκατημορίῳ τούτων μάλιστα, ὅπερ ἡμερῶν δυεῖν καὶ ἡμίσεος ἐστίν.
- 113 ἔδοξεν οὖν ὁ τὴν θεόπεμpton φαντασίαν ἰδὼν ὑπ’ ἀστέρων ἔνδεκα προσκυνεῖσθαι, δωδέκατον συντάττων ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ συμπλήρωσιν
- 114 κύκλου. μέμνημαι<sup>4</sup> δὲ καὶ πρότερόν τινος ἀκούσας ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἀμελῶς οὐδὲ ῥαθύμως τῷ μαθήματι προσενεχθέντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωποι μόνον δοξομανοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες καὶ περὶ πρω-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων.

<sup>2</sup> <ἐκ> is my insertion: Wend. ζῳδίοις: Mangey ζῳδίων <σημείοις>.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἰσοταχοῦς: perhaps ἰσοταχῶς.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. μέμνηται.

## ON DREAMS, II. 109-114

which the Egyptian river of passion, the body, pours forth unceasingly through the channel of all the senses.<sup>a</sup>

XVI. So much for the vision drawn from earth— 110  
the vision of the sheaves and the interpretation put upon it. It is now fitting to examine the other, and to see how the rules of dream-interpretation explain it. He saw, the text says, another dream and told it 111  
to his father and brethren, and said "it was as though the sun and the moon and the eleven stars made obeisance to me." And his father rebuked him and said, "What is this dream that thou hast dreamt? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to do obeisance to thee on the earth?" And his brothers were angry with him, but his father kept the saying in memory (Gen. xxxvii. 9-11). Well, the students of the upper world tell us that the 112  
Zodiac, the largest of the circles of heaven, is formed into constellations out of twelve signs, called *zodia* or "creatures" from which also it takes its name. The sun and the moon, they say, ever revolve along the circle and pass through each of the signs, though the two do not move at the same speed, but at unequal rates as measured in numbers, the sun taking thirty days and the moon about a twelfth of that time, that is two and a half days. He then who saw that heaven- 113  
sent vision dreamt that the eleven stars made him obeisance, thus classing himself as the twelfth to complete the circle of the zodiac.

Now, 114  
I remember once hearing a man who had applied himself to the study in no careless or indolent manner say that it is not only men who have a mad craving for glory, but the stars too have rivalry for precedence

<sup>a</sup> For the sense of §§ 105-109 *cf. De Mig.* 16-25.



115 τείων ἀμιλλώμενοι δικαιοῦσιν οἱ μείζους | ἀεὶ πρὸς  
 [674] τῶν ἐλαττόνων δορυφορεῖσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν,  
 ὅπως ἂν ἀληθείας ἢ εἰκαιολογίας ἔχῃ, παρετέον  
 τοῖς μετεωροθήραις σκοπεῖν. λέγομεν

δὲ ἡμεῖς, [ὥς] ὅτι ὁ σπουδῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ φιλονεικίας  
 ἀλόγου καὶ κενῆς δόξης ἐραστής, ἀεὶ φυσώμενος  
 ὑπ' ἀνοίας, οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους ὑπερκύπτειν ἀλλὰ  
 116 καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν ἀξιοῖ. καὶ νομίζει μὲν  
 ἑαυτοῦ χάριν τὰ πάντα γεγενῆσθαι, ἀναγκαῖον δ'  
 εἶναι δασμὸν ἕκαστον ὡς βασιλεῖ φέρειν αὐτῷ,  
 γῆν, ὕδωρ, ἀέρα, οὐρανόν· καὶ τοσαύτη τῆς εὐ-  
 ηθείας ὑπερβολῇ χρῆται, ὥστε οὐκ ἰσχύει λογί-  
 σασθαι, ὃ καὶ πᾶσι ἄφρων ἐννοηθείη, ὅτι τεχνίτης  
 οὐδεὶς ἔνεκα μέρους ποτὲ ὅλον, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ  
 ὅλου μέρος δημιουργεῖ· μέρος δὲ τοῦ παντὸς  
 ἄνθρωπος, ὥστε γεγωνῶς<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸ συμπλήρωμα τοῦ  
 κόσμου δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ συντελοίη.<sup>2</sup>

117 XVII. φλυαρίας δὲ ἄρα τοσαύτης γέμουσί τινες,  
 ὥστε ἀγανακτοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ ὁ κόσμος τοῖς βουλή-  
 μασιν αὐτῶν ἔποιτο. διὰ τοῦτο Ξέρξης

μὲν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, βουλόμενος τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
 καταπλῆξαι, μεγαλουργίας ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιεῖτο, και-

118 νουργῶν τὴν φύσιν· γῆν μὲν γὰρ μετεστοιχείου  
 καὶ θάλατταν, ἀντιδιδούς πελάγει μὲν ἡπειρον,  
 ἡπείρῳ δὲ πέλαγος, τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζευγνὺς  
 γεφύραις,<sup>3</sup> ὅρος δὲ τὸν Ἄθω ῥηγνὺς εἰς βαθεῖς  
 κόλπους, οἱ πληρούμενοι θαλάττης ὁ νέος καὶ  
 χειρόκμητος<sup>4</sup> εὐθύς πόντος ἦσαν, τὸ παλαιὸν<sup>5</sup> τῆς

119 φύσεως ἐξαλλοιωθεῖς· τὰ δὲ περίγεια, ὡς ἐδόκει,  
 θαυματουργήσας ἀνέβαινε ταῖς τετολμημέναις ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. γέγονεν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. συντελώνη.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ζευγνύσθαι φυραῖς.

## ON DREAMS, II. 114-119

and consider it right that the greater should have the lesser for their squires. How far this is true or mere 115 idle talk is a question I must leave to the investigators of the upper world.

But we say that the lover of ill-considered aims, irrational contentions and vainglory is always puffed up by folly and claims to exalt himself not only above men but above the world of nature, and thinks that all things have come into 116 being for his sake and that they must each of them, earth, water, air, heaven, pay their tribute to him as king. And so extreme is the stupidity under which he labours that he has not the reasoning power to see what even a brainless child could understand, that no craftsman makes the whole for the sake of the part, but rather the part for the sake of the whole, and that a man is a part of the all, so that as he has come into being to help to complete the universe it would be only right for him to subscribe his contribution to it. XVII. But some people we see are so brimful of folly 117 that they are aggrieved if the whole world does not follow their wishes.

Thus Xerxes, the king of the Persians, wishing to strike terror into his enemies, made a display of action on a grand scale by creating a revolution in nature ; for he converted two elements, earth into sea, and sea into earth, giving 118 dry land to the ocean and ocean in exchange to the dry land, by bridging over the Hellespont and breaking up Mount Athos into deep hollows, which filled with salt water at once formed a new and artificial sea entirely transformed from its ancient nature. And having played the conjurer, as he thought, 119 with the regions of earth he proceeded in the boldness of his schemes to mount to heaven also,

<sup>4</sup> MSS. χειρότμητος.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. τῷ παλαιῷ.

- νοίαις συνανάγων ἀσέβειαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν  
ὁ δύστηνος, ὡς τὰ ἀκίνητα κινήσων καὶ τὸν θεῖον  
στρατὸν καθαιρήσων, καί, τὸ λεγόμενον, ἀφ' ἱερᾶς  
120 ἤρχετο· τὸν γὰρ ἄριστον τῶν ἐκεῖ, τὸν ἡγεμόνα  
ἡμέρας ἥλιον, ἐτόξευεν, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀφανεῖ  
βέλει φρενοβλαβείας τιτρωσκόμενος οὐ μόνον διὰ  
τὸ ἀδυνάτων ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνοσιωτάτων ἔργων  
ἐρᾶν, ὧν καὶ θάτερον μεγάλη τῷ ἐγχειροῦντι  
121 δύσκλεια ἦν. Γερμανῶν δὲ πολυ-  
ανθρωποτάτην μοῖραν—ἀμπωτίζει<sup>1</sup> δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς  
ἢ θάλαττα—λόγος ἔχει κατὰ τὰς ἐκεῖ παλιρροίας  
ἐπιδρομὰς ὠθουμένους μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἐπανατεινο-  
μένους γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη, θέοντας ὡς στίφος πολεμίων  
122 τὸ κυματούμενον πέλαγος ὑπαντιάζειν· (οὓς)  
ἄξιον μισεῖν μὲν, ὅτι ἐναντία ὅπλα δι' ἀθεότητα  
κατὰ τῶν ἀδουλώτων τῆς φύσεως αἰρεῖσθαι  
τολμῶσι μερῶν, χλευάζειν δέ, ὅτι ἀδυνάτοις ἐγ-  
χειροῦσιν ὡς δυνατοῖς,<sup>2</sup> νομίζοντες ὡς ζῶον καὶ  
ὔδωρ κεντεῖσθαι, τιτρώσκεσθαι, κτείνεσθαι δύνα-  
σθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀλγεῖν, δεδιέναι, φόβῳ τῶν ἐπιόντων  
ἀποδιδράσκειν καὶ ὅσα ψυχῆς πάθη κατὰ τε  
123 ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀλγηδónας ἀναδέχεσθαι.  
[675] XVIII. Χθές | δ' οὐ πρῶην ἄνδρα τινὰ οἶδα  
τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν, ὅς, ἐπειδὴ<sup>3</sup> τὴν προστασίαν καὶ  
ἐπιμέλειαν εἶχεν Αἰγύπτου, τὰ πάτρια κινεῖν ἡμῶν  
διενοήθη καὶ διαφερόντως τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ  
φρικωδέστατον<sup>4</sup> περὶ τῆς ἐβδόμης ὑπάρχοντα νόμον  
καταλύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν ἡνάγκαζεν (ἐν αὐτῇ)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀμπωτίζειν.<sup>2</sup> MSS. δυνατόν.<sup>3</sup> MSS. have ἐπειδὴ before τὰ πάτρια.<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἀγιωδέστατα καὶ φρικωδέστατα (Mangey ἀγιωδέστατον).

## ON DREAMS, II. 119-123

taking, unhappy wretch, impiety as his fellow climber. He thought to remove the irremovable and to overthrow the divine host, and, to quote the proverb, he began with the "sacred line."<sup>a</sup> For he aimed his 120 arrows at the best of the heavenly bodies, the sun who rules the day, and little knew that he himself was wounded by the unseen bolt of insanity, not merely because the feats he hoped to do were impossible, but because they were utterly unholy, either of which reflects great discredit on the attempter.

And the Germans of the most thickly 121 populated part, where the sea ebbs and flows, when the flood-time comes there, try eagerly, we are told, to repel its onsets, brandishing their unsheathed swords and running like a hostile band to meet the oncoming waves.<sup>b</sup> They deserve our detestation in 122 that in their godlessness they dared to take arms to oppose the parts of nature which know no servitude. They deserve our ridicule because they attempt the impossible as though it were possible, and think that water like a living creature can be speared, wounded, killed, or again can feel pain and fear,<sup>c</sup> or, in its terror at the attack, run away, and in fact feel all the sensations of the living soul, both pleasurable and painful.

XVIII. Not long ago I knew one of the ruling class<sup>c</sup> 123 who when he had Egypt in his charge and under his authority purposed to disturb our ancestral customs and especially to do away with the law of the Seventh Day which we regard with most reverence and awe. He tried to compel men to do service to him on it and

<sup>a</sup> With *ιεράς*, *sc.* *γραμμῆς*. See App. p. 608.

<sup>b</sup> See App. pp. 608 f. <sup>c</sup> See App. p. 609.

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<sup>5</sup> <έν αὐτῇ> is my insertion: Markland proposed it as substitute for αὐτῶ.

- αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ποιεῖν παρὰ τὸ καθεστὼς ἔθος, νομίζων ἀρχὴν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκδαιτήσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων παραβάσεως, εἰ  
 124 τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ πάτριον ἀνελεῖν δυνηθεῖη. καὶ μὴθ' οὓς ἐβιάζετο ὁρῶν εἰκοντας τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι μὴτε τὴν ἄλλην πληθὺν ἡρεμοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ βαρέως καὶ τραχέως φέρουσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὥς ἐπ' ἀνδραποδισμῷ καὶ πορθήσει καὶ κατασκαφῇ πα-  
 125 τρίδος πενθοῦντάς τε καὶ κατηφοῦντας, ἡξίου λόγῳ διδάσκειν παρανομεῖν, φάσκων· εἰ πολεμίων ἔφοδος αἰφνίδιον γένοιτο ἢ κατακλυσμοῦ φορὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις παραρρήξαντος τὸ χῶμα ἢ ριπὴ πυρὸς ἢ κεραυνία φλόξ ἢ λιμὸς ἢ λοιμὸς ἢ σεισμός ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα κακὰ χειροποίητα καὶ θεήλατα, μεθ'  
 126 ἡσυχίας πάσης οἶκοι διατρίψετε; ἢ μετὰ τοῦ συνηθούς σχήματος προελεύσεσθε, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν εἴσω χεῖρα συναγαγόντες, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμπεχόνης παρὰ ταῖς λαγόσι πῆξαντες, ἵνα μηδ'  
 127 ἄκοντές τι τῶν εἰς τὸ σωθῆναι παράσχησθε; καὶ καθεδείσθε ἐν τοῖς συναγωγίοις ὑμῶν, τὸν εἰωθότα θίασον ἀγείροντες καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰς<sup>1</sup> ἱερὰς βίβλους ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ εἴ τι μὴ τρανὲς εἴη διαπτύσσοντες<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῇ πατρίῳ φιλοσοφίᾳ διὰ μακρηγορίας  
 128 ἐνευκαιροῦντές τε καὶ ἐνσχολάζοντες; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀποσεισάμενοι πάντα ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν καὶ γονέων καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων σωμάτων, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τάληθές εἰπεῖν, καὶ κτημάτων καὶ χρημάτων, ὥς μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀφα-  
 129 νισθεῖη, βοήθειαν ἀποδύσεσθε.<sup>3</sup> καὶ μὴν οὗτος αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τὰ λεχθέντα, ἔφη, πάντα εἰμί,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀσφαλεῖς τε.<sup>2</sup> MSS. διαπτύοντες.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀποδύεσθαι.

## ON DREAMS, II. 123-129

perform other actions which contravene our established custom, thinking that if he could destroy the ancestral rule of the Sabbath it would lead the way to irregularity in all other matters, and a general backsliding. And when he saw that those on whom 124 he was exercising pressure were not submitting to his orders, and that the rest of the population instead of taking the matter calmly were intensely indignant and shewed themselves as mournful and disconsolate as they would were their native city being sacked and razed, and its citizens being sold into captivity, he thought good to try to argue them into breaking the law. "Suppose," he said, "there was a sudden 125 inroad of the enemy or an inundation caused by the river rising and breaking through the dam, or a blazing conflagration or a thunderbolt or famine, or plague or earthquake, or any other trouble either of human or divine agency, will you stay at home perfectly quiet? Or will you appear in public in 126 your usual guise, with your right hand tucked inside and the left held close to the flank under the cloak lest you should even unconsciously do anything that might help to save you? And will you sit in your 127 conventicles and assemble your regular company and read in security your holy books, expounding any obscure point and in leisurely comfort discussing at length your ancestral philosophy? No, you will 128 throw all these off and gird yourselves up for the assistance of yourselves, your parents and your children, and the other persons who are nearest and dearest to you, and indeed also your chattels and wealth to save them too from annihilation. See then," he went on, "I who stand before you am 129

- τυφώς, πόλεμος, κατακλυσμός, κεραυνός, λιμηρὰ<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ λοιμώδης νόσος, ὁ τινάττων καὶ κυκῶν τὰ  
παγίως ἐστῶτα σεισμός, εἰμαρμένης ἀνάγκης οὐκ  
130 ὄνομα, ἀλλ' ἐμφανὲς ἐγγὺς ἐστῶσα δύναμις. τί  
οὖν τὸν<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα λέγοντα ἢ διανοούμενον αὐτὸ μόνον  
εἶναι φῶμεν; ἄρ' οὐκ ἐκτόπιον; ὑπερωκεάνιον μὲν  
οὖν ἢ μετακόσμιόν τι καινὸν κακόν, εἴ γε τῷ πάντα  
μακαρίῳ ὁ πάντα βαρυδαίμων ἑαυτὸν ἐξομοιοῦν  
131 ἐτόλμησεν. ὑπερθεῖτ' ἂν<sup>3</sup> οὗτος ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην  
[676] καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας βλασφημεῖν, | ὅποτε τι  
τῶν ἐλπισθέντων κατὰ τὰς ἐτησίους ὥρας ἢ<sup>4</sup> μὴ  
συνόλως ἢ μὴ ῥαδίως ἀποβαῖνοι, φλογμὸν μὲν  
θέρους, κρυμὸν δὲ [καὶ] χειμῶνος βαρὺν κατα-  
σκήπτοντος, ἔαρος δὲ καὶ μετοπώρου, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς  
εὐκαρπίαν<sup>5</sup> ἐστειρωμένου, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς νοσημάτων  
132 γενέσεις εὐτοκία χρωμένου; πάντα μὲν οὖν ἀνα-  
σείων κάλων<sup>6</sup> ἀχαλίνου στόματος καὶ κακηγόρου<sup>7</sup>  
γλώττης, ὥσπερ τὸν εἰωθότα δασμὸν οὐκ ἐνεγ-  
κόντας τοὺς ἀστέρας<sup>8</sup> αἰτιάσεται, τιμᾶσθαι μονοноῦ  
καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι δικαίων<sup>9</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανίων<sup>10</sup>  
τὰπίγεια καὶ περιττότερον ἑαυτόν, ὅσω καὶ τῶν  
ἄλλων ἄνθρωπος ὢν διενηνοχέαι ζώων δοκεῖ.  
133 XIX. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ κορυφαῖοι τῆς κενῆς ἡμῖν  
δόξης γράφονται, τοὺς δὲ χορευτὰς ἐν μέρει κατ'  
αὐτοὺς<sup>11</sup> ἴδωμεν. οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀεὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. λοιμύρα.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὑπερθ . . . αν.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἦν.<sup>4</sup> MSS. εἰ.<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἦρος ἀκαρπίαν.<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἀνασελεῖν καλὸν.<sup>7</sup> MSS. κατηγόρου.<sup>8</sup> MSS. δ' ἐτέρας.<sup>9</sup> MSS. δικαίων.<sup>10</sup> MSS. οὐρανῶν.<sup>11</sup> MSS. καθ' αὐτοὺς.<sup>a</sup> Or "between the worlds." See on *De Som.* i. 184.

## ON DREAMS, II. 129-133

all the things I have named. I am the whirlwind, the war, the deluge, the lightning, the plague of famine or disease, the earthquake which shakes and confounds what was firm and stable ; I am constraining destiny, not its name but its power, visible to your eyes and standing at your side." What shall we say 130 of one who says or even merely thinks these things ? Shall we not call him an evil thing hitherto unknown : a creature of a strange land or rather one from beyond the ocean and the universe<sup>a</sup>—he who dared to liken to the All-blessed his all-miserable self ? Would he 131 delay to utter blasphemies against the sun, moon and the other stars, if what he hoped for at each season of the year did not happen at all or only grudgingly, if the summer<sup>b</sup> visited him with scorching heat or the winter<sup>b</sup> with a terrible frost, if the spring failed in its fruit-bearing or the autumn shewed fertility in breeding diseases ? Nay, he will loose 132 every reef of his unbridled mouth and scurrilous tongue and accuse the stars of not paying their regular tribute, and scarce refrain from demanding that honour and homage be paid by the things of heaven to the things of earth, and to himself more abundantly inasmuch as being a man he conceives himself to have been made superior to other living creatures.

XIX. Such is our description of the leaders of vain- 133 glory : let us now consider separately the rank and file which follow them. They are for ever plotting

<sup>b</sup> Wend. notes that Cohn wished to transpose "summer" and "winter." Though this may at first sight seem more likely, I think Wend. is right in following the mss. Railing at extremes of the natural is more impious than railing at the unnatural, and the words about spring and autumn bear this out.



- ἀσκηταῖς ἀρετῆς· οὓς ὅταν ἴδωσι σπουδάζοντας τὸν αὐτῶν βίον ἀληθείᾳ ἀδόλῳ φαιδρύνειν καὶ ὡς πρὸς σεληνιακὸν ἢ τὸ ἀφ' ἡλίου καθαρὸν φέγγος αὐγάζειν, ἀπατῶντες<sup>1</sup> ἢ βιαζόμενοι κωλύουσιν, εἰς τὸν ἀσεβῶν ἀνήλιον χώρον εἰσελαύνοντες, ὃν ἐπέχουσι νυξ βαθεῖα καὶ σκότος ἀτελεύτητον καὶ εἰδῶλων καὶ φασμάτων καὶ ὄνειράτων ἔθνη<sup>2</sup> μυρία, κακεῖ κατα-
- 134 δύσαντες προσκυνεῖν ὡς δεσπότης ἀναγκάζουσι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ φρονήσεως ἀσκητὴν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἥλιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ μὲν<sup>3</sup> τοῖς σώμασιν, ὁ δὲ τοῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν πράγμασιν ἐμπαρέχει φῶς, τὴν δὲ παιδείαν, ἣ κέχρηται, σελήνην—ἐν νυκτὶ γὰρ ἡ ἑκατέρας εἰλικρινεστάτη καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτη χρῆσις ἐστίν,—ἀδελφοὺς δὲ τοὺς παιδείας καὶ ἀσκητικῆς ψυχῆς <ὡς> ἂν ἐγγόνους ἀστείους λόγους, οὓς πάντας ὀρθὴν ἀτραπὸν εὐθύνοντας τοῦ βίου παλαίσμασι πολυτρόποις καὶ πολυμηχάνοις αὐχενίζοντες ἐκτραχηλίζειν καὶ καταρράττειν ὑποσκελίζοντες<sup>4</sup> οἱ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς μήτε λέγειν μήτε φρονεῖν ἐγνωκότες
- 135 ἀξιοῦσι. διὸ καὶ ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ τοιούτῳ τιθασῶς<sup>5</sup> ὁ πατήρ, οὐκ Ἰακώβ, ἀλλ' ὁ καὶ τούτου πρεσβύτερος ὀρθὸς λόγος φάσκων· “τί τὸ ἐνύπνιον
- 136 τοῦτο ἐνυπνιασθῆς;” ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐνύπνιον εἶδες· ἢ ὑπέλαβες, ὅτι τὰ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀνθρωπείων ἀνάγκῃ δοῦλα ἔσται καὶ ὑπήκοα τὰ ἄρχοντα καί, τὸ ἔτι παραδοξότερον, οὐκ ἄλλων ὑπήκοα ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπαντῶντες.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἔθνη.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἢ . . . ἐπειδήπερ . . . μὲν <Trin. οἱ μὲν>.<sup>4</sup> MSS. ὑποσκελίζοντας.<sup>5</sup> MSS. τιθάσω.<sup>a</sup> See note on *Quis Rerum* 242.<sup>b</sup> Logically this should be “the stars.”

mischievous and evil against the practisers of virtue, and when they see them zealous to brighten their life with the light of guileless truth and irradiate it with moonbeams as it were and with pure sunlight, they hinder them by deceit or violence and drive them down to the sunless region of the impious where deep night reigns and endless darkness, and innumerable tribes of spectres and phantoms and dream-illusions. And when they have brought them to their setting there they compel them to do obeisance to themselves as masters. For we understand by the sun the <sup>134</sup> practiser of wisdom, since it provides light for material things even as the other does for the immaterial things of the soul.<sup>a</sup> And by the moon we understand the instruction which serves the wise, for both render a service most pure and useful in lightening a night, while the excellent thoughts and reasonings, the children as it were of instruction and the practising soul, are the brethren.<sup>b</sup> These it is who rule aright the straight path of life, but those who purpose to say nothing and think nothing that is wholesome deem well to ply them all with wrestling-grips of manifold turns and twists, with the throat-clutch which dislocates the neck, or the leg-fall which brings the wrestler with a thud to the ground.

And therefore one of this sort is gently <sup>135</sup> rebuked by his father, not Jacob, but by that right reason which is higher and greater than Jacob. "What is this dream which you dreamt?" (Gen. xxxvii. 10), he says. "You did not dream," he <sup>136</sup> means, "or did you suppose that the naturally free would be forced into slavery to the human, the powers which rule into subjection and, more unreasonable still, made subject not to some others but

τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὐδ' ἑτέρων δοῦλα ἀλλὰ τῶν  
 δουλευόντων; εἰ μὴ ἄρα κράτει<sup>1</sup> θεοῦ τοῦ μόνου  
 πάντα δυνατοῦ, ᾧ καὶ τὰ ἀκίνητα κινεῖν καὶ τὰ  
 φορούμενα θέμις ἰδρύσασθαι, μεταβολὴ τῶν καθ-  
 137 εστῶτων γένοιτο πρὸς τάναντία. | ἐπεὶ τίνα ἔξει  
 [677] λόγον τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶν τῷ τὴν καθ'  
 ὕπνον φαντασίαν ἰδόντι; μὴ γὰρ ἐκὼν εἶδον αὐτήν;  
 ἐρεῖ, τί μοι τὰ τῶν ἐκ προνοίας ἡδικοκώτων ἐπάγεις<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐγκλήματα; τὸ προσπεσὸν ἔξωθεν καὶ πληξάν μου  
 138 τὴν διάνοιαν αἰφνίδιον ἄκοντος διηγησάμην. ἀλλὰ  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι περὶ ὀνείρατος ὁ παρὼν λόγος, ἀλλὰ  
 περὶ πραγμάτων ἐοικώτων ἐνυπνίοις· ἃ τοῖς μὴ λίαν  
 κεκαθαρμένοις μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ περιμάχητα  
 εἶναι δοκεῖ, μικρὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀμυδρὰ καὶ χλεύης  
 ἐπάξια παρ' ἀδεκάστοις<sup>4</sup> ἀληθείας βραβευταῖς.  
 139 XX. Ἄρ' οὖν, φησίν, ἐλεύσομαι μὲν  
 <ὁ> ὀρθὸς λόγος, ἐγώ, ἀφίξεται δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ  
 φιλομαθοῦς θιάσου ψυχῆς<sup>5</sup> μήτηρ ὁμοῦ καὶ τροφός,  
 ἀρετῶσα παιδεία, συντενοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφοτέρων  
 ἡμῶν ἔγγονοι καὶ στάντες ἀντικρὺς οὕτω κατὰ  
 στοίχον ἐν κόσμῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξάραντες προσ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. κρατεῖν.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὀρίζεσθαι.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπάγης.<sup>4</sup> MSS. παρὰ δὲ ἐκάστοις.<sup>5</sup> MSS. ψύχη which Wend. brackets. Mangey on the other hand would read ψυχῆς and bracket θιάσου. But the latter is evidently needed to represent the brothers, and that the δυνάμεις should be called the θίασος ψυχῆς seems to me quite natural.<sup>a</sup> The thought seems to be that Jacob's question means "it was no dream but a spiritual delusion." If it was a

## ON DREAMS, II. 136-139

to those whom they rule, and slaves to none but those who themselves are in slavery? "<sup>a</sup> That could only be if <sup>b</sup> by the power of God who alone can do all things, whose right it is to move the immovable and to make stable the inconstant, the present state of things should be changed to its opposite. Nay, no 137 dream! for what sense would there be in rebuking or showing anger to one who has seen an illusion in his sleep? "Was it of my free will that I saw it?" he would say. "Why charge me as you charge those who have deliberately gone wrong? I did but tell you what came upon me from without and struck my mind suddenly through no action of my own." But the fact is that we are not concerned here with 138 a dream, but with things that resemble dreams: things which seem great and brilliant and desirable to those who are not very well purified, but are small and dull and ridiculous in the eyes of uncorrupted judges of truth.

XX. What he means is 139 this: "Shall I right reason come: shall fruitful instruction the mother and nurse of the soul-company that yearns for knowledge come too, shall the children of us two press forward, and shall we all standing straight opposite ranged in order with lifted hands

dream no blame would attach (§ 137). I have therefore put a colon, as Mangey, after *εἶδες*, instead of a mark of interrogation as Wend. The question form, however, in the rest of the sentence does not fit in very well. I suggest οὐκ εἶδες <μᾶλλον> ἢ ἐπέλαβες, a favourite form with Philo for οὐκ . . . ἀλλά.

<sup>b</sup> The *εἰ μή* clause is connected with *παράδοξότερον*. "It would only fail to be paradoxical, if" etc.

- 140 ευξώμεθα τῦφον; πρότερον ὑφέντες,<sup>1</sup> εἴτα καταβαλόντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος ποτνιασθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν ἐπιχειρήσωμεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπιλάμψαι ποτὲ τούτοις γινομένοις ἥλιος, ἐπεὶ<sup>2</sup> βαθὺ μὲν σκότος κακοῖς, τηλαυγὲς δὲ φῶς ἀγαθοῖς ἐφαρμόζει. τί δ' ἂν γένοιτο μείζον κακὸν ἢ τὸν πλαστὸν καὶ φένακα τῦφον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπλάστου καὶ ἀψευδοῦς ἀτυφίας ἐπαινέσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι;
- 141 Παγκάλως δὲ προσδιέσταλται<sup>3</sup> τὸ “διετήρησεν ὁ πατήρ τὸ ῥῆμα”. ψυχῆς γὰρ οὐ νεωτέρας οὐδὲ ἀγόνου καὶ ἐστερωμένης, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πρεσβυτέρας καὶ γεννᾶν ἐπισταμένης ἔργον ἐστὶ συζῆν εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄδραστον καὶ ἀνίκητον τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος κατεπτηχέναι καὶ περιαθρεῖν ἐν κύκλῳ, τί ἄρα
- 142 ἀποβήσεται τὸ τέλος αὐτῇ. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μωυσέως ἀδελφὴν—ἐλπὶς δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀλληγορικοῖς ὀνομάζεται—φασὶν ἀποσκοπεῖν<sup>4</sup> μακρόθεν οἱ χρησμοί, πρὸς τὸ τοῦ βίου δήπου τέλος ἐμβλέπουσαν, ἵνα αἴσιον ἀπαντήσῃ, τοῦ τελεσφόρου κατα-
- 143 πέμψαντος αὐτὸ<sup>5</sup> ἄνωθεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ. πολλοὶ γὰρ πολλάκις πλωτὰ μεγάλα<sup>6</sup> διαβαλόντες<sup>7</sup> καὶ μακρόν

<sup>1</sup> mss. ἀφέντες, which Wend. retains. For the punctuation and meaning see note a below.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἐπὶ.

<sup>3</sup> mss. προδιέσταλται.

<sup>4</sup> mss. ἀποσκοπεύειν.

<sup>5</sup> mss. αὐτῷ.

<sup>6</sup> So mss.: Mangey and Wend. ἀπλωτα πελάγη, cf. § 180. The change seems to me unnecessary. It is true that I find no example of πλωτὰ as a substantive, but the sense is better. Philo is speaking of what frequently happens.

<sup>7</sup> mss. διαλαβόντες.

<sup>a</sup> Wendland and Mangey punctuate τῦφον πρότερον ἀφ- (Mangey ὑφέντες, i.e. “casting away our former pride.” This seems to me impossible in view of the use of τῦφος

address our prayers to vanity? Shall we first bow <sup>a</sup> 140 and then cast ourselves to the ground in supplication and obeisance?" No, may the sun never shine on these happenings, since deep darkness befits things evil and bright light the good, and what greater evil could there be than that vanity the fictitious and deceiver should receive praise and admiration, usurping the place of its opposite, simplicity in whom there is no fiction or falsity.

There is a further excellent lesson in the words, 141 "The father retained the saying" (Gen. xxxvii. 11). For surely it is the business of a soul which is no youngster nor barren nor sterile but verily an elder and skilled in parenthood, to take caution for its life-mate, to despise nothing at all but to crouch in awe before the power of God which none can evade or defeat, and to look with circumspection to see what end shall befall it. And so the oracles say that the 142 sister of Moses, to whom we who deal in allegory give the name of "Hope," "spied out from a distance" (Ex. ii. 4), looking doubtless to the consummation of life, that it may meet us with good auspice sent down from high heaven by the Consummator. For many a time and to many has it happened that 143 they have crossed wide spaces of navigable waters

throughout. To cast away *τῦφος* in Philo's sense would be a worthy action, not as here unworthy. Moreover in § 140 it is clearly indicated as the recipient of misplaced homage. I feel no doubt that *τῦφον* is the object of *προσευξώμεθα*. As I have translated it, there are three stages: (1) standing with uplifted hands; (2) bowing, (3) falling prostrate, the last representing the LXX *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν*. But I should like clearer authority for *ὑφεῖναι ἑαυτούς* = "to bow," and the use of *πρότερον* for *πρῶτον* may seem strange, but *cf. De Mos. ii. 49 and 184*. Still the considerations mentioned above against the other interpretation seem to me overwhelming. See also App. p. 609.

- πλοῦν οὐρίοις πνεύμασιν ἀκίνδυνοι παραπεμφθέντες  
 ἐν αὐτοῖς λιμέσιν ἐξαίφνης ἐναυάγησαν, μέλλοντες  
 144 ἤδη προσορμίζεσθαι. μυρίοι<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ  
 πολυετεῖς πολέμους ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλόντες καὶ ἄτρωτοι  
 διατελέσαντες, ὡς μὴδ' ἐπιφάνειαν ἄκραν νυχθῆναι,<sup>2</sup>  
 [678] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ | πανηγύρεως κοινοδήμου καὶ  
 δημοτελοῦς ἐορτῆς<sup>3</sup> τελεῖν \* \* \*<sup>4</sup> ὁλοκλήροις καὶ  
 παντελέσι, μεθ' ἱλαρᾶς ἐπιστρέψαντες εὐθυμίας ἐν  
 ταῖς ἰδίαις ὑφ' ὧν ἦκιστ' ἐχρῆν ἐπεβουλευθήσαν  
 οἰκίαις, τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦτο, "βόες ἐπὶ φάτνῃ"<sup>5</sup>  
 145 σφαγέντες. XXI. ὥσπερ δὴ ταῦτα ἀπροσδόκητοι  
 καὶ ἀτέκμαρτοι συντυχίαι κατασκήπτειν<sup>6</sup> φιλοῦσιν,  
 οὕτω καὶ τὰς περὶ ψυχὴν δυνάμεις ἀντρωθοῦσι πρὸς  
 τὰναντία καὶ ἀντιμετακλίνουσιν, ἣν οἰαί τε' ὦσι,  
 καὶ ἀνατρέψαι βιάζονται. τίς γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα  
 146 τοῦ βίου παρελθὼν ἄπτωτος ἔμεινε; τίς δ' οὐχ  
 ὑπεσκελίσθη; εὐδαίμων δ' ὁ μὴ πολλάκις. τίνι  
 δ' οὐκ ἐφήδρευεν ἡ τύχη, διαπνέουσα καὶ συλ-  
 λεγομένη ῥώμην, ἵνα συμπλακείσα εὐθὺς ἐξαρπάσῃ,  
 147 πρὶν φθάσαι τὸν ἀντίπαλον κονίσσασθαι; οὐκ ἤδη<sup>8</sup>  
 τινὰς ἴσμεν ἐκ παίδων εἰς γῆρας ἀφιγμένους, οἱ  
 μηδεμιᾶς ἐπήσθοντο<sup>9</sup> ταραχῆς εἴτε δι' εὐμοιρίαν<sup>10</sup>  
 φύσεως εἴτε διὰ τὴν τῶν τρεφόντων καὶ παιδευ-  
 όντων ἐπιμέλειαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα, βαθείας δ'  
 εἰρήνης ἀναπλησθέντας τῆς<sup>11</sup> (ἐν) ἑαυτοῖς, ἣ πρὸς  
 ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη, τῆς κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀρχέτυ-  
 πον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' εὐδαίμονας νομισθέντας, ὅτι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. μυρίους.<sup>2</sup> MSS. μιχθῆναι.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐορτὰς.<sup>4</sup> A lacuna of ten letters. I have translated Mangey's μέλεσιν for τελεῖν and Wendland's suggestion of ἐπανελεθεῖν for the lacuna. τελεῖν, however (intransitive), = "end up" may be genuine.<sup>5</sup> MSS. φάτνης.<sup>6</sup> MSS. κατασκάπτειν.<sup>7</sup> MSS. ἢ οἰοί τε.<sup>8</sup> MSS. εἰ δὴ.

## ON DREAMS, II. 143-147

and passed a long voyage in safety escorted by favourable breezes, and then in the harbour itself have suddenly been shipwrecked just when they were on the point to cast anchor. Multitudes, too, have 144 fought manfully for years in cruel warfare and remained unwounded without even a scratch or a pinprick : they have returned in mirth and in gladness as though war were a public festival and a civic banquet, without a limb missing or unsound, and then in their own homes have been conspired against by those who should have been the last to do such a deed and slaughtered as the saying goes like " oxen at the stall." <sup>a</sup> XXI. And just as sudden and un- 145 expected evils are wont to bring these outward afflictions upon us, so too they push the soul's faculties in the opposite direction or deflect them to a side course if they can, or seek violently to overturn them. For who that has entered the arena of life remains without a fall ? Who has never been tripped up and 146 thrown ? Happy he who has fallen but seldom. Has there been any for whom fortune was not ever lying in wait, taking breath and collecting her strength, to grip him in her arms and carry him off before he can prepare to meet her ? Do we not know by 147 experience of men who have passed from childhood to old age without feeling any disturbance of soul, because nature has so blessed them, or through the care of those who rear and train them or through both—men full of the profound inward peace which is the only true peace of which the peace of cities is but a copy—men who have therefore been held

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* iv. 535 (of the death of Agamemnon).

<sup>9</sup> MSS. *ἐπείθοντο*.

<sup>10</sup> MSS. *εὐμάρειαν*.

<sup>11</sup> MSS. *τῇν*.



- ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> τῶν παθῶν ἀναρριπιζόμενον ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον, ἀργαλεώτατον ὄντα πολέμων, οὐδ' ὄναρ ἐπήσθοντο, εἴτ' ἐν αὐταῖς τοῦ βίου ταῖς δυσμαῖς ἐξοκείλαντάς τε καὶ ναυαγήσαντας ἢ περὶ γλῶτταν ἄθυρον ἢ περὶ γαστέρα ἀπληστον ἢ περὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπογαστρίων
- 148 ἀκράτορα λεγνείαν; οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν μειρακιώδη τῶν ἀσώτων, ἄτιμον, ἀποκήρυκτον, αἰσχρὸν βίον ἐζήλωσαν “ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ,” οἱ δὲ τὸν πανούργον καὶ συκοφάντην καὶ ῥαδιουργόν, ἀπαρχόμενοι φιλοπραγμοσύνης, ὅτε εἰκὸς ἦν ἤδη καὶ παλαιὰν οὖσαν
- 149 καταλῦσαι. διὸ χρή τὸν θεὸν ποτινῆσθαι καὶ λιπαρῶς ἱκετεύειν, ὅπως τὸ ἐπίκηρον ἡμῶν γένος μὴ παρέλθῃ, κελεύσῃ δὲ διαιωνίζῃ αὐτοῦ τὸν σωτήριον ἔλεον· χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἰρήνης ἀκράτου
- 150 γευσασμένους κωλυθῆναι κορεσθῆναι. XXII. ἀλλὰ φέρε, δΐψης κουφότερόν ἐστι κακὸν ὁ λιμὸς οὗτος, ἔρωτα καὶ πόθον ἔχων παρηγοροῦντας. ὅταν δὲ ἀφ' ἐτέρας πηγῆς, ἥς θολερὸν καὶ νοσερὸν τὸ νᾶμα, διὰ τὸν <τοῦ> πιεῖν ἡμερον ἐμφορεῖσθαι δέῃ, τότε ἀνάγκη γλυκυπίκρου πληρουμένους<sup>2</sup> ἡδονῆς ἐν ἀβιώτῳ βίῳ διαζῆν, τοῖς βλαβεροῖς ὡς ὠφελίμοις ἐπιτρέχοντας ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συμφέροντος.
- 151 ἡ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἀνιανοτάτη φορὰ γίνεται τούτων, ἐπειδὰν αἱ ἄλογοι δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθέμεναι
- 152 ταῖς τοῦ λογισμοῦ κρατήσωσιν. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἢ [679] βουκόλια | βουκόλοις ἢ ποιμέσι ποίμνια ἢ αἰπόλοις

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀπὸ.<sup>2</sup> MSS. πληρουμένης.<sup>a</sup> II. xxii. 60 and elsewhere.<sup>b</sup> The thought seems to be that the unsatisfied yearning for the peace which we have lost is a less evil than the desire for pleasure, because the very yearning has something com-

## ON DREAMS, II. 147-152

happy because they have never known even in their dreams the intestine war kindled by passion, the cruellest of wars—and then at the very eventide of life they have been wrecked on the rock of an unlocked tongue or insatiate greed of belly, or in uncontrolled lasciviousness of the lower-lying parts. For some “on the threshold of old age”<sup>a</sup> affect the 148 life of prodigal youth, a life dishonoured, abandoned, shamed. Others affect a life of knavery, slander and roguery, starting on their restless course just when, were it an old habit, we should expect them to discard it.

And therefore we should earnestly 149 entreat and supplicate God that He should not pass by our perishing race but charge His saving mercy to remain with us to the end, for it is a grievous thing that when we have tasted peace in its purity we should be hindered from taking our fill of it. XXII. And yet this hunger<sup>b</sup> for peace, assuaged as it is by 150 yearning and desire, is a lighter ill than thirst; but when in our eagerness to quench our thirst we have to drink of another fountain whose water is muddy and noisome, we must needs, replete with bitter-sweet pleasure, lead the life which is not worth living, pursuing the harmful as though it were profitable in our ignorance of our own interest. And the stream of 151 these evils becomes most grievous when the unreasoning forces of the soul attack and overpower the forces of reason. Whilst the herd obeys its 152 herdsman, or the flocks of sheep or goats obey the

forting in it. But it is strange that these two should be put in antithesis as “hunger” and “thirst,” particularly as ἀκράτου in the previous sentence and ἑτέρας πηγῆς in this suggest that the λιμός includes thirst as well as hunger, cf. *De Ebr.* 148. I suspect that διψῆς is a gloss or interpolation. If so, translate λιμός by “famine.”

- αἰπόλια πειθαρχεῖ, τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀγέλας κατορθοῦνται· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀσθενέστεροι τῶν θρεμμάτων οἱ ἐπιστατοῦντες ἀγελάρχει γίνωνται, πλημμελεῖται τὰ πάντα καὶ συμβαίνει ἀταξία μὲν ἐκ τάξεως, ἀκόσμία δ' ἐξ εὐκοσμίας, ταραχή δ' ἐξ εὐσταθείας καὶ σύγχυσις ἐκ διακρίσεως, ἅτε μηδεμιᾶς ἔτι νομίμου καθεστῶσης ἐπιστασίας· εἰ γὰρ ἦν, ἤδη καθήρητο.
- 153 τί οὖν; οὐκ οἰόμεθα καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς θρεμμάτων μὲν ἀγέλην εἶναι, παρόσον ἀποτέμνηται ψυχὴν<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἄλογον στίφος, ἀγελάρχην δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν; ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν ἔρρωταί τε καὶ ἰκανὸς ἀγελαρχεῖν ἔστιν, ἐνδίκως ἅπαντα<sup>2</sup> καὶ συμφερόντως ἐπιτελεῖται.
- 154 ὅταν δὲ ἀσθενεία τις ἐπιγένηται τῷ βασιλεῖ, συγκαμνείν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον· καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα ἡλευθερώσθαι δοκεῖ, τότε μάλιστα γίνεται ἐτοιμότατον ἄθλον κείμενον τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτὸ μόνον κονίσασθαι. πέφυκε γὰρ ἀναρχία μὲν ἐπίβουλον, ἀρχὴ δ' εἶναι σωτήριον, καὶ μάλισθ' ἡ νόμος καὶ δίκη τετίμηται· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ σὺν λόγῳ.
- 155 XXIII. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς κενῆς δόξης ὀνειράτα ὦδε ἡκριβώσθω· τὰ δὲ τῆς γαστριμαργίας εἶδη πόσις τε καὶ βρώσις, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν οὐκ (ἀ)ποικίλων,<sup>3</sup> τῇ δὲ μυρίων ὅσων ἡδυσμάτων καὶ παραρτυμάτων χρεία. ταῦτα μέντοι δυσὶ φροντισταῖς ἐπανατίθεται, τὰ μὲν τῆς περιέργου πόσεως ἀρχαιονοχόῳ, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἀνθηροτέρας<sup>4</sup> ἐδωδῆς ἀρχαιοποιοῦ. σφόδρα δ' ἐξητασμένως μιᾷ νυκτὶ φαντασιούμενοι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> My correction for ms. ψυχῆς. I understand ἀποτέμνομαι to be used as in *De Cher.* 4 ἦν ἀποτέμνηται μαθηματική, and ψυχή, as so often, in its lower sense. Wend. retains ψυχῆς and suggests <λόγον> ἐκτέμνηται.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ἔχοντα.

<sup>3</sup> My correction: Wend. οὐ ποικίλων: mss. οὐ ποικίλα. This

shepherd or goatherd, all goes well with them ; but, when the controlling herdsmen prove weaker than their charges, everything goes awry. Arrangement gives way to disarrangement, order to disorder, steadiness to disturbance, organization to confusion, since the lawful control no longer subsists. For if it ever existed it is now destroyed. What follows ? 153 Must we not believe that, since the troop of unreason has made the soul its province, we have within ourselves a herd of brute cattle and a herdsman too, the ruling mind ? But while the mind is strong and capable of playing the herdsman, all things are managed with justice and profit ; but when weakness 154 befalls the king, the subject element must suffer also, and it is just when the victim thinks he is most at liberty that he becomes the easiest of prizes, which whoso would win needs but little preparation for the contest. For it is the nature of anarchy to plot mischief and of government to bring salvation, and chiefly so where law and justice are honoured, and that means government based on reason.

XXIII. Here we may conclude our close study of 155 the dreams of vainglory. As for gluttony it has two forms—drinking and eating, and the spicings and the flavourings needed are by no means simple in the former, but innumerable in the latter. These are entrusted to two caretakers : the liquor treated with nicety to a chief butler, the more elaborate edibles to a chief baker. There is a carefully considered mean- 156 ing in describing the dreams as appearing to both

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is difficult to reconcile with *περιέργου* below, and still more inconsistent with *οἶνων . . . παμποικίλους κράσεις* in § 48.

<sup>4</sup> So mss. : Wend. *ἀναγκαιότερας*, quite needlessly I think. L. & S. 1927 quote *δειπναρίον ἀνθηρόν* from Diphilus.

- ονείρους εισάγονται· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν χρεῖαν  
 σπεύδουσιν ἀμφοτέροι, τροφὴν οὐχ ἀπλήν, ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ τέρψεως εὐτρεπιζόμενοι. καὶ  
 ἑκάτερος μὲν περὶ τροφῆς ἡμισυ πονεῖται, ἀμφό-  
 157 τeroι δὲ περὶ πᾶσαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ θάτερον μέρος  
 ὁλκὸν θατέρου· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φαγόντες εὐθύς ὀρέγον-  
 ται ποτοῦ καὶ αὐτίκα ἐδωδῆς οἱ πιόντες· ὥστε  
 οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρόνον τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς  
 158 φαντασίας ἀμφοτέροις ἀναγεγράφθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 ἀρχαιονοχόος οἰνοφλυγίαν, ὁ δὲ ἀρχισιτοποιὸς  
 λαιμαργίαν ἔλαχε. φαντασιοῦται δὲ ἑκάτερος τὰ  
 οἰκεῖα, ὁ μὲν οἶνον καὶ τὸ γεννητικὸν οἴνου φυτόν,  
 ἄμπελον, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ κανῶν διακειμένους ἐκκεκαθ-  
 159 αρμένους ἄρτους καὶ κανηφοροῦντα ἑαυτόν. ἀρμότ-  
 τον δὲ ἂν εἴη πρότερον τὸ πρότερον ἐξετάζειν ὄναρ,  
 ἔστι δὲ τοιόνδε· “ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου ἦν ἄμπελος  
 ἐναντίον μου· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ τρεῖς πυθμένες καὶ  
 αὐτὴ θάλλουσα ἀνενηνοχυῖα βλαστούς· πέπειροι  
 βότρυες σταφυλῆς. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον Φαραὼ ἐν τῇ  
 [680] χειρί μου· | καὶ ἔλαβον τὴν σταφυλὴν καὶ ἐξέθλιψα  
 αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ ἔδωκα τὸ ποτήριον  
 160 εἰς τὰς χεῖρας Φαραώ.” θαυμασίως γε  
 προανεφθέγγατο καὶ ἀψευδῶς ἔχει τὸ “ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ  
 μου.” τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ μὴ τὴν δι' οἴνου μέθην  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν δι' ἀφροσύνης<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτηδεύων, ὀρθότητι  
 καὶ ἐγρηγόρσει δυσχεραίνων, ὥσπερ οἱ κοιμώμενοι  
 καταβέβληται καὶ παρῆται καὶ καταμέμυκε τὰ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ὄμματα, οὐδέν οὔθ' ὁρᾶν οὔτ' ἀκούειν τῶν  
 161 θεάς καὶ ἀκοῆς ἀξίων οἶός τε ὢν· ἡττημένος δὲ  
 τυφλὴν καὶ ἀχειραγώγητον, οὐχ ὁδόν, ἀλλ' ἀνοδίαν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. διὰ σωφροσύνης.

## ON DREAMS, II. 156-161

these in a single night. They both aim at serving the same need, for it is not simple nutrition which they prepare but nutrition accompanied with pleasure and delight. And though the labour of each deals with but a half of nutrition they are both concerned with the whole : each half attracts the other, for after 157 eating men at once desire to drink and after drinking no less quickly to eat, and this is one of the chief reasons for assigning the same time to the dreams of both. Now the province of the chief butler is drunken- 158 ness and of the chief baker gluttony. Each in his vision sees what fits his trade, wine and the parent plant of wine, the vine, in the first case, in the second loaves of the finest meal disposed on baskets which the baker saw himself carrying (Gen. xl. 16, 17). It 159 would be well to examine the former dream first. It runs as follows : " In my sleep there was a vine over against me, and on the vine were three stalks,<sup>a</sup> and itself was blossoming having put forth shoots. The grapes in the cluster were ripe, and Pharaoh's cup was in my hand, and I took the cluster and squeezed it into the cup and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand " (Gen. xl. 9-11). The prefacing 160 with the words " in my sleep " is as striking as the words are true. For indeed he who gives way to the intoxication which is of folly rather than of wine bears a grudge against upright standing and wakefulness, and lies prostrate and sprawling like sleepers with the eyes of his soul closed, unable to see or hear aught that is worth seeing or hearing. And thus 161 brought low, as he passes through life he finds no road but a pathless tract where neither eye nor hand

<sup>a</sup> Or "roots," as Philo for the purpose of his allegory takes it in § 195.

- τοῦ βίου διεξέρχεται, βάτοις καὶ τριβόλοις περι-  
πειρόμενος, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν κυλιόμενος  
καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιφερόμενος, ὡς ἐκείνους τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν  
162 οἰκτρῶς διαφθείρειν. ὁ δὲ βαθὺς καὶ διωλύγιος  
ὑπνος, ᾧ πᾶς κατέχεται φαῦλος, τὰς μὲν ἀληθεῖς  
καταλήψεις ἀφαιρεῖται, ψευδῶν δὲ εἰδώλων καὶ  
ἄβεβαίων φαντασμάτων ἀναπίμπλησι τὴν διάνοιαν,  
τὰ ὑπαίτια (ὡς) ἐπαινετὰ ἀναπείθων ἀποδέχεσθαι.  
καὶ γὰρ νυνὶ λύπην ὡς χαρὰν ὄνειροπολεῖ καὶ οὐκ  
αἰσθάνεται, ὅτι τὸ ἀφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ παραπαίειν  
163 \* \* \* φυτόν,<sup>1</sup> ἄμπελον, ὄρα. “ἦν” γάρ φησιν  
“ἄμπελος ἐναντίον μου,” τὸ ποθοῦμενον τῷ  
ποθοῦντι, κακία κακῷ· ἦν καθ' ἑαυτῶν λεληθάμεν  
οἱ ἀνόητοι γεωργοῦντες, ἥς τὸν καρπὸν ἐσθίομέν τε  
καὶ πίνομεν εἰς ἐκάτερον τροφῆς κατατάττοντες  
εἶδος, ἥς ὡς ἔοικεν οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμισείας τῆς βλάβης  
ἄλλ' ἀρτίου καὶ ὀλοκλήρου καὶ παντελοῦς<sup>2</sup> μετα-  
ποιούμεθα.
- 164 XXIV. Προσῆκει δὲ μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἀμ-  
πέλιον μέθυσμα τοὺς χρησομένους ἅπαντας οὐχ  
ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐναντίως διατίθῃσιν, ὡς  
τοὺς μὲν ἀμείνους, τοὺς δὲ χείρους ἑαυτῶν ἐξετά-  
165 ζεσθαι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸ σύννον καὶ σκυθρωπὸν  
ἐπανῆκε καὶ τὰς φροντίδας ἐχάλασεν ὀργὰς τε  
καὶ λύπας ἐπράυνε τά τε ἦθη πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς  
ἐπαιδαγώγησε καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυταῖς ἵλεως  
ἐποίησε· τῶν δὲ ἔμπαλιν τοὺς θυμοὺς ἐπήλειψε  
καὶ τὰς ὀδύνας<sup>3</sup> ἐπέσφιγξε καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας ἐκίνησε  
καὶ τὰς ἀγροικίας ἀνήγειρεν, ἄκλειστον στόμα  
καὶ γλῶτταν ἀχαλίνωτον καὶ αἰσθήσεις ἀθύρους

<sup>1</sup> A lacuna of nine to ten letters in A. Perhaps supply  
γεννητικόν.

## ON DREAMS, II. 161-165

can guide him. He is pierced by brambles and thorn-bushes and sometimes rolls over precipices or charges into others, bringing miserable destruction both to himself and them. And that deep and abysmal sleep 162 which holds fast all the wicked robs the mind of true apprehensions, and fills it with false phantoms and untrustworthy visions and persuades it to approve of the blameworthy as laudable : thus in the present case the dreamer treats sorrow as a joy and does not perceive that the vine of his vision is the plant which <produces> folly and madness. "There was," he said, 163 "a vine before me" (Gen. xl. 9), the wanted and the wanter, wickedness and the wicked, facing each other. That vine we fools till, little thinking that it is to our own harm, and we eat and drink its fruit, thus ranking it with both kinds of nutriment, a possession which proves to entail no half measure but a wholesale complete totality of mischief.

XXIV. But we should not fail to understand that a 164 strong drink produced by the vine does not affect all who take it in the same way ; often it acts in opposite ways so that some may be reckoned as bettered by it and others worsened. With some it relaxes 165 pensiveness and gloom, lightens the stress of cares, softens wrath and fears, tutors the temperament to reasonableness and makes the soul contented with itself. With others it lubricates anger, screws up grief, excites amorousness and rouses discourtesy. It unlocks the mouth and unbridles the tongue, unbars the senses, maddens the passions, and makes the

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<sup>2</sup> MSS. παντελῶς. Wend. corrects βλάβης to βλάβη, and also the four adjectives to datives. The uses of ἐπί with the genitive are so wide that I do not think so general an alteration is justified.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὀδύνας.



- καὶ λελυττηκότα πάθη κάζηγγιωμένον καὶ ἐπτοη-  
 166 μένον πρὸς πάντα νοῦν<sup>1</sup> ἀποτελοῦν· ὥς δοκεῖν τὴν  
 μὲν τῶν προτέρων κατάστασιν ἢ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα  
 νηνέμῳ αἰθρία ἢ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀκύμονι  
 γαλήνῃ ἢ τῇ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις εἰρηνικωτάτῃ  
 εὐσταθείᾳ ἐοικέναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑστέρων ἢ βιαίῳ  
 καὶ συντόνῳ πνεύματι ἢ χειμαίνοντι καὶ κυμα-  
 τουμένῳ πελάγει ἢ στάσει, ἀσπόνδου καὶ ἀκηρύκτου  
 167 πολέμου δυσωνυμωτέρᾳ<sup>2</sup> ταραχῇ. δυεῖν γοῦν |  
 [681] συμποσίῳν τὸ μὲν πέπλησται γέλωτος, παιδιᾶς,  
 ἐπαγγελιομένων, ἀγαθὰ<sup>3</sup> ἐλπίζόντων, χαριζομένων,  
 εὐθυμίας, εὐφημίας, ἱλαρότητος, εὐφροσύνης, ἀδείας·  
 168 τὸ δὲ συννοίας, κατηφείας, προσκρουσμάτων,  
 λαιδοριῶν, τραυμάτων, βριμουμένων, ὑποβλεπο-  
 μένων, ὑλακτούντων, ἀγχόντων, καταπαγκρατια-  
 ζόντων, ἀκρωτηριαζόντων ὦτα καὶ ῥίνας καὶ ἄπερ  
 ἂν τύχῃ τοῦ σώματος (μέρη καὶ μέλη),<sup>4</sup> τὴν [τοῦ]  
 παντὸς τοῦ βίου μέθην καὶ παροινίαν ἐν ἀνιέρῳ  
 ἀγῶνι μετὰ αἰσχροουργίας τῆς πάσης ἐπιδεικνυ-  
 169 μένων. XXV. ἀκόλουθον οὖν (ἂν) εἴη λογίζεσθαι,  
 ὅτι καὶ ἄμπελος δυεῖν σύμβολον πραγμάτων ἐστίν,  
 ἀνοίας τε καὶ εὐφροσύνης. ἐκάτερον  
 δέ, καίτοι<sup>5</sup> μνηνύμενον ἐκ πολλῶν, ἵνα μὴ μακρη-  
 170 γορῶμεν, δι' ὀλίγων ἐπιδείξομεν. ἥνίκα ἡμᾶς διὰ  
 τῆς τῶν παθῶν καὶ ἀδικημάτων ἐρήμης ὁδοῦ,  
 φιλοσοφίας, ἀγαγὼν καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς ὄρος<sup>6</sup> ἀνα-  
 βιβάσας τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἔστησεν ἐπὶ σκοπῆς καὶ  
 ἐκέλευε περιθρεῖν τὴν ἅπασαν ἀρετῆς χώραν,  
 εἴτε εὐγείας καὶ βαθεῖα καὶ χλοηφόρος καὶ καρπο-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. οὖν.<sup>2</sup> MSS. δυσωνύμω.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps transpose to ἀγαθὰ ἐπαγγελιομένων.<sup>4</sup> A lacuna of ten to twelve letters in A.

## ON DREAMS, II. 165-170

mind savage and wild and flustered with everything it meets. Thus the condition in the former case 166 seems to resemble still cloudless weather in the air, or unruffled calm in the sea, or undisturbed peace and tranquillity in the city ; while that of the latter resembles a fierce violent blast, a stormy billowy sea or civil faction, the turmoil of which is more hateful than even uncivilized warfare. Thus in one of two 167 convivial gatherings we may find nothing but laughter and sport, guests promising, expecting and conferring kindnesses, pleasant feelings and pleasant talk, cheerful faces, glad hearts and freedom from restraint ; in the other nothing but anxiety, depres- 168 sion, quarrellings, revilings, woundings, while the guests snort, scowl and bark, and fight it out with neck-grips, wrestling and fisticuffs, gnawing off ears and noses or any limbs or parts of the body that come handy,<sup>a</sup> and thus exhibiting their life-long inebriation and tipsiness with every kind of misconduct in this far from sacred contest. XXV. The deduction 169 follows that the vine symbolizes two things—folly and gladness. Each of them is shewn by many proofs, but to avoid prolixity I will give only a few. There was a time when he led us along the 170 way of philosophy, the way of the desert, barren of passions and of wrongdoings, and took us as to the high land and there set right reason on a peak of wide view and bade it survey the whole land of virtue, whether it is rich and deep of soil, fertile of grass and

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Plant.* 160.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. καὶ τὸ.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ξμπορος. This admirable correction is Wend.'s conjecture, though not printed in the text. Cf. Num. xiii. 18 καὶ ἀναβήσεσθε εἰς τὸ ὄρος.

- τόκος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγαθὴ<sup>1</sup> μὲν καὶ τὰ σπειρόμενα  
 μαθήματα συναυξῆσαι, ἀγαθὴ δὲ τὰ φυτευόμενα  
 καὶ δενδρούμενα δόγματα στελεχῶσαι, εἴτε καὶ  
 τούναντίον, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὡσανεὶ πόλεων πράξεων,  
 εἰ <εὐεργέσται><sup>2</sup> καὶ ὀχυρώταται ἢ γυμναὶ καὶ  
 ἀπημφιασμένοι οἷα κύκλον<sup>3</sup> τὸ βέβαιον, καὶ περὶ  
 οἰκητόρων, εἰ πρὸς τε πλῆθος καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν  
 ἐπιδεδώκασιν ἢ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὀλιγανδροῦσιν ἢ δι'  
 171 ὀλιγανδρίαν ἀσθενοῦσιν, τότε οὐ δυνηθέντες ὅλον  
 τὸ σοφίας στέλεχος βαστάσαι κληματίδα μίαν  
 καὶ βότρυν σταφυλῆς τεμόντες ἤραμεν<sup>4</sup> χαρᾶς  
 σαφέστατον δείγμα, κουφότατον ἄχθος, βλάστημα  
 καὶ καρπὸν ὁμοῦ καλοκαγαθίας ἐπιδειξόμενοι τοῖς  
 διάνοιαν ὀξυδορκοῦσι τὴν εὐκκληματοῦσαν καὶ  
 172 βοτρυηφόρον ἄμπελον. XXVI. ταύτην,<sup>5</sup>  
 ἣς μοῖράν τινα λαβεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, εὐσκόπως ἐξ-  
 ομοιοῦσιν εὐφροσύνη. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοί τις τῶν  
 πάλαι προφητῶν, ὃς ἐπιθειάσας εἶπεν· “ ἄμπελὼν  
 173 κυρίου παντοκράτορος οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.” ὁ μὲν  
 Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶ νοῦς θεωρητικὸς θεοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου  
 —καὶ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται θεὸν ὁρῶν,—οἶκος δὲ  
 διανοίας ὅλη ψυχὴ. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἄμπελὼν ἱερῶ-  
 τatos, τὸ θεῖον βλάστημα καρποφορῶν, ἀρετὴν.  
 174 οὕτω μέντοι τὸ φρονεῖν εὖ, τὸ εὐ-  
 φροσύνης ἔτυμον,<sup>6</sup> μέγα καὶ λαμπρόν, ὥστε φησὶ  
 Μωυσῆς καὶ θεὸν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπαξιῶσαι χρῆσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπαθεῖ.

<sup>2</sup> A lacuna of ten to twelve letters in A.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. κύκλων: Wend. suggests οἷα <τειχῶν> κύκλον.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. γέμοντες ἤραν μετὰ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ταύτης.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ἔτοιμον.

## ON DREAMS, II. 170-174

fruit, and well fitted both to give increase to the lessons there sown and to raise the stalk of tree-like verities there planted, or the opposite of all this; survey, too, the actions which are as cities, whether they are thoroughly well fenced and secure, or uncovered and stripped of the security which is as a wall; survey the inhabitants, too, whether they have increased in number and strength, or whether they are weak through fewness, or few through weakness<sup>a</sup> (Num. xiii. 18-21). And it was then that, unable to carry 171 the whole main-stalk of wisdom, we cut a single branch and cluster of grapes and raised it up, a manifest sign of joy, as the lightest of burdens, meaning by the vine so rich in clustering grapes to shew forth to those of keen mental vision the sprouting and fruit-bearing alike of noble living (Num. xiii. 24).<sup>b</sup>

XXVI. This vine of which we could take but a part 172 men aptly liken to gladness, and in this I have the witness of one of the ancient prophets who under inspiration said, "The vineyard of the Lord Almighty is the house of Israel" (Is. v. 7). Israel is the mind 173 which contemplates God and the world, for Israel means "seeing God," while the house of the mind is the whole soul, and this is that most holy vineyard which has for its fruit that divine growth, virtue.

So great and splendid is happy thinking, for that is 174 the original meaning<sup>c</sup> of gladness or εὐφροσύνη, that Moses tells us that God does not disdain to feel and

*εἶσιν ἡ πολλοί.* If Philo interprets the inhabitants as qualities in the individual soul, "fewness" may indicate spiritual narrowness, and "strength" want of intensity or depth of such virtue as it possesses, and by this duplication he suggests that the two defects are apt to react upon each other, *cf.* his treatment of μέγεθος and πλῆθος *De Mig.* 53 f.

<sup>b</sup> *Cf. De Mut.* 224.

<sup>c</sup> See note on *De Conf.* 137.

- [682] καὶ τότε μάλιστα, ὅποτε τὸ ἀνθρώπων | γένος  
ἐκτρέποιο μὲν ἁμαρτήματα,<sup>1</sup> ἐπικλῖνοι δὲ καὶ  
ἐπιστρέφοι<sup>2</sup> πρὸς δικαιοσύνην, ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ  
175 φύσεως νόμοις καὶ θεσμοῖς ἐπόμενον. “ἐπι-  
στρέψει” γάρ φησι “κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου εὐφραν-  
θῆναι ἐπὶ σέ εἰς ἀγαθὰ, καθότι ἠυφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς  
πατράσι σου, ἐὰν εἰσακούσης τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ,  
φυλάσσειν πάσας τὰς ἐντολάς καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα  
καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς γεγραμμένας ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ  
176 τοῦ νόμου τούτου.” τί<sup>3</sup> ἂν δύναίτο μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς  
ἡμερον ἢ καλοκαγαθίας ζῆλον ἐμφύσαι; βούλει,  
φησὶν, ὧ διανοια, εὐφραίνεσθαι θεόν; εὐφράνθητι  
αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνάλωμα μὲν μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς μηδέν—  
τίνος γὰρ τῶν σῶν χρεῖός ἐστιν;—ἀλλ’ ἔμπαλιν  
177 ὅσα σοι δίδωσιν ἀγαθὰ χαίρουσα δέξαι. διδοὺς  
γάρ, ὅταν ἄξιοι χάριτος ὦσιν οἱ λαμβάνοντες,  
εὐφραίνεται· εἰ μὴ νομίζεις, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ὑπαιτίως  
ζῶντες παραπικραίνειν καὶ παροργίζειν ἐνδίκως  
λέγουτ’ ἂν θεόν, οἱ δ’ ἐπαινετῶς οὐχὶ εὐφραίνειν.  
178 ἀλλὰ πατέρας μὲν καὶ μητέρας, τοὺς θνητοὺς  
γονεῖς, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὥς τέκνων εὐφραίνουσιν  
ἀρεταί, μυρίων ὅσων ἐνδεεῖς<sup>4</sup> ὄντας· τὸν δὲ τῶν  
ὅλων γεννητὴν καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνδεὰ τὸ παράπαν οὐχ  
179 ἢ καλοκαγαθία τῶν γενομένων<sup>5</sup>; μα-  
θοῦσα οὖν, ὧ διανοια, ἡλίκον <κακὸν> μὲν ἐστιν  
ὀργὴ θεοῦ, ἡλίκον δὲ ἀγαθὸν εὐφροσύνη θεοῦ,  
μηδὲν μὲν τῶν ὀργῆς ἀξίων ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ κίνει τῷ  
σεαυτῆς, μόνα δὲ δι’ ὧν εὐφρανεῖς θεὸν ἐπιτήδευε.  
180 ταῦτα δὲ εὐρήσεις οὐ μακρὰς καὶ ἀτριβεῖς διεξιὼν  
ὁδοὺς ἢ ἁπλωτα πελάγη περαιούμενος ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἁμαρτημάτων.<sup>2</sup> Or perhaps τί δ’ = MSS. τίς.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπιτρέπτοι.<sup>4</sup> MSS. οὐδὲ εἰς.

## ON DREAMS, II. 174-180

shew it, particularly when the human race turns away from its sins and inclines and reverts to righteousness, following by a free-will choice the laws and statutes of nature. "For the Lord, thy God," he says, "will 175 turn to be glad over thee for good, as He was glad over thy fathers, if thou shalt hear His voice, to keep all His commandments and ordinances and the judgments which are written in the book of this law" (Deut. xxx. 9, 10). What could be better able to 176 implant the yearning for virtue or an ardour for noble living than this? Dost thou wish, O mind, that God should be glad? Be glad thyself, and bring Him no costly gift (for what does He need of what is thine?), but contrariwise accept rejoicing all the good things which He gives thee. For it gladdens Him to give 177 when the recipients are worthy of His bounty, since you surely must admit that if those who live a life of guilt can be rightly said to provoke and anger God, those whose life is laudable may be equally well said to gladden Him. Mortal parents, fathers and 178 mothers, vast as are their deficiencies, are gladdened by nothing so much as by the virtues of their children. And shall not the Begetter of all, in Whom is no deficiency at all, be gladdened by the noble living of His creatures? So then, my mind, having 179 learned how great an evil is the wrath of God, and how great a good is the gladness of God, stir not up to thine own destruction aught that deserves His anger, but practise those things only by which thou shalt make God glad. And these thou shalt not find 180 by traversing long roads where no foot has trodden, or by crossing seas where no ship has sailed, nor by

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<sup>5</sup> MSS. λεγόμενων, which Wend. prints, though conjecturing γεν-.

γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀπνευστὶ συντείνων ὄρους· οὐ γὰρ πορρωτάτῳ διώκισται καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔξω πεφυγάδευται, ἀλλ', ἣ φησι Μωυσῆς, ἐγγὺς οὕτωςι τάγαθόν παρίδρυταί σοι καὶ συμπέφυκε, τρισὶ τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις μέρεσιν ἡρμοσμένον, καρδία, στόματι, χερσί, τὸ δ' ἐστὶ διανοία, λόγῳ, πράξειςιν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ καλὰ καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, συμπληρούμενον<sup>1</sup> ἔκ τε εὐβουλίας κοὶ εὐπραξίας καὶ εὐλογίας.

- 181 XXVII. Λέγωμεν οὖν τῷ θάτερον εἶδος γαστριμαργίας, πολυποσίαν, ἐπιτηδεύοντι ἀρχαιονοχόω· τί κακοπαθεῖς, ὦ ἀνόητε; δοκεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀγωγὰ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην εὐτρεπίζεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀφροσύνης καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐξάπτεις φλόγα, 182 πολλὴν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄφθονον ἐπιφέρων ὕλην. ἀλλ', ἴσως ἂν εἴποι, μή με προπετῶς αἰτιῶ, πρὶν με σκέψασθαι. οἰνοχοεῖν ἐτάχθην, οὐ μὴν δὴ σωφροσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐνεσκευασμένῳ, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ λαιμάργῳ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀκρατεῖ | [683] καὶ ἀδίκῳ καὶ ἐπὶ ἀσεβείᾳ μέγα φρονοῦντι, ὃς ἐτόλμησέ ποτε εἰπεῖν· “οὐκ οἶδα τὸν κύριον”. ὥς εἰκότως ἐγὼ τὰ ἐκείνῳ δι' ἡδονῆς ἐπιτετήδευκα. 183 μὴ θαυμάσης δέ, ὅτι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀντίθεος νοῦς εὐφραίνεται, Φαραώ. τίς οὖν οἰνοχόος θεοῦ; ὁ σπονδοφόρος, ὁ μέγας ὄντως ἀρχιερεὺς, ὃς τὰς τῶν αἰενάων χαρίτων λαβὼν πρόποσις ἀντεκτίνει, πλήρες ὅλον τὸ σπονδεῖον ἀκράτου μεθύσματος ἐπιχέων, ἑαυτόν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. συμπληρούμενα.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. μάργω.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the Logos; the symbolism is analogous to that in which the Logos is the εἰκὼν of God, but παράδειγμα of creation, cf. on § 45.

## ON DREAMS, II. 180-183

pressing without a pause to the boundaries of land and ocean. For they do not dwell apart in the far distance, nor are they banished from the habitable world, but, as Moses says (Deut. xxx. 12-14), the good is stationed just beside thee and shares thy nature, close bound with the three most essential parts, heart, mouth and hands, that is mind, speech, actions, since to think and speak and do the morally good is the essential thing, a fullness composed of good purposing, good action and good speaking.

XXVII. Let us say then to one whose business is 181  
one form of belly-gorging, namely deep-drinking, that is to the chief butler, "Why in this evil plight, thou fool? Thou thinkest that thy preparations conduce to gladness of mind, but in reality thou kindlest the flame of lack of mind and lack of continence and feedest it with fuel in lavish abundance." But he, perhaps, may answer: "Do not upbraid me 182  
so rashly, without first considering how I stand. My appointed task is to be cup-bearer, not to one invested with self-control and piety and the other virtues, but to one steeped in greed, licentious, unjust, priding himself on his impiety, he who once dared to say, 'I know not the Lord' (Ex. v. 2). Naturally I, on my side, have busied myself with what gives him pleasure." And wonder not that 183  
God and Pharaoh, the mind which usurps the place of God, find gladness in things opposite to each other. Who then is God's cup-bearer? He who pours the libation of peace, the truly great high priest who first receives the loving-cups of God's perennial bounties, then pays them back when he pours that potent undiluted draught, the libation of himself.<sup>a</sup>



ὁρᾶς οἰνοχόων διαφορὰς τοῖς θεραπευομένοις ἀνα-  
 184 λογούσας. διὰ τοῦτο ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ τοῦ Φαραῶ  
 κατὰ τὰς ἀνέσεις ἐπιτεινομένου τὸν σκληραύχενα  
 καὶ πάντων ἀκράτορα λογισμὸν εὐνοῦχός εἰμι, τὰ  
 γεννητικὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκτετμημένους, μετανάστης  
 μὲν τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος,<sup>1</sup> φυγὰς δὲ καὶ τῆς γυναι-  
 κωνίτιδος, οὔτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, οὔτε προέσθαι  
 οὔθ' ὑποδέξασθαι σπορὰν δυνάμενος, ἀμφίβολος,  
 οὐδέτερος, ἀνθρωπείου παράκομμα νομίσματος,  
 ἄμοιρος ἀθανασίας, ἢ τέκνων ἢ ἐγγόνων διαδοχαῖς  
 εἰς<sup>2</sup> αἰὲ ζωπυρεῖται, συλλόγου καὶ ἐκκλησίας ἱερᾶς  
 ἀπεσχοιτισμένος· θλαδίαν γὰρ καὶ ἀποκεκομμένον  
 ἀντικρυς διείρηται μὴ εἰσιέναι. XXVIII.

185 ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἁμωμός<sup>3</sup> ἐστίν, ὁλόκληρος, ἀνὴρ  
 παρθένου, (τὸ) παραδοξότατον, οὐδέποτε γυναι-  
 κουμένης, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλιν τὰ γυναικεῖα κατὰ τὴν  
 πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὁμιλίαν ἐκλιπούσης, καὶ οὐκ ἀνὴρ  
 μόνον οὗτος, ἀμιάντους καὶ παρθένους γνῶμας  
 186 σπεῖρειν ἱκανός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ λόγων ἱερῶν· ὧν  
 οἱ μὲν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ ἔφοροι τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγ-  
 μάτων, Ἐλεάζαρ καὶ Ἰθάμαρ, οἱ δὲ λειτουργοὶ  
 θεοῦ, τὴν οὐράνιον φλόγα ἀνακαίειν καὶ ζωπυρεῖν  
 ἐπειγόμενοι· τρίβοντες γὰρ αἰὲ τοὺς περὶ ὁσιότητος  
 λόγους καθάπερ ἐκ πυρείων τὸ θεοειδέστατον εὐ-  
 187 σεβείας γένος ποιοῦσιν ἐκλάμπειν. ὁ δὲ τούτων  
 ὑφήγητῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ πατὴρ οὐχ ἡ τυχοῦσα μοῖρα  
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οὐ χωρὶς<sup>4</sup> σύγ-  
 κλητος οὐκ ἂν ἀθροισθεῖη ποτὲ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς

<sup>1</sup> MSS. τῶν ἀνδρωνιτίδων.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀλώμενος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ταῖς.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. οὐ χωρεῖ.

## ON DREAMS, II. 183-187

Mark how the differences between the cup-bearers correspond to those whom they serve. Thus I, the servant of that Pharaoh who 184 keeps his stubborn incontinent thinking in an intensity of looseness, am an eunuch (Gen. xl. 7), gelded of the soul's generating organs, a vagrant from the men's quarters, an exile from the women's, a thing neither male nor female, unable either to shed or receive seed, twofold yet neuter, base counterfeit of the human coin, cut off from the immortality which, through the succession of children and children's children, is kept alight for ever, roped off from the holy assembly and congregation. "For he that hath lost the organs of generation is absolutely forbidden to enter therein" (Deut. xxiii. 1).

XXVIII. But the high priest is blameless, 185 perfect, the husband of a virgin (Lev. xxi. 12, 13) who, strange paradox, never becomes a woman, but rather has forsaken that womanhood through the company of her husband (Gen. xviii. 11). And not only is he a husband, able to sow the seed of undefiled and virgin thoughts, but a father also of holy intelligences. Some of these survey and watch the 186 facts of nature as Eleazer and Ithamar (Ex. xxviii. 1). Others are God's ministers, hastening to kindle and keep alive the heavenly flame.<sup>a</sup> For rubbing together words and thoughts on holiness they cause piety, that most godlike of qualities, to flash forth as though from tinder. And he who is at once the preceptor 187 and father of these is no ordinary part of the holy congregation but one without whom the solemn council of the soul's parts could never be convened

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* Nadab and Abihu, *cf.* § 67.

- μερῶν βουλή τὸ παράπαν, ὁ πρόεδρος, ὁ πρύτανις, ὁ δημιουργός, ὁ καὶ χωρὶς ἄλλων μόνος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 188 σκοπεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν ἕκαστα ἱκανός. οὗτος  
 σὺν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐξεταζόμενος ὀλίγος,<sup>1</sup> πολὺς δέ,  
 ὅταν μονωθῇ, γίνεται, δικαστήριον (ὄλον), ὄλον  
 βουλευτήριον, ὄλος δῆμος, ὄλος ὄχλος, σύμπαν  
 ἀνθρώπων γένος, μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ τάληθές εἰπεῖν δεῖ,  
 μεθόριός τις θεοῦ (καὶ ἀνθρώπου) φύσις, τοῦ μὲν  
 189 ἐλάττων, ἀνθρώπου δὲ κρείττων. “ὅταν” γάρ  
 [684] φησιν “εἰσὶν εἰς | τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς,  
 ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται.” τίς οὖν, εἰ μὴ ἄνθρωπος;  
 ἀρά γε θεός; οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι—τὸν γὰρ τοῦ ὀνό-  
 ματος τοῦδε κληρὸν ὁ ἀρχιπροφήτης ἔλαχε Μωυσῆς  
 ἔτι ὡν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, προσρηθείς Φαραὼ θεὸς—οὐδὲ<sup>2</sup>  
 ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἑκατέρων τῶν ἁκρων, ὡς ἂν  
 βάσεως καὶ κεφαλῆς, ἐφαπτόμενος.  
 190 XXIX. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἕτερον εἶδος ἀμπέλου, ὅπερ  
 εὐφροσύνη κεκλήρωται, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς μέθυσμα,  
 ἡ ἄκρατος εὐβουλία, καὶ ὁ ἀρυσάμενος οἰνοχόος ἐκ  
 τοῦ θείου κρατήρος, ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀρετῶν  
 191 πεπλήρωκεν ἐπὶ χεῖλῃ,<sup>3</sup> δεδήλωται. τὸ δὲ ἀνοίας  
 καὶ λύπης καὶ παροινίας ἥδη μὲν τρόπῳ τινὶ τύπῳ  
 δὲ ἐτέρῳ<sup>4</sup> ἐκτυποῦται διὰ τῶν ἐτέρωθι<sup>5</sup> λεχθέντων  
 ἐν ᾧδῇ τῇ μείζονι. “ἐκ γὰρ - ἀμπέλου” φησὶ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὁ λόγος.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. οὔτε: perhaps, as Wend. suggests, <οὔτε οὖν θεός>, οὔτε.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps write ἐπιχειλῇ.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἕτερον. This emendation of Hoeschel, which however did not satisfy Wend., seems to me quite sufficient (or perhaps ἐτέρως). After τρόπῳ τινὶ *sc.* δεδήλωται.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἐτέρων.

<sup>a</sup> I do not know why Mangey and Cohn should have wished to correct δημιουργός to ἱεροῦργος or δήμαρχος. The  
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## ON DREAMS, II. 187-191

at all, its chairman, its president, its chief magistrate,<sup>a</sup> who alone, and by himself, and without any other, is capable of considering and executing all things. When he is in line with others he is one of a few, but 188 when he stands alone he is a "many," a whole judgment-court, a whole senate, a whole people, a whole multitude, a whole human race, or rather, to tell the real truth, a being whose nature is midway between <man and> God, less than God, superior to man. "For when the high priest enters the Holy of Holies 189 he shall not be a man" (Lev. xvi. 17).<sup>b</sup> Who then, if he is not a man? A God? I will not say so,<sup>c</sup> for this name is a prerogative, assigned to the chief prophet, Moses, while he was still in Egypt, where he is entitled the God of Pharaoh (Ex. vii. 1). Yet not a man either, but one contiguous with both extremes, which form, as it were, one his head, the other his feet.

XXIX. We have explained one kind of vine, that 190 which is the property of gladness, and the potent drink which it gives, undiluted wise counsel, and also the cup-bearer who draws it from the divine mixing-bowl which God Himself has filled to the brim with virtues. The other kind, the vine of folly 191 and grief and wine frenzy, has already been explained in a way, but it is represented typically otherwise by the words spoken elsewhere in the Greater Song.<sup>d</sup>

term, used in various Greek states, would be quite familiar to Philo through Thucydides and Demosthenes.

<sup>b</sup> For this use of the text, quoted again below, § 231, see note on *Quis Rerum* 84.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* in the narrative Aaron is not called *θεός*, though Moses is, and this symbolizes the relation of the Logos to the Existent.

<sup>d</sup> See note on *De Mut.* 182.

- “Σοδόμων ἡ ἄμπελος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ κληματὶς αὐτῶν ἐκ Γομόρρας· ἡ σταφυλὴ αὐτῶν σταφυλὴ χολῆς, βότρυς πικρίας αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup>. θυμὸς δρακόντων
- 192 ὁ οἶνος αὐτῶν, καὶ θυμὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνιάτος.” ὁρᾷς ὅσα τὸ ἀφροσύνης μέθυσμα ἐργάζεται, τὸ πικρόν, τὸ κακότηες, τὸ ἀκρόχολον, τὸ περίθυμον, τὸ ἀτίθασον, τὸ δηκτικόν, τὸ ἐπίβουλον. ἐμφαντικώτατα δὲ ἀφροσύνης ἔρνος ἐν Σοδόμοις φησὶν εἶναι—τύφλωσις δὲ ἡ στείρωσις ἐρμηνεύεται Σόδομα, —ἐπεὶ δὲ τυφλὸν καὶ ἄγονον καλῶν ἀφροσύνη, ὑφ’ ἧς ἀναπεισθέντες τινὲς μετρεῖν καὶ σταθμᾶσθαι καὶ ἀριθμεῖν πάντα καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἠξίωσαν· Γομόρρα
- 193 (γὰρ) μεταληφθέν ἐστι μέτρον. Μωυσῆς δὲ στάθμην καὶ μέτρον καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὅλων ὑπέλαβεν εἶναι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν. δηλοῖ δὲ διὰ τούτων φάσκων· “οὐκ ἔσται ἐν μαρσίππῳ σου στάθμιον καὶ στάθμιον, μέγα ἢ μικρόν· οὐκ ἔσται ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου (μέτρον καὶ μέτρον), μέγα ἢ μικρόν· στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον
- 194 ἔσται σοι.” ἀληθὲς δὲ καὶ δίκαιον μέτρον τὸ τὸν μόνον δίκαιον θεὸν ὑπολαβεῖν πάντα μετρεῖν καὶ σταθμᾶσθαι καὶ ἀριθμοῖς καὶ πέρασιν καὶ ὅροις τὴν τῶν ὅλων περιγράψαι φύσιν, ἄδικον δὲ καὶ ψευδὲς τὸ νομίσαι κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον νοῦν ταῦτα συμβαίνειν.
- 195 Ὁ δὲ εὐνοῦχος ἅμα καὶ ἀρχαιονοχόος τοῦ Φαραῶ τὸ ἀφροσύνης γεννητικὸν φυτόν, ἄμπελον, φαντασιωθεὶς προσαναζωγραφεῖ τρεῖς πυθμένας, ἵνα τὰς ἐν τῷ διαμαρτάνειν κατὰ τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους

<sup>1</sup> MSS. αὐτῆς.

## ON DREAMS, II. 191-195

"Their vine," he says, "is of the vine of Sodom and their tendrils of Gomorrah, their grapes are grapes of gall, a cluster of bitterness to them. Their wine is the wrath of dragons and the incurable wrath of asps" (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33). You see what the 192 potent wine-cup of folly produces: bitterness, evil temper, sudden passionateness, deep anger, savageness, stinging spite, maliciousness. Most forcible are his words when he says that the plant of folly is in Sodom, for Sodom means blinding or making barren, since folly is blind and unproductive of excellence, and through its persuasions some have thought good to measure and weigh and count everything by the standard of themselves, for Gomorrah by interpretation is "measure." But Moses held that 193 God, and not the human mind, is the measure and weighing scale and numbering of all things.<sup>a</sup> And he shews it in these words: "There shall not be in thy pouch divers weights, great and small. There shall not be in thy house divers measures great and small. A true and a just weight thou shalt have" (Deut. xxv. 13-15). And the true and just measure 194 is to hold that God Who alone is just measures and weighs all things and marks out the confines of universal nature with numbers and limits and boundaries, while the false and unjust measure is to think that these things come to pass as the human mind directs.

This eunuch and chief cup-bearer in one to Pharaoh, 195 after seeing in his vision the parent plant of folly, the vine, goes on to picture it with three roots, to suggest the extremes which can be reached in sinning through

measure of all things." Cf. *De Post.* 35 and *Quis Rerum* 246 (and note).

- ἔσχατιὰς παρεμφήνη· πυθμὴν γὰρ τὸ ἔσχατον.  
 196 XXX. | ἐπειδὴν οὖν ἀφροσύνη πᾶσαν ψυχὴν  
 [685] ἐπισκιάσῃ καὶ κατασχῇ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῆς ἄφετον  
 μηδὲ ἐλεύθερον μέρος ἑάσῃ, οὐ μόνον ὅσα τῶν  
 ἁμαρτημάτων ἰάσιμα δρᾶν ἀναγκάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 197 ὅσα ἀνίατα. τὰ μὲν οὖν θεραπείαν ἐνδεχόμενα  
 ῥᾶστα καὶ πρῶτα γράφεται, τὰ δὲ ἀθεράπευτα  
 παγχάλεπα καὶ ὕστατα, πυθμέσιν ἀναλογοῦντα.  
 198 καὶ καθάπερ, οἶμαι, ἡ φρόνησις ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ἐλαττόνων ὠφελεῖν, λήγει δὲ εἰς τὰς ὑπερ-  
 βολὰς τῶν κατορθωμάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ  
 ἡ ἀφροσύνη καταβιάζουσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνωθεν  
 καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀφιστᾶσα παιδείας μακρὰν ὀρθοῦ  
 λόγου διοικίζει καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἔσχατιῶν καθαιρεῖ.  
 199 τὸ δ' ὅναρ ἐδήλου μετὰ τοὺς πυθ-  
 μένας ἀνθοῦσαν καὶ βλαστάνουσαν καὶ καρπο-  
 φοροῦσαν τὴν ἄμπελον—“ αὐτὴ ” γάρ φησι “ θάλ-  
 λουσα ἀνενηνοχυῖα βλαστούς· πέπειροι<sup>1</sup> βότρυνες  
 σταφυλῆς,”—ἦν εἶθε <ἦν><sup>2</sup> ἀκαρπία χρῆσθαι καὶ  
 μηδέποτε χλοηφορῆσαι καὶ πάντα μεμαράνθαι τὸν  
 200 αἰῶνα. τί γὰρ ἂν εἶη μείζον κακὸν [ἦ] θαλλούσης  
 καὶ εὐφορούσης<sup>3</sup> ἀφροσύνης; ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 “ τὸ ποτήριον Φαραώ,” ἡ δεξαμενὴ τῆς ἀνοίας  
 καὶ παροινίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἀπαύ-  
 στου μέθης, “ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μου,” φησὶν, ἔστιν, ἴσον  
 τῷ ἐν ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἐγχειρήσεσι καὶ ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ  
 δυνάμεσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ γε τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπινοιῶν  
 201 εὐδοήσει τὸ πάθος ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν μὲν  
 ταῖς τοῦ ἡνιόχου χερσὶ τὰς ἡνίας εἶναι προσῆκεν,  
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς τοῦ κυβερνήτου τοὺς οἶακας—μόνως

<sup>1</sup> MSS. περὶ ἡν.

## ON DREAMS, II. 195-201

the three divisions of time, for the root is the extreme. XXX. When then folly overshadows and masters 196 the whole soul and suffers no part of it to go at large and in freedom, it compels him to commit, not only such sins as may be remedied, but also such as are incurable. The sins which admit of healing treat- 197 ment are described as the lightest and first in the list ; those that are beyond treatment as hard indeed and coming last, thus corresponding to roots. And 198 just as wisdom begins its benefits with the lesser of right actions and ends with them at their highest point, so folly, I think, forces the soul down from the height and little by little removes it from instruction and sets its dwelling far apart from right reason and brings it in ruin to the uttermost extremes.

After the roots the dream shewed him 199 the vine blossoming and sprouting and bearing fruit. " It was blossoming itself, having put forth shoots. The grapes of the cluster were ripe " (Gen. xl. 10). Would that fruitlessness might be its lot, that it might never put forth green shoots and remain withered for all time, for what greater evil could 200 there be than that folly should blossom and be fruitful ?

Again, the cup of Pharaoh, the receptacle of senselessness and wine-frenzy and ceaseless life-long intoxication, is, he says, " in my hand " (Gen. xl. 11), that is, in the enterprises which I take in hand, in my projects and faculties, for without the activities of my mind passion by itself will make little headway. The reins should be in the 201 hands of the driver, and the rudder in the hands of

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<sup>2</sup> <ῥν> is my insertion: Wend. notes εἴθε as corrupt, and suggests εὐκτέον or κρείττον or εἰκός. <sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐμφορούσης.



γὰρ οὕτως κατορθοῦται δρόμος μὲν ἄρματι, σκάφει δὲ πλοῦς,—οὕτως ἐν τῇ χειρὶ καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ θάτερον εἶδος τῆς γαστριμαργίας τεχνιτεύοντος, οἰνοφλυγίαν, ἢ τοῦ ἀκρατοῦς<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶν ἐκπλήρωσις.<sup>2</sup>

202 ἀλλὰ τί παθὼν ὑπέμεινεν αὐχεῖν ἐπ' ἀρνήσεως μᾶλλον ἢ ὁμολογίας ἐπαξίῳ πράγματι; ἢ οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν μὴ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν διδάσκαλον ἀκρασίας εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀκρατεῖ τὰ ὑπεκκαύματα τοῦ πάθους ἐπαναθεῖναι<sup>3</sup> ὥς εὕρετῇ καὶ αὐτουργῶ<sup>4</sup> τεθρυμμένου καὶ κατεαγότος αἰσχίστου βίου;

203 τοιοῦτον δ' ἐστίν· ἀφροσύνη σεμννύεται ἐφ' οἷς εἰκὸς ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι· νυνὶ μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν δεξαμενὴν τῆς ἀκράτορος ψυχῆς, τὸ ποτήριον, περιφέρειν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι πᾶσιν ἀγάζεται,<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν σταφυλὴν εἰς αὐτὸ ἐκθλίβειν· τὸ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκπληρωτικὸν τοῦ πάθους δημιουργεῖν καὶ κεκρυμμένον εἰς φῶς ἄγειν.

204 ὥς γὰρ τὰ βρέφη γλιχόμενα τροφῆς, ὅποτε μέλλοι σπᾶν τοῦ γάλακτος, ἐκθλίβει καὶ πιέζει τὸν μαστὸν τῆς τρεφούσης, οὕτω τὴν πηγὴν, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ οἰνο-  
[686] φλυγίας ὀμβρεῖ | κακόν, ὁ δημιουργὸς τῆς ἀκρασίας πιέζει κραταιῶς, ἵνα ταῖς ἐκθλιβομέναις λιβάσιν ἡδίστῃ τροφῇ χρῶτο.

205 XXXI. Τοιοῦτος μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ βεβακχευμένος ἀκράτῳ, παροίνιον καὶ παράληρον κακὸν καὶ ἀνίατον, γραφέσθω· τὸν δὲ συγγενὴ τούτου γάστρων<sup>6</sup> καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, πολυφαγίας καὶ λαιμαργίας ἐταῖρον, τὰ περὶ ἐδωδῶν ἀκρατῶς τεχνιτεύοντα,

206 πάλιν ἐπισκεπτέον. καίτοι οὐ πολλῆς δεῖ πρὸς τὴν θήραν αὐτοῦ φροντίδος· ἔστι γὰρ ἐκμαγείον ἐμ-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀκράτου.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἡ πλήρωσις.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἐπανατείνειν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. αὐτογεωργοῦ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἀγγέλλεται.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. γάστρων.

## ON DREAMS, II. 201-206

the pilot, since only so can the chariot go aright in the race or the ship on its voyage. Even so in the hand and power of the craftsman, who produces one form of belly-gorging, namely wine-bibbing, is the task of filling the incontinent man.<sup>a</sup> But 202 what was he thinking of, that he did not shrink from boasting over an action which called for denial rather than confession? Were it not a better course, instead of confessing that he was the teacher of incontinence, to ascribe the incentives to passion to the incontinent one himself as inventor and author of his own base, unmanly, invertebrate life? But 203 the fact is that folly prides herself on matters which should make her hide her face in shame. In this case she not only glories in carrying round the cup, the receptacle of the incontinent soul, and displaying it to all, but in squeezing the grapes into it, and this means manufacturing the stuff which brings passion to its fullness and drawing it out of concealment into the light. For just as babes who want to be fed, 204 when they are going to suck the milk, squeeze and press the nurse's breast, so the maker of incontinence presses hard on the fountain from which the curse of wine-bibbing pours like rain, to find in the squeezed droppings a nourishment of delicious sweetness.

XXXI. Thus then let us describe that wine- 205 maddened, raving, incurable pest, the man frenzied by strong liquor. But his fellow, himself too a belly-slave, the friend of gross eating and gluttony, the dissolute artificer of viands, must be considered in his turn. Yet we need little thought in our quest of 206 him, for the dreamer's vision is the closest possible

<sup>a</sup> Or (*ἀκρατοῦς* neut.) "filling the cup (*i.e.* the soul) with incontinence."

- φερέστατον αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰκόνης ὃ φανείς ὄνειρος.  
 ἀκριβώσαντες (οὖν) αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ὥσπερ ἔμφασιν  
 207 ἐν κατόπτρῳ θεασόμεθα. “ὥμην” γάρ φησι  
 “τρία κανᾶ χονδριτῶν αἴρειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς  
 μου.” κεφαλὴν μὲν τοίνυν ἀλληγοροῦντές φαμεν  
 εἶναι ψυχῆς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, ἐπικεῖσθαι δὲ  
 τούτῳ πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ἐξεφώνησέ ποτε ἐπιτον(ῶς)<sup>1</sup>.  
 208 “ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ἐγένετο ταῦτα πάντα.” στειλάμενος οὖν  
 πομπὴν ὧν ἐτεχνίτευσε κατὰ γαστρὸς τῆς ταλαίνης  
 ἐπιδείκνυται, καὶ κανηφορῶν ὃ ἀνόητος οὐκ αἰδεῖται  
 τοσούτῳ βαρυνόμενος τριττῷ κανῶν<sup>2</sup> ἄχθει, τοῦτο  
 209 δ’ ἐστὶ τρισὶ χρόνου μέρεσι. τὴν γὰρ ἡδονὴν οἱ  
 θιασῶταί φασι αὐτῆς ἔκ τε μνήμης τῶν παρεληλυ-  
 θότων τερπνῶν καὶ ἐξ ἀπολαύσεως τῶν ἐνεστηκότων  
 210 καὶ ἐξ ἐλπίδος τῶν μελλόντων συνεστάναι· ὥστε τὰ  
 τρία κανᾶ τοῖς τρισὶ τοῦ χρόνου μέρεσιν ἐξομοιοῦ-  
 σθαι, τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν κανῶν πέμματα τοῖς ἐκάστῳ  
 τῶν μερῶν ἐφαρμόζουσι, παρεληλυθότων μνήμαις,  
 ἐνεστηκότων μετουσίαις, μελλόντων προσδοκίαις,  
 τὸν δὲ βαστάζοντα ταῦτα πάντα τῷ φιληδόνῳ, ὃς  
 οὐκ ἀφ’ ἐνὸς γένους ἀκρασίας, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ πάντων  
 σχεδὸν εἰδῶν καὶ γενῶν τῆς ἀκολασίας ἄσπονδον  
 καὶ φιλιῶν ἀλῶν ἐπιδεᾶ τράπεζαν ἐκπεπλήρωκεν.  
 211 ἥς ἀπολαύει μόνος ὥσπερ ἐν δημοθοινίᾳ ὃ βασιλεὺς  
 Φαραῶ, σποράν καὶ σκέδασιν καὶ φθοράν ἐγκρα-

<sup>1</sup> My conjecture: mss. ἐπὶ τὸν. The editors have suggested ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ, περὶ τοῦδε, ἐπὶ τοῦδε or τούτου. See note a below.

<sup>2</sup> mss. κακόν.

<sup>a</sup> The various emendations of ἐπὶ τὸν mentioned in the critical note seem to me all open to the same objection, that the subject of ἐξεφώνησε is the mind itself, identified with Jacob, cf. *De Som.* i. 240 as well as the similar application of the text in *Leg. All.* i. 61. To take Moses as the subject

## ON DREAMS, II. 206-211

reproduction of his image, and through careful study of the dream we shall see him reflected as it were in a mirror. "I thought," it says, "that I lifted three 207 baskets of wheaten loaves on my head" (Gen. xl. 16). "Head" we interpret allegorically to mean the ruling part of the soul, the mind on which all things lie, and once indeed that mind cried out loudly and bitterly,<sup>a</sup> "All these things have been upon me" (Gen. xlii. 36). So then he marshals the procession of all the arts 208 which he contrived against the unhappy belly, and bearing the ritual<sup>b</sup> basket himself is not ashamed, poor fool, to be burdened with a triple load of baskets, that is with the three divisions of time. For pleasure is 209 said by her votaries to consist of the memory of past, the enjoyment of present and the hope of future delights.<sup>c</sup> Thus the three baskets are likened to the 210 three divisions of time, and the baked meats in the baskets to the concomitants of each of these divisions, memories of the past, participations of the present, expectations of the future, and he who bears all these to the pleasure-lover, who has loaded the table not with one general kind of incontinence, but with practically every species and genus of licentiousness, and that board has no peace-draughts and lacks the salts of friendship. At this board there is one ban- 211 queter only, and yet to him it is as a public feast: that banqueter is King Pharaoh, who has made dispersion and scattering and the undoing of con-

is hardly possible. We should therefore expect *ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ* or *ἑαυτόν*, but this is still further away from the mss. On the other hand *ἐπιτονῶς* is very suitable to this peculiarly bitter cry of Jacob.

<sup>b</sup> Philo is evidently connecting the baskets of the dream with the procession of *κανηφόροι* at Attic festivals.

<sup>c</sup> See App. p. 609.

- τείας ἐπιτετηδευκώς· ἐρμηνεύεται γὰρ σκεδασμός.  
 ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὑπέρογκον καὶ βασιλικὸν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔφ'  
 οἷς εἰκὸς<sup>1</sup> σωφροσύνης ἀγαθοῖς ἀγάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ'  
 ἐν οἷς ἀπεικὸς βδελυρίας ἐπιτηδεύμασι σεμνύνεσθαι,  
 πρὸς ἀπληστίαν καὶ λαιμαργότητα καὶ τὸ ἄβρο-  
 212 δίαιτον ἐξοκείλαντι. τοιγάρτοι τὰ πτηνά,  
 τὸ δ' ἔστιν αἱ ἐπιποτώμεναι ἔξωθεν ἀτέκμαρτοι  
 συντυχίαι, πάντα πυρὸς τρόπον ἐπιδραμοῦνται καὶ  
 ἀναφλέξουσιν καὶ τῇ παμφάγῳ δυνάμει κατανα-  
 λώσουσιν, ὥς μηδὲ λείψανον γοῦν ὑπολείπεσθαι πρὸς  
 ἀπόλαυσιν τῷ κανηφοροῦντι, ὃς ἤλπισε τὰς εὐρέσεις  
 καὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> μέχρι παντὸς αἰῶνος οἷσιν  
 213 ἀναφαιρέτους ἐν | βεβαίῳ. χάρις δὲ τῷ νικηφόρῳ  
 [687] θεῷ, ὃς ἀτελεῖς τὰς εἰς ἄκρον πεποιημένας<sup>3</sup> σπουδὰς  
 τοῦ φιλοπαθοῦς ἐργάζεται, πτηνὰς φύσεις ἐπι-  
 πέμπων ἀοράτως πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ φθορὰν αὐτῶν.  
 περισυληθεῖς<sup>4</sup> οὖν ὁ νοῦς ὧν ἐδημιούργησεν, ὥσπερ  
 τὸν αὐχένα ἀποτμηθεῖς ἀκέφαλος καὶ νεκρὸς ἀν-  
 ευρεθήσεται, προσηλωμένος ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνασκολο-  
 πισθέντες τῷ<sup>5</sup> ξύλῳ τῆς ἀπόρου καὶ πενιχρᾶς  
 214 ἀπαιδευσίας. ἕως μὲν γὰρ μηδὲν λυμαίνεται  
 τῶν ἐξαπιναιῶς εἰωθότων ἀπροοράτως ἐπιφοιτᾶν,  
 εὐδοεῖν δοκοῦσιν αἱ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδονῆς τέχναι·  
 κατασκηψάντων δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ἀνατρέπονται,  
 καὶ ὁ δημιουργὸς αὐταῖς συνδιαφθείρεται.  
 215 XXXII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν διηρημένων τὸ γεύσεως  
 ἐργαστήριον ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τροφῆς εἶδει, πόσεώς τε  
 καὶ βρώσεως οὐχὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας ἀλλὰ περιττῆς  
 καὶ ἀκράτορος, ὀνειράτα δεδήλωται· τὰ δὲ (τοῦ)

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰκόσι.<sup>2</sup> MSS. τοῦ.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps as Mangey πεπονημένας.<sup>4</sup> MSS. περισυλληφθεῖς.

## ON DREAMS, II. 211-215

tinence his business, for his name means " scattering." And he shews his great importance and kingship not in delighting in the seemly, the good cheer of temperance, but in glorying in the unseemly, the practices of foulness, wrecked as he is on the rocks of insatiableness and greediness and luxurious living.

And therefore the birds (Gen. xl. 17), that is the 212 unforeseen chance events which swoop upon us from without, will overrun like fire all the contents and set them ablaze and consume them with their devouring force, so that not a fragment is left to be enjoyed by the basket-bearer who had hoped to carry his inventions and projects for ever as a secure and permanent possession never to be taken from him. But thanks 213 be to the victorious God who, however perfect in workmanship are the aims and efforts of the passion-lover, makes them to be of none effect by sending invisibly against them winged beings to undo and destroy them. Thus the mind stripped of the creations of its art will be found as it were a headless corpse, with severed neck nailed like the crucified to the tree of helpless and poverty-stricken indiscipline. For so long as they remain unharmed by the visitors, 214 whose way it is to arrive suddenly and unforeseen, the arts which cater for the enjoyment of pleasure seem to flourish. But when these visitors swoop down out of the unseen, these arts are turned upside-down and the craftsman perishes with them.

XXXII. We have now explained the dreams of the 215 two partners in the workshop of the palate, where both kinds of provender, drink and food, and these not of the necessary, but of the superfluous and intemperate kind, are produced. Our next im-

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<sup>b</sup> MSS. αὐτῶ (Mangey αἰ τῶ).

## PHILO

- τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσαι ψυχῆς δυνάμεις, βασιλεύειν δοκοῦντος, ὄνομα Φαραώ, κατὰ τὸ
- 216 ἀκόλουθον αὐτίκα διερευνητέον. “ ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὕπνῳ μου ” φησὶν “ ὥμην ἐστάναι παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀνέβαινον βόες ἐπτά, ἐκλεκταὶ ταῖς σαρκὶ καὶ καλαὶ τῷ εἶδει, καὶ ἐνέμοντο ἐν τῷ ἄχει. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἕτεραι ἐπτά βόες ἀνέβαινον ὀπίσω αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πονηραὶ καὶ αἰσχραὶ τῷ εἶδει καὶ λεπταὶ ταῖς σαρκίν, ἃς οὐκ εἶδον τοιαύτας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
- 217 αἰσχροτέρας. καὶ κατέφαγον αἱ βόες αἱ λεπταὶ καὶ αἰσχραὶ τὰς ἐπτά βόας τὰς πρώτας· τὰς καλὰς καὶ ἐκλεκτάς, καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῶν· (καὶ οὐ διαδήλοισι ἐγένοντο ὅτι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς κοιλίας αὐτῶν),<sup>1</sup> καὶ αἱ ὅψεις αὐτῶν αἰσχραὶ, καθὰ καὶ τὴν
- 218 ἀρχὴν [εἶπον]. ἐξεγερθεὶς δὲ ἐκοιμήθην, καὶ εἶδον πάλιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου, καὶ ὥς ἐπτά στάχυες ἀνέβαινον ἐν πυθμένι ἐνί, πλήρεις καὶ καλοί· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπτά στάχυες λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμόφθοροι ἀνεφύοντο ἐχόμενοι· καὶ κατέπιον οἱ ἐπτά στάχυες<sup>1</sup> τοὺς
- 219 καλοὺς καὶ τοὺς πλήρεις.” ὁρᾷς μὲν δὴ <τὸ> προοίμιον τοῦ φιλαύτου, ὃς κινητὸς καὶ στρεπτός καὶ μεταβλητὸς ὢν κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν φησιν· “ ὥμην ἐστάναι,” καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσαστο, ὅτι μόνῳ θεῷ τὸ ἀκλινὲς καὶ πάγιόν ἐστιν οἰκείον
- 220 καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ φίλος. τῆς μὲν ἀκλινοῦς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμειως σαφειστάτη πίστις ὅδε ὁ κόσμος, αἰεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων—ὅποτε δὲ ὁ κόσμος ἀρρεπής, ὁ δημιουργὸς πῶς οὐ βέβαιος;—εἴτα μέντοι καὶ οἱ ἀψευδέστατοι μάρτυρες ἱεροὶ
- 221 χρησιμοί· λέγεται γὰρ ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ·

<sup>1</sup> καὶ . . . αὐτῶν inserted by Wend. from LXX. Similarly

## ON DREAMS, II. 215-221

mediate duty is to investigate the dreams of him who believed himself to be the king of these two, and the other faculties of the soul, namely Pharaoh. "In 216 my sleep," he says, "I thought I was standing by the edge of the river, and it was as though from the river came up seven kine of choice flesh and well favoured, and they fed in the reed grass. And, lo, seven other kine came up behind them from the river, evil and ugly to look on, and lean-fleshed, such that I never saw uglier in all Egypt. And the lean and 217 ugly kine ate up the seven first kine, the choice and well favoured, and they passed into their bellies. But it could not be seen that they had passed into their bellies, and their looks remained ugly as at the first. And after I had waked I slept, and saw again 218 in my sleep that seven ears of corn came up on one stalk, full and good, and other seven ears thin and wind-blasted grew up beside them, and the seven ears swallowed up the good and full ears" (Gen. xli. 17-24).

You note the opening words of 219 the self-lover, who, in body and soul alike, is the subject of movement and turning and change. "I thought I stood," he says, and does not reflect that to be unswerving and stable belongs only to God and to such as are the friends of God. God's unswerving 220 power is proved most clearly by this world which ever remains the same unchanged, and, since the world is firmly balanced, its maker must needs be steadfast. We have other infallible witnesses in the sacred oracles, for we have these words with God as speaker : 221

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in § 218 perhaps after *κατέπιον οἱ ἑπτὰ στάχυες* insert *οἱ λεπτοὶ καὶ ἀνεμοφθόροι τοὺς ἑπτὰ στάχυνας*.



[688] “ὡδε ἐγὼ ἔστηκα ἐκεῖ<sup>1</sup> πρὸ τοῦ σέ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἐν Χωρήβ,”<sup>2</sup> ἴσον τῷ | οὗτος<sup>3</sup> ἐγὼ ὁ ἐμφανὴς καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὡν ἐκεῖ τέ εἰμι καὶ πανταχοῦ, πεπληρωκὺς τὰ πάντα, ἐστὼς ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ μένων, ἄτρεπτος ὢν, πρὶν ἢ σέ ἢ τι<sup>4</sup> τῶν ὄντων εἰς γένεσιν ἐλθεῖν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ πρεσβυτάτης ἰδρυμένος<sup>5</sup> δυνάμεως ἀρχῆς, ἀφ’ ἧς ἡ τῶν ὄντων γένεσις ὤμβρησε καὶ  
 222 τὸ σοφίας ἐπλήμμυρε νᾶμα. ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι “ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου πηγὴν ὕδατος” ἐν ἑτέροις εἴρηται. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς περὶ τοῦ μὴ τρέπεσθαι τὸ θεῖον φάσκων· “εἶδον τὸν τόπον οὗ εἰστήκει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,” τὸ μὴ μεταβάλλειν διὰ τῆς στάσεως καὶ ἰδρύσεως αἰνιττόμενος.

223 XXXIII. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοσαύτη περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ τοῦ βεβαίου, ὥστε καὶ ταῖς ἐπιλελεγμέναις φύσεσιν ἐχυρότητος, ὡς ἀρίστου κτήματος, μεταδίδωσιν. αὐτίκα γέ τοι τὴν πλήρη χαρίτων διαθήκην ἑαυτοῦ—νόμος δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ λόγος τῶν ὄντων ὁ πρεσβύτατος—ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ βάσεως τῆς τοῦ δικαίου ψυχῆς ἄγαλμα θεοειδὲς ἰδρύσεσθαι παγίως φησὶν, ἐπειδὴν λέγει τῷ Νῶε· “στήσω τὴν  
 224 διαθήκην μου πρὸς σέ.” παρεμφαίνει δὲ καὶ δύο ἕτερα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι τὸ δίκαιον ἀδιαφορεῖ διαθήκης θεοῦ, ἕτερον δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι χαρίζονται τὰ διαφέροντα τῶν λαμβανόντων, ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὐ μόνον ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἑαυτοῖς· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ δεδωρηται καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ὄντων ἑαυτῷ· τὸ γὰρ “στήσω τὴν διαθήκην μου πρὸς σέ” ἴσον ἐστὶ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔστη καὶ ἐκεῖσε. <sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐγχωρεῖν. See App. p. 609.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. οὗτως.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. σὲ ἐπὶ.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ὀρώμενος.

<sup>a</sup> For Philo's interpretation of this text see note on *Dē Sac.* 67.

## ON DREAMS, II. 221-224

"Here I stand there before thou wast, on the rock in Horeb" <sup>a</sup> (Ex. xvii. 6), which means, "This I, the manifest, Who am here, am there also, am everywhere, for I have filled all things. I stand ever the same immutable, before thou or aught that exists came into being, established on the topmost <sup>b</sup> and most ancient source of power, whence showers forth the birth of all that is, whence streams the tide of wisdom." For I am He "Who brought the fountain of 222 water from out the steep rock," <sup>c</sup> as it says elsewhere (Deut. viii. 15). And Moses too gives his testimony to the unchangeableness of the deity when he says "they saw the place where the God of Israel stood" (Ex. xxiv. 10), for by the standing or establishment he indicates his immutability.

XXXIII. But 223 indeed so vast in its excess is the stability of the Deity that He imparts to chosen natures a share of His steadfastness to be their richest possession. For instance, He says of His covenant filled with His bounties, the highest law and principle, that is, which rules existent things, that this God-like image shall be firmly planted with the just soul as its pedestal. For so He declares when he says to Noah, "I will establish My covenant on thee" (Gen. ix. 11). And 224 these words have two further meanings. First that justice and God's covenant are identical; secondly that while the gifts bestowed by others are not the same as the recipients', God gives not only the gifts, but in them gives the recipients to themselves. For He has given myself to me and everything that is to itself, since "I will establish my covenant with thee"

<sup>b</sup> The play on ἀκροάτης and ἀκροτόμου cannot be reproduced in the translation.

<sup>c</sup> Or as E.V. "rock of flint."

- 225 “ σοί <σε><sup>1</sup> δωρήσομαι.” σπουδάζουσι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ θεοφιλεῖς τὸν φιλοπραγμοσύνης χειμῶνα ἀποδιδράσκοντες, ἐν ᾧ σάλος καὶ κλύδων αἰεὶ κυκᾶται, τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς εὐδίοις καὶ ναυλοχωτάτοις  
 226 ἐνορμίζεσθαι λιμέσιν. οὐχ ὁράς, οἶα περὶ Ἀβραὰμ λέγεται τοῦ σοφοῦ, ὥς<sup>2</sup> ἔστιν “ ἔστως ἐνώπιον κυρίου ”; πότε γὰρ εἰκὸς δύνασθαι στήναι διάνοιαν μηκέθ’ ὥς ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ταλαντεύουσαν ἢ ὅτε ἀντικρὺς ἔστι θεοῦ, ὁρώσά τε καὶ ὀρωμένη;  
 227 διχόθεν<sup>3</sup> γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρρεπές, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ὁρᾶν τὸν ἀσύγκριτον, ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πραγμάτων οὐκ ἀνθέλκεται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι, ὅτι ἦν ἀξίαν ἔκρινεν εἰς ὅψιν ὃ ἡγεμὼν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ<sup>4</sup> (ἐλθεῖν, τῷ) ἀρίστῳ μόνῳ προσεκλήρωσεν, αὐτῷ. καὶ Μωυσεῖ μέντοι θεοπρόπιον ἐχρήσθη τοιόνδε· “ σὺ αὐτοῦ στήθι μετ’ ἐμοῦ,” δι’ οὗ τὰ λεχθέντα ἄμφω παρίσταται, τό τε μὴ κλίνεσθαι τὸν ἀστεῖον καὶ ἡ τοῦ  
 228 ὄντος περὶ πάντα βεβαιότης. XXXIV. καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι τὸ τῷ θεῷ συνεγγίζον οἰκειοῦται κατὰ τὸ ἀτρεπτον αὐτοστατοῦν, καὶ ἡρεμήσας ὁ νοῦς, ἡλίκον ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἡρεμία, σαφῶς ἔγνω καὶ θαυμάσας  
 [689] αὐτῆς | τὸ κάλλος ὑπέλαβεν, ὅτι ἡ θεῷ μόνῳ προσκεκλήρωται ἢ τῇ μεταξὺ φύσει θνητοῦ καὶ  
 229 ἀθανάτου γένους. φησὶ γοῦν· “ καὶ γὰρ εἰστήκειν ἀνὰ μέσον κυρίου καὶ ὑμῶν,” οὐχὶ τοῦτο δηλῶν,

<sup>1</sup> <σε>. This obvious correction is given by Mangey, but is not accepted by Wend.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. ὅς.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. δειχθέν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἑαυτῷ.

\* I understand the thought of §§ 224, 225 to be: (1) the words “I will make my covenant to stand to (or on) thee” give Noah the stability of the covenant and make him

## ON DREAMS, II. 225-229

is the same as "I will give thyself to thee."<sup>a</sup> And it 225  
is the earnest desire of all the God-beloved to fly  
from the stormy waters of engrossing business with  
its perpetual turmoil of surge and billow, and anchor  
in the calm safe shelter of virtue's roadsteads.

See what is said of wise Abraham, how 226  
he was "standing in front of God" (Gen. xviii. 22),  
for when should we expect a mind to stand and no  
longer sway as on the balance save when it is opposite  
God, seeing and being seen? For it gets its equipoise 227  
from these two sources: from seeing, because when  
it sees the Incomparable it does not yield to the  
counter-pull of things like itself; from being seen,  
because the mind which the Ruler judges worthy to  
come within His sight He claims for the solely best,  
that is for Himself.

To Moses, too, this  
divine command was given: "Stand thou here with  
Me" (Deut. v. 31), and this brings out both the points  
suggested above, namely the unswerving quality of  
the man of worth, and the absolute stability of Him  
that is. XXXIV. For that which draws near to God 228  
enters into affinity with what is, and through that  
immutability becomes self-standing.<sup>b</sup> And when the  
mind is at rest it recognizes clearly how great a  
blessing rest is, and, struck with wonder at its beauty,  
has the thought that it belongs either to God alone  
or to that form of being which is midway between  
mortal and immortal kind. Thus he says: "And 229  
I stood between the Lord and you" (Deut. v. 5),

part of it as the pedestal of the statue; (2) as Noah is pre-  
eminently *ὁ δίκαιος*, the covenant is also *τὸ δίκαιον*; (3) and  
as by the giving of the covenant *τὸ δίκαιον* is given to *ὁ*  
*δίκαιος*, Noah is given to himself.

<sup>b</sup> Or "here-standing." Philo has perhaps coined the word  
to express *αὐτοῦ στήθι*.

ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ποδῶν ἡρήρειστο, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο  
 βουλόμενος ἐμφῆναι, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ σοφοῦ διάνοια  
 χειμῶνων μὲν καὶ πολέμων ἀπαλλαγείσα, νηνέμῳ  
 δὲ γαλήνῃ καὶ βαθείᾳ εἰρήνῃ χρωμένη κρείττων μὲν  
 230 ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, θεοῦ δὲ ἐλάττων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀγελαῖος ἀνθρώπειος νοῦς σείεται<sup>1</sup> καὶ κυκᾶται πρὸς  
 τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ὁ δ' ἅτε μακάριος καὶ εὐδαίμων  
 ἀμέτοχος κακῶν· μεθόριος δὲ ὁ ἀστείος, ὡς κυρίως  
 εἰπεῖν μήτε θεὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι μήτε ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ  
 τῶν ἄκρων ἐφαπτόμενον, ἀνθρωπότητι μὲν θνητοῦ  
 231 γένους, ἀρετῇ δὲ ἀφθάρτου. τούτῳ παραπλησίον  
 ἔστι καὶ τὸ χρησθὲν λόγιον ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ἱερέως·  
 “ὅταν” γάρ φησιν “εἰσὶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων,  
 ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔσται, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ.” εἰ δὲ μὴ  
 γίνεται τότε ἄνθρωπος, δηλὸν ὅτι οὐδὲ θεός, ἀλλὰ  
 λειτουργὸς θεοῦ,<sup>2</sup> κατὰ μὲν τὸ θνητὸν γενέσκει, κατὰ  
 232 δὲ τὸ ἀθάνατον οἰκειούμενος τῷ ἀγενήτῳ. τὴν δὲ  
 μέσσην τάξιν εἴληχεν, ἕως<sup>3</sup> ἂν ἐξέλθῃ πάλιν εἰς τὰ  
 τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκεία. καὶ πέφυκεν  
 οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅταν μὲν ἐξ ἔρωτος θείου κατασχεθεῖς  
 ὁ νοῦς, συντείνας ἑαυτὸν ἄχρι τῶν ἀδύτων, ὁρμῇ  
 καὶ σπουδῇ πάσῃ χρώμενος προέρχεται, θεοφορού-  
 μενος ἐπιλέλησται μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπιλέλησται δὲ  
 καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, μόνου <δὲ> μέμνηται καὶ ἐξήρτηται  
 τοῦ δορυφορουμένου καὶ θεραπευομένου, ᾧ τὰς  
 ἱερὰς καὶ ἀναφείς καθαγιαζὼν ἀρετὰς ἐκθυμιᾷ.  
 233 ἐπειδὴ δὲ στή <τὸ> ἐνθουσιῶδες καὶ ὁ πολὺς  
 ἡμερος χαλάσῃ, παλινδρομήσας ἀπὸ τῶν θείων

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔεται.

<sup>2</sup> Wend. conjectures δηλὸν <δ> ὅτι οὐδὲ θεός, τί ἄλλο ἢ  
 λειτουργός.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. εἰληχέναι ὡς.

\* The repetition of this text in the same treatise in two

## ON DREAMS, II. 229-233

where he does not mean that he stood firm upon his feet, but wishes to indicate that the mind of the Sage, released from storms and wars, with calm still weather and profound peace around it, is superior to men, but less than God. For the human mind of the common sort shakes and swirls under the force of chance events, while the other, in virtue of its blessedness and felicity, is exempt from evil. The good man indeed is on the border-line, so that we may say, quite properly, that he is neither God nor man, but bounded at either end by the two, by mortality because of his manhood, by incorruption because of his virtue. Similar to this is the oracle given about the high priest : " When he enters," it says, " into the Holy of Holies, he will not be a man until he comes out " (Lev. xvi. 17).<sup>a</sup> And if he then becomes no man, clearly neither is he God, but God's minister, through the mortal in him in affinity with creation, through the immortal with the uncreated, and he retains this midway place until he comes out again to the realm of body and flesh. That it should be so is true to nature. When the mind is mastered by the love of the divine, when it strains its powers to reach the inmost shrine, when it puts forth every effort and ardour on its forward march, under the divine impelling force it forgets all else, forgets itself, and fixes its thoughts and memories on Him alone Whose attendant and servant it is, to whom it dedicates not a palpable offering, but incense, the incense of consecrated virtues. But when the inspiration is stayed, and the strong yearning abates, it hastens back from the divine and becomes a man and meets

different interpretations, in § 189 of the Logos, here of the Perfect Man, is unusual, if not unprecedented.

ἄνθρωπος γίνεται, τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἐντυχών, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις ἐφήδρευεν, ἵνα αὐτὸ μόνον ἐκκύψαντα ἔνδοθεν ἐξαρπάσῃ. XXXV.

- 234 τὸν μὲν οὖν τέλειον οὔτε θεὸν οὔτε ἄνθρωπον ἀναγράφει Μωυσῆς, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφην,<sup>1</sup> μεθόριον τῆς ἀγενήτου καὶ φθαρτῆς φύσεως· τὸν δὲ προκόπτοντα πάλιν ἐν τῇ μεταξύ χώρα ζώντων καὶ τεθνηκότων τάττει, ζῶντας μὲν καλῶν τοὺς συμβιοῦντας φρονήσει, τεθνηκότας δὲ τοὺς ἀφροσύνη χαίροντας.
- 235 λέγεται γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἀαρὼν ὅτι “ ἔστη ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν τεθνηκότων (καὶ τῶν ζώντων), καὶ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις.” ὁ γὰρ προκόπτων οὔτε ἐν τοῖς τεθνηκόσι τὸν ἀρετῆς βίον ἐξετάζεται, πόθον καὶ ζῆλον ἔχων
- [690] τοῦ καλοῦ, οὔτε ἐν τοῖς | μετὰ τῆς ἄκρας καὶ τελείας ζῶσιν εὐδαιμονίας—ἔτι γὰρ πρὸς τὸ πέρασ
- 236 ἐνδεῖ,—ἀλλ' ἐκατέρων ἐφάπτεται. διὸ καὶ κυρίως ἐπιλέγεται τὸ “ ἐκόπασεν ἡ θραῦσις,” ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπαύσατο· παύεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τελείων τὰ περιθραύοντα καὶ κατακλῶντα καὶ καταγνύντα τὴν ψυχὴν, μειοῦται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προκοπτόντων ὡς ἂν αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνακοπτόμενα καὶ στελλόμενα.
- 237 XXXVI. Τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ ἰδρύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν ταύτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἀμετάβλητον καὶ ἄτρεπτον εἰς αἰὲ μνησῆς πρῶτον μὲν ὑπαρχούσης περὶ τὸ ὄν, ἔπειτα δὲ περὶ τὸν τοῦ ὄντος λόγον, ὃν διαθήκην ἐκάλεσε, τρίτον δὲ περὶ τὸν σοφὸν καὶ τέταρτον περὶ τὸν προκόπτοντα, τί παθὼν ὁ φαῦλος καὶ πάσαις ἀραῖς ἔνοχος νοῦς ὥγῃ μόνος ἴστασθαι δύνασθαι, φορούμενος ὥσπερ ἐν κατακλυσμῷ καὶ κατασυρόμενος ταῖς τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων διὰ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἔφη.

## ON DREAMS, II. 233-237

the human interests which lay waiting in the vestibule ready to seize upon it, should it but shew its face for a moment from within.

XXXV. Moses 234

then describes the perfect man as neither God nor man, but, as I have said already, on the border-line between the uncreated and the perishing form of being. While, on the other hand, the man who is on the path of progress is placed by him in the region between the living and the dead, meaning by the former those who have wisdom for their life-mate and by the latter those who rejoice in folly, for we are told 235 of Aaron that "he stood between the dead and the living, and the breaking abated" (Num. xvi. 48). For the man of progress does not rank either among those dead to the life of virtue, since his desires aspire to moral excellence, nor yet among those who live in supreme and perfect happiness, since he still falls short of the consummation, but is in touch with both. And therefore he quite properly concludes with the 236 phrase "the breaking abated," not "ceased." For in perfection all the influences which break and crush and fracture the soul do cease, but in the stage of progress they diminish, being so to speak cut down and confined, but nothing more.

XXXVI. We find, then, that stability or fixity or 237 permanent immobility, in virtue of its immutable and unchangeable quality, subsists as an attribute primarily to the Existing Being, secondly to His Word which He calls His covenant, thirdly to the Sage, and fourthly to the man of gradual progress. What then could make the wicked mind, fit subject for every manner of curse, think that he could stand alone, when he is carried to and fro as in a flood and swept down by eddy after eddy of the torrent of



- νεκροφορουμένου σώματος δίναις ἐπαλλήλοις;  
 238 “ ὤμην ” γάρ φησιν “ ἐστάναι ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.” λόγον δὲ συμβολικῶς ποταμὸν εἶναι φάμεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐκάτερος ἔξω τε φέρεται καὶ ῥέων συντόνω<sup>1</sup> χρῆται τῷ τάχει καὶ τοτὲ μὲν εὐφορεῖ<sup>2</sup> πλημμύραις ὁ μὲν ὕδατος, ὁ δὲ ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων, τοτὲ<sup>3</sup> δὲ ἀφορεῖ χαλῶμενος καὶ συνίζων.  
 239 καὶ ὠφελοῦσι μέντοι ὁ μὲν ἄρδων τὰς ἀρούρας, ὁ δὲ τὰς τῶν φιληκόων ψυχάς, καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε βλάπτουσι κυμήναντες, ὁ μὲν τὴν ὁμορον γῆν ἐπικλύσας, ὁ δὲ ἀνακυκῆσας καὶ συγχέας τὸν τῶν οὐ προσ-  
 240 ἐχόντων λογισμόν. οὗτος μὲν εἰκάζεται ποταμῷ. διττὴ δὲ λόγου φύσις, ἡ μὲν ἀμείνων, ἡ δὲ χείρων, ἀμείνων μὲν ἡ ὠφελοῦσα, χείρων δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 241 ἀναγκαῖον ἢ βλάπτουσα. παραδείγματα δὲ ἐκατέρας τοῖς δυναμένοις ὁρᾶν ἀνέθηκε Μωϋσῆς ἀριδηλότατα. “ ποταμὸς ” γάρ φησι “ πορεύεται ἐξ Ἑδέμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· ἐκεῖθεν ἀφ-  
 242 ορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς.” καλεῖ δὲ τὴν μὲν τοῦ ὄντος σοφίαν Ἑδέμ, ἧς ἐρμηνεία τρυφή, διότι, οἶμαι, ἐντρυφήμα καὶ θεοῦ σοφία καὶ σοφίας θεός, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ὕμνοις ᾄδεται. “ κατατρυφήσον τοῦ κυρίου.” κάτεισι δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς τῆς σοφίας ποταμοῦ τρόπον ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ἵνα ἄρδῃ καὶ ποτίξῃ τὰ ὀλύμπια καὶ οὐράνια φιλαρέτων ψυχῶν βλα-  
 243 στήματα καὶ φυτά, ὥσανει παράδεισον. ὁ δὲ ἱερός οὗτος λόγος ἀφορίζεται εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, λέγω δὲ εἰς τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς σχίζεται, ὧν ἐκάστη βασιλὶς ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ ἀφορίζεσθαι εἰς ἀρχάς οὐ τοπικοῖς ὁροις,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ βασιλείᾳ ἔοικεν, ἢ ἐπιδείξας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εὐτόνω.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐμφορεῖ.<sup>3</sup> MSS. ὅτε.

## ON DREAMS, II. 237-243

which that dead burden the body is the channel? For "I thought," he says, "that I stood on the edge 238 of the river" (Gen. xli. 17). River, I submit, is here a symbol of speech, since both flow outward and with a swift strong current, and both are sometimes fruitful in producing inundations, water in one case, words in the other, sometimes unfruitful when they slacken or subside. And both may be beneficial by 239 irrigating, one the fields, the other the souls of docile hearers; both at times do harm, the river by flooding the adjoining land, speech by reducing the mental powers of the inattentive to chaos and confusion. In this way speech is like a river, but it has a twofold 240 nature better and worse, the better beneficial, the worse necessarily injurious. Moses has 241 provided examples of both, of the plainest kind to those who have the gift of vision. "A river," he says, "goes out of Eden to water the garden; thence it separates into four heads" (Gen. ii. 10), and he 242 gives the name of Eden, which is by interpretation "delight," to the wisdom of the Existent, because no doubt wisdom is a source of delight to God and God to wisdom, and so in the Psalms the singer bids us to "delight in the Lord" (Ps. xxxvii. (xxxvi.) 4). The Divine Word descends from the fountain of wisdom like a river to lave and water the heaven-sent celestial shoots and plants of virtue-loving souls which are as a garden. And this holy Word is 243 "separated into four heads," which means that it is split up into the four virtues, each of which is royal. For separation into heads or rules is not like separation into local regions but into kingdoms, and when he

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<sup>4</sup> MSS. τοπικὸς ὅρους. Possibly we might read the more logical οὐ <τῷ εἰς> τοπικὸς ὅρους ἀλλὰ βασιλείας εἶκεν.

- [691] τὰς ἀρετὰς<sup>1</sup> εὐθὺς ἀποφήνη | καὶ τὸν χρώμενον  
 αὐταῖς σοφὸν βασιλέα, κεχειροτονημένον οὐ πρὸς  
 ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀψευδοῦς καὶ ἀδεκάστου  
 244 καὶ μόνης ἐλευθέρας φύσεως. λέγουσι γὰρ τῷ  
 Ἀβραάμ οἱ κατιδόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀστείον· “ βασι-  
 λεὺς παρὰ θεοῦ εἰ σὺ ἐν ἡμῖν,” δόγμα τιθέμενοι.  
 τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίαν διατρίβουσιν, ὅτι μόνος ὁ  
 σοφὸς ἄρχων καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος  
 ἀρχή τε καὶ βασιλεία.
- 245 XXXVII. Τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἰκάσας ποταμῷ  
 τις τῶν ἐταίρων Μωυσέως ἐν ὕμνοις εἶπεν· “ ὁ  
 ποταμὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπληρώθη ὑδάτων.” καί(τοι)  
 τινὰ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ρέοντων ἄλογον κυριολογεῖσθαι.  
 ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικε, πλήρη τοῦ σοφίας νάματος τὸν  
 θεῖον λόγον διασυνίστησι, μηδὲν ἔρημον καὶ κενὸν  
 ἑαυτοῦ μέρος ἔχοντα, . . .<sup>2</sup> δέ, ὡς εἶπέ τις, ὅλον  
 δι' ὅλων ἀναχεόμενον καὶ αἰρόμενον εἰς ὕψος διὰ  
 τὴν συνεχῇ καὶ ἐπάλληλον τῆς ἀενάου πηγῆς  
 246 ἐκείνης φοράν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἄσμα  
 τοιοῦτον· “ τὸ ὄρημα τοῦ ποταμοῦ εὐφραίνει  
 τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ.” ποίαν πόλιν; ἡ γὰρ νῦν  
 οὐσα ἱερὰ πόλις, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἅγιος νεὼς ἔστι, μακρὰν  
 ὥσπερ θαλάττης καὶ ποταμῶν συνώκισται· ὡς  
 δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι τοῦ προφανοῦς ἕτερόν τι βούλεται  
 247 δι' ὑπονοιῶν παραστήσαι. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοῦ θεοῦ  
 λόγου ρύμη \* \* \*<sup>3</sup> καὶ συνεχῶς μεθ' ὁρμῆς ἐν<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps ἀρετὰς <ἀρχὰς>, “declares the virtues to be sovereignties,” an easy correction which will bring out the sense more clearly.

<sup>2</sup> The lacuna in the mss. here was filled by Hoeschel, whom Mangey and Wend. have followed, with μᾶλλον. But ὡς εἶπέ τις is regularly used by Philo after some quoted word or phrase. See App. p. 610.

points to virtues he means thereby to declare that the Sage who possesses them is a king, a king appointed not by men but by nature, the infallible, the incorruptible, the only free elector. Thus it was 244 said to Abraham by those who saw his worthiness : " thou art a king from God with us " (Gen. xxiii. 6).<sup>a</sup> And thus they laid down the doctrine for the students of philosophy, that the Sage alone is a ruler and king, and virtue a rule and a kingship whose authority is final.<sup>b</sup>

XXXVII. It is this Word which one of Moses' 245 company compared to a river, when he said in the Psalms " the river of God is full of water " (Ps. lxx. (lxiv.) 10); where surely it were senseless to suppose that the words can properly refer to any of the rivers of earth. No, he is representing the Divine Word as full of the stream of wisdom, with no part of it empty or devoid of itself but a . . . , as it has been called, filled through and through with the influx and lifted up on high by the constant never-failing outflow from that perennial fountain.

And there is another psalm 246 which runs thus : " The strong current of the river makes glad the city of God " (Ps. xlv. (xlv.) 4). What city ? For the existing holy city, where the sacred temple also is, does not stand in the neighbourhood of rivers any more than of the sea. Thus it is clear that he writes to shew us allegorically something different from the obvious. It is perfectly true 247 that the impetuous rush of the divine word borne along <swiftly> and ceaselessly with its strong and

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *De Abr.* 261.

<sup>b</sup> See *De Mut.* 152 and note.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ῥύμην, then λ and lacuna of six to eight letters in A. I suggest λαιψηρῶς. See App. p. 610. <sup>4</sup> MSS. μεθορμίσαι.

- τάξει φερομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων ἀναχέει τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 248 εὐφραίνει. πόλιν γὰρ θεοῦ καθ' ἓνα μὲν τρόπον  
 τὸν κόσμον καλεῖ, ὃς ὅλον τὸν κρατῆρα τοῦ θείου  
 πόματος<sup>2</sup> δεξάμενος (ἡκρατί)σατο<sup>3</sup> καὶ γανωθεὶς  
 ἀναφαιρέτου καὶ ἀσβέστου τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν  
 [ἐπὶ τὸν] αἰῶνα εὐφροσύνης ἐπέλαχε, καθ' ἕτερον  
 δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ σοφοῦ, ἣ λέγεται καὶ ἐμπερι-  
 πατεῖν ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἐν πόλει. “ περιπατήσω ” γάρ  
 249 φησιν “ ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ ἔσομαι [ἐν] ὑμῶν<sup>4</sup> θεός.” καὶ  
 ψυχῇ δ' εὐδαίμονι τὸ ἱερώτατον ἔκπωμα προτει-  
 νούσῃ<sup>5</sup> τὸν ἑαυτῆς λογισμὸν τίς ἐπιχεῖ τοὺς ἱερούς  
 κυάθους τῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εὐφροσύνης, ὅτι μὴ ὁ  
 οἰνοχόος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συμποσίαρχος λόγος, οὐ  
 διαφέρων τοῦ πόματος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἄκρατος ὢν,  
 τὸ γάνωμα, τὸ ἥδυσμα, ἡ ἀνάχυσις, ἡ εὐθυμία,  
 τὸ χαρὰς, τὸ εὐφροσύνης ἀμβρόσιον, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασι χρῆσώμεθα, φάρμακον;  
 250 XXXVIII. ἡ δὲ θεοῦ πόλις ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων Ἱερου-  
 σαλήμ καλεῖται, ἥς μεταληφθὲν τοῦνομα ὄρασις  
 [692] ἐστὶν εἰρήνης. ὥστε μὴ ζήτει τὴν τοῦ | ὄντος  
 πόλιν ἐν κλίμασι<sup>6</sup> γῆς—οὐ γὰρ ἐκ ξύλων ἢ λίθων  
 δεδημιούργηται,—ἀλλ' ἐν ψυχῇ ἀπολέμῳ καὶ  
 ὀξύδορκούσῃ <τέλος><sup>7</sup> προτεθειμένη τὸν [δὲ] θεω-  
 251 ρητικὸν καὶ εἰρηναῖον βίον. ἐπεὶ καὶ τίνα σεμνό-  
 τερον καὶ ἀγιώτερον εὖροι τις ἂν οἶκον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι  
 θεῷ ἢ φιλοθεάμονα διάνοιαν, πάνθ' ὁρᾷ ἐπειγο-  
 μένην καὶ μηδὲ ὄναρ στάσεως ἢ ταραχῆς ἐφιεμένην;  
 252 ὑπηχεῖ δέ μοι πάλιν τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀφανῶς ἐνομιλεῖν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀναχέεται.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ποταμός.<sup>3</sup> MSS. σατο preceded by lacuna of three to four letters: Mangey <ἡρῶ>σατο.<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐν ὑμῖν.<sup>5</sup> MSS. προτείνουσι.<sup>6</sup> MSS. κλήμασι.<sup>7</sup> MSS. : lacuna of five to six letters in A.

## ON DREAMS, II. 247-252

ordered current does overflow and gladden the whole universe through and through. For God's city is the name in one sense for the world which has received the whole bowl, wherein the divine draught is mixed, and feasted thereon and exultingly taken for its possession the gladness which remains for all time never to be removed or quenched. In another sense he uses this name for the soul of the Sage, in which God is said to walk as in a city. For "I will walk in you," he says, "and will be your God" (Lev. xxvi. 12). And, when the happy soul holds out the sacred goblet of its own reason, who is it that pours into it the holy cupfuls of true gladness, but the Word, the Cup-bearer of God and Master of the feast, who is also none other than the draught which he pours—his own self free from all dilution, the delight, the sweetening, the exhilaration, the merriment, the ambrosian drug (to take for our own use the poet's terms) whose medicine gives joy and gladness?

XXXVIII. Now the city of God is called in the Hebrew Jerusalem and its name when translated is "vision of peace." Therefore do not seek for the city of the Existent among the regions of the earth, since it is not wrought of wood or stone, but in a soul, in which there is no warring, whose sight is keen, which has set before it as its aim to live in contemplation and peace. For what grander or holier house could we find for God in the whole range of existence than the vision-seeking mind, the mind which is eager to see all things and never even in its dreams has a wish for faction or turmoil? I hear once more the voice of the invisible spirit, the familiar

- πνεῦμα ἄόρατον καὶ φησιν· ὦ οὗτος, ἔοικας ἀνεπιστήμων εἶναι καὶ μεγάλου καὶ περιμαχίτου πράγματος, ὅπερ ἀφθόνως—πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα  
 253 εὐκαίρως<sup>1</sup> ὑφηγησάμην—ἀναδιδάξω. ἴσθι δὴ, (ὦ) γενναῖε, ὅτι θεὸς μόνος ἡ ἀψευδестаτή καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειάν ἐστιν εἰρήνη, ἡ δὲ γεννητὴ καὶ φθαρτὴ οὐσία πᾶσα συνεχῆς πόλεμος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐκούσιον, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἡ οὐσία· ὃς ἂν οὖν ἰσχύσῃ πόλεμον μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκην καὶ γένεσιν καὶ φθορὰν καταλιπεῖν, αὐτομολῆσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἀγένητον, πρὸς τὸ ἄφθαρτον, πρὸς τὸ ἐκούσιον, πρὸς εἰρήνην, λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐνδίκως ἐνδιαίτημα καὶ πόλις εἶναι θεοῦ.  
 254 μηδὲν οὖν διαφερέτω σοι ἢ ὄρασιν εἰρήνης ἢ ὄρασιν θεοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑποκείμενον ὀνομάζειν, ὅτι δὲ τῶν πολυωνύμων τοῦ ὄντος δυνάμεων οὐ θιασῶτις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑξαρχός ἐστιν εἰρήνη.<sup>2</sup>  
 255 XXXIX. Καὶ Ἀβραὰμ μέντοι τῷ σοφῷ δώσειν φησὶ κλῆρον γῆς “ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ ποταμοῦ) τοῦ μεγάλου Εὐφράτου,” οὐ χώρας<sup>3</sup> ἀποτομὴν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀμείνω μοῖραν. Αἰγύπτου μὲν γὰρ ἀπεικάζεται ποταμῷ τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup> ἐγγινόμενα πάθη, τῷ δὲ Εὐφράτῃ (ψυχῇ)  
 256 καὶ τὰ φίλα ταύτῃ. δόγμα δὴ τίθεται βιωφελέστατον καὶ συνεκτικώτατον, ὅτι ὁ σπουδαῖος κλῆρον ἔλαχε ψυχὴν καὶ τὰς ψυχῆς ἀρετάς, ὥσπερ ὁ φαῦλος ἔμπαλιν σῶμα καὶ τὰς σώματος καὶ διὰ  
 257 σώματος κακίας. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ δύο<sup>4</sup> δηλοῖ, ἐν μὲν

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἀκαίρως.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. θιασώτης and εἰρήνης which Wend. prints, though suggesting the corrections here printed. The second might perhaps be taken without the first, and so Mangey.

## ON DREAMS, II. 252-257

secret tenant, saying, " Friend, it would seem that there is a matter great and precious of which thou knowest nothing, and this I will ungrudgingly shew thee, for many other well-timed lessons have I given thee. Know then, good friend, that God alone is 253 the real veritable peace, free from all illusion, but the whole substance of things<sup>a</sup> created only to perish is one constant war. For God is a being of free will ; the world of things is Fatality.<sup>a</sup> Whosoever then has the strength to forsake war and Fatality, creation and perishing, and cross over to the camp of the uncreated, of the imperishable, of free-will, of peace, may justly be called the dwelling-place and city of God. Let it be then a matter of indifference that 254 you should give to the same object two different names, vision of God and vision of peace. For indeed the Potencies of the Existent have many names, and of that company peace is not only a member but a leader."

XXXIX. Again God promises wise Abraham a 255 portion of land " from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates " (Gen. xv. 18), not meaning a section of country, but rather the better part in ourselves. For our body and the passions engendered in it or by it are likened to the river of Egypt, but the soul and what the soul loves to the Euphrates. Here he 256 lays down a doctrine of the greatest importance and value to life, namely, that the good man has received for his portion soul and the soul's virtues, even as the bad on the other hand has body and the vices which belong to and arise through the body. Now " from " 257

<sup>a</sup> Or " our whole existence " . . . " our existence is ruled by necessity."

<sup>3</sup> MSS. οὐχ ὁράς.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. αὐτὸ.



τὸ σὺν ἐκείνῳ ἀφ' οὗ λέγεται, ἕτερον δὲ <τὸ>  
χωρὶς αὐτοῦ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ λέγωμεν ἀπὸ πρῶτας  
ἄχρι ἐσπέρας <ὥρας> εἶναι δώδεκα καὶ ἀπὸ νεο-  
μηνίας ἄχρι τριακάδος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, συγκατα-  
τάττομεν τὴν τε πρώτην ὥραν καὶ τὴν νεομηνίαν.  
[693] ὅταν δέ τις ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως φῇ | τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀπέχειν  
σταδίους τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας, δίχα τῆς πόλεως δήπου  
258 φησὶν. ὥστε καὶ νῦν τὸ “ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
Αἰγύπτου” νομιστέον τὸ χωρὶς ἐκείνου παρα-  
λαμβάνεσθαι· βούλεται γὰρ διοικίσας ἡμᾶς τῶν  
σωματικῶν, ἅπερ ἐν ῥύσει καὶ φορᾷ<sup>1</sup> φθειρομένη  
καὶ φθειρούση θεωρεῖται, κλήρον ψυχῆς λαβεῖν  
μετὰ τῶν ἀφθάρτων καὶ ἀφθαρσίας ἀξίων ἀρετῶν.  
259 οὕτω μέντοι τὸ εἰκάσθαι ποταμῷ  
λόγον ἐπαινετὸν ἰχνηλατοῦντες<sup>2</sup> εὐρήκαμεν. ὁ δὲ  
ψεκτὸς αὐτὸς ἄρα ἦν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμός, ἀν-  
άγωγός τις καὶ ἀμαθής, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἄψυχος  
λόγος· οὗ χάριν καὶ εἰς αἷμα μεταβάλλει, τρέφειν  
οὐ δυνάμενος—ὁ γὰρ ἀπαιδευσίας λόγος οὐ πότιμος  
—καὶ εὐτοκεῖ μέντοι βατράχοις ἀναίμοις καὶ ἀ-  
ψύχοις, καινὸν καὶ τραχὺν ἦχον, ἄλγημα ἀκοῆς,  
260 ἀπηχοῦσι. λέγεται δέ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ πάντες  
ἰχθύες ἐφθάρησαν, οἱ συμβολικῶς εἰσι τὰ νοήματα·  
ταῦτα γὰρ ἐννήχεται καὶ ἐγγίνεται ὡς ἐν ποταμῷ  
τῷ λόγῳ, ζῶοις ἐοικότα καὶ ψυχοῦντα αὐτόν· ἐν δὲ  
ἀπαιδεύτῳ λόγῳ τέθνηκε τὰ ἐνθυμήματα· συνετὸν  
γὰρ οὐδέν ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ κολῳῶν τινὰς ἀ-  
κόσμους καὶ ἀμετροεπεῖς, ὡς εἰπέ τις, φωνάς.

<sup>1</sup> So Mangey for mss. φθορᾷ, which Wend. retains.

<sup>2</sup> mss. ὀχληλατοῦντες.

## ON DREAMS, II. 257-260

has two meanings, one where the thing from which what we are describing starts is included, the other where it is excluded. For when we say that there are twelve hours from early morning to evening, or thirty days from the new moon to the end of the month, we take into our reckoning the first hours in the former case and the new moon itself in the latter. But when one says that the field is three or four stades distant from the city, clearly he does not include the city. So in this case we must suppose 258 that in the phrase "from the river of Egypt" "from" is used in this exclusive sense. For Moses would have us remove right away from bodily things, which present themselves amid restless flux and motion, which destroys and is destroyed, and receive the soul as our heritage with the virtues which are indestructible and worthy to be such. Thus 259 our investigation has shewn what was meant when the speech which deserves praise was compared to a river. It follows that speech which calls for censure was none other than the river of Egypt—speech, that is, which is ill-trained, ignorant and practically soulless. And therefore it changes into blood (Ex. vii. 20), since it cannot provide nourishment, for the speech of indiscipline none can drink. And further it is prolific of frogs, bloodless, soulless creatures, whose cry is a strange harsh noise, painful to the hearers. We are told, too, that all the fish in it died 260 (*ibid.* 21), and by fish thoughts are symbolized. For thoughts swim and are bred in speech as in a river, and like living creatures give vitality to it. But set in undisciplined speech ideas die. For in such speech there is no sense to be found, only "bawling" cries disordered and "unregulated," as the verse has it.<sup>a</sup>

- 261 XL. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἅλῃς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ  
μόνον στάσιν καὶ ποταμόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖλη ποταμοῦ  
φαντασιωθῆναι ὁμολογεῖ φάσκων. “ ὥμην ἐστάναι  
παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ,” ἀναγκαῖον ἂν εἴη  
262 καὶ περὶ χεῖλους τὰ καίρια ὑπομνήσαι.<sup>1</sup> φαίνεται  
τοῖνυν ἕνεκα δυεῖν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἢ φύσιν  
χεῖλη ζώοις καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις ἀρμόσασθαι.  
ἐνὸς μὲν ἡσυχίας—ἔρυμα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ φραγμὸς  
ὀχυρώτατος φωνῆς,—ἐτέρου δὲ ἐρμηνείας· διὰ  
γὰρ τούτων τὸ τῶν λόγων νᾶμα φέρεται<sup>2</sup>. συν-  
αθθέντων μὲν γὰρ ἐπέχεται, φέρεσθαι δ’ ἀμήχανον  
263 μὴ διαστάντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γυμνάζει καὶ συγ-  
κροτεῖ πρὸς ἄμφω, τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν,  
ἐκατέρου τὸν ἀρμόττοντα καιρὸν παραφυλάττοντας.  
οἷον ἀκοῆς ἄξιόν τι λέγεται; πρόσεχε μὴδὲν  
ἐναντιούμενος ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατὰ τὸ Μωυσέως παρ-  
264 ἀγγελμα, τὸ “ σιώπα καὶ ἄκουε.” τῶν γὰρ εἰς  
τὰς ἐριστικὰς γνωσιμαχίας ἀφικνουμένων οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς  
κυρίως οὔτε λέγειν οὔτ’ ἀκούειν νομισθείη, τῷ  
265 δὲ μέλλοντι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν \* \* \*<sup>3</sup> ὠφέλιμον. πάλιν  
ὅταν ἴδῃς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ βίου πολέμοις καὶ κακοῖς  
τὴν ἰλεω τοῦ θεοῦ χεῖρα καὶ δύναμιν ὑπερέχουσαν  
καὶ προασπίζουσαν, ἡρέμησον· οὐ γὰρ δεῖται |  
[694] συμμαχίας ὁ βοηθὸς οὗτος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τούτου  
δεῖγμα τὸ<sup>4</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς κατακείμενον,  
τὸ “ κύριος πολεμήσει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑμεῖς  
266 σιγήσεσθε.” εἰάν γε μὴν ἴδῃς τὰ γνήσια ἔγγωνα  
καὶ πρωτότοκα Αἰγύπτου φθειρόμενα, τὸ ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ὑπονοῆσαι.<sup>2</sup> MSS. ἀναφέρεται.<sup>3</sup> The MSS. have here a lacuna of, in A, sixteen to eighteen letters, for which Wend. suggests ἀκούειν τὸ ἡσυχάζειν. I

XL. Enough on these points ; but since in the 261 words " I thought I stood by the edge of the river " he declares that his dream contained not only a " standing " and a " river," but also the edges or " lips " of a river, I am bound to make such observations as are suitable on the subject of " lip." Nature 262 clearly has provided animals and men in particular with lips for two most necessary purposes. One is to keep silence ; for the lips form the strongest possible fence and barrier for confining sound. The other is to give expression to thought ; for the stream of words flows through the lips. When they are closed that stream is held back, and until they part it cannot take its course. In this way the lips 263 train and exercise us for both purposes, speech and silence, and they teach us to watch for the proper occasion for either. For example : Is something said worth hearing ? Oppose it not but pay attention silently according to the command of Moses, " Be still and hear " (Deut. xxvii. 9). None of those who 264 enter upon wordy controversies can be properly held either to speak or to hear ; he who would do (either) in the true sense will find (silence) useful. Again when 265 amid the wars and ills of life you see the merciful hand and power of God extended over you as a shield, be still. For that Champion needs no ally, and we have a proof of this in the words which Holy Scripture keeps amid its treasures, " The Lord shall war for you and ye shall be silent " (Ex. xiv. 14). Once more, 266 if you see the firstborn of Egypt, true children of their parents, perishing (Ex. xi. 5), even lust, pleasure,

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suggest (and have translated) *ἐκάτερον* rather than *ἀκούειν* as more pointed. If we wish to say anything sensible, we must listen quietly first.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. *δελγματα*.

θυμῆναι, τὸ ἡδεσθαι, τὸ λυπεῖσθαι, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ ἀφραίνειν,<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ καὶ συγγενῇ, καταπλαγείς ἡσύχαζε, 267 τὸ φοβερόν τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος ὑποπτήξας. “οὐ γὰρ γρύξει” φησί<sup>2</sup> “κύων τῇ γλώσση, οὐδ’ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους,” ἴσον τῷ οὔτε τὴν κυνώδη γλώσσαν ὑλακτοῦσάν τε καὶ κράζουσιν<sup>3</sup> οὔτε τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνθρωπον, ἡγεμόνα νοῦν, οὔτε τὸ κτηνώδες θρέμμα, τὴν αἴσθησιν, προσήκει γαυριᾶν, ὅταν ἀναιρεθέντος τοῦ παρ’ ἡμᾶς ὅλον ἔξωθεν τὸ συμ-μαχικὸν αὐτοκέλευστον ὑπερασπιοῦν ἦκη.

268 XLI. πολλοὶ δὲ συμβαίνουσι καιροὶ μὴ ἐφαρμόζοντες ἡσυχία, ὧδὰς δὲ καὶ<sup>4</sup> καταλογάδην ῥήσεις ἐπιζητούντες· ὧν πάλιν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἀνακείμενα ὑπομνήματα. πῶς; ἀγαθοῦ τις γέγονεν ἀπροσδόκητος μετουσία; καλὸν οὖν εὐχαριστῆσαι καὶ 269 τὸν ἐπιτέμψαντα ὑμῆσαι. τί οὖν τὸ ἀγαθόν; τέθνηκε τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον ἡμῖν πάθος καὶ πρηγὲς ἄταφον ἔρριπται; μὴ μέλλωμεν οὖν,<sup>5</sup> ἀλλὰ (χορὸν) στησάμενοι τὴν ἱεροπρεπεστάτην ἄδωμεν ὧδῃν, παρακελευόμενοι λέγειν πᾶσιν· “ἄσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται· ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην 270 ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν τοῦ πάθους φθορά<sup>6</sup> καὶ μετανάστασις ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ’ οὐ τέλειον ἀγαθόν· ἡ δὲ σοφίας εὗρεσις ὑπερβάλλον καλόν· ἥς εὐρεθείσης ἅπας ὁ λεῶς οὐ καθ’ ἐν μέρος μουσικῆς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάσας αὐτῆς τὰς ἀρμονίας

<sup>1</sup> MSS. εὐφραίνειν.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. γρυξί φασί.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. ἀράζουσιν (Mangey γρύζουσιν).

<sup>4</sup> ὧδὰς δὲ καὶ my correction: MSS. τὰς δὲ. See note a on opposite page.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ὑμῖν: I should prefer (as Cohn) ὑμνεῖν.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. φора.

## ON DREAMS, II. 266-270

grief and fear, and injustice, folly, licentiousness with all their brethren and kin, stand in awe and be silent, bending low before the tremendous power of God. "For not a dog shall make a sound," it says, 267 "with his tongue, neither from men to beast" (*ibid.* 7), which means that neither the dog-like tongue which barks so loud, nor the man in us, the ruling mind, nor the beast-like creature, sense, should vaunt themselves when, upon the downfall of all that is our own, assistance comes self-bidden from without to shield us.

XLI. But occasions 268

often arise which ill accord with silence and call for speech in song or prose,<sup>a</sup> and of such, too, we may find instructive examples in the same storehouse. How so? Suppose some portion of good has fallen to us unexpectedly. It is well then to give thanks and hymn the sender. And what is that good? 269 Suppose that the passion which was attacking us is dead and has been flung out headlong without burial. Let us not delay, but setting in order our choir raise the most sacred of anthems, bidding all to say "Let us sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously. Horse and rider he hath cast into the sea" (Ex. xv. 1). But though, no doubt, the destruction 270 and removal of passion is a good, yet it is not a perfect good, but the discovery of wisdom is a thing of transcendent excellence. And when that is discovered, all the people will sing not with one part of music only, but with all its harmonies and melodies.

<sup>a</sup> I have ventured on this correction, which textually is fairly easy, because (1) of the three examples which follow two are song and one prose; (2) in the other two passages, noted in the index, there is the same contrast: *De Mut.* 220 δι' ᾧδῆς καὶ τῶν κατ. ἐγκωμίων: *De Abr.* 23 διὰ ποιήματων καὶ τῶν κατ. συγγραμμάτων.

- 271 καὶ μελωδίας ἄσεται. “ τότε ” γάρ φησιν “ ἦσεν  
 Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ἄσμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος,” λέγω  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πάλαι μὲν κεκρυμμένης, ἀναζητηθείσης  
 δὲ αὖθις καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνευρημένης βαθείας τὴν  
 φύσιν ἐπιστήμης, ἥ<sup>1</sup> νόμος τὰς τῶν φιλοθεαμόνων  
 272 ἄρδειν λογικὰς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἀρούρας. τί  
 δέ; ὅταν συγκομίσωμεν τὸν γνήσιον διανοίας  
 καρπὸν, οὐ παραγγέλλει ἡμῖν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ὥσπερ  
 ἐν καρτάλῳ τῷ λογισμῷ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τῆς εὐφορίας  
 ὧν ἤνθησεν, ὧν ἐβλάστησεν, ὧν ἐκαρποφόρησεν  
 ἡ ψυχὴ καλῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἄντικρυς οὕτω  
 ῥητορεύειν, τὰ εἰς τὸν τελεσφόρον θεὸν ἐγκώμια  
 λέγοντας· “ ἐξεκάθηρα τὰ ἅγια ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας  
 [695] μου ” καὶ ἐταμιευσάμην | ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ οἴκῳ,  
 ταμίας καὶ φύλακας αὐτῶν ἐπιστήσας τοὺς ἀρισ-  
 τίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένους πρὸς τὴν ἱερὰν νεωκορίαν.  
 273 οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι Λευῖται καὶ προσήλυτοι καὶ ὄρφανοὶ  
 καὶ χῆραι· οἱ μὲν ἰκέται,<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ μετανάσται καὶ  
 πρόσφυγες, οἱ δὲ ἀπωρφανισμένοι καὶ κεχηρευκότες  
 γενέσεως, θεὸν δὲ τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπευτρίδος<sup>3</sup>  
 ἄνδρα καὶ πατέρα γνήσιον ἐπιγεγραμμένοι.  
 274 XLII. Τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ λέγειν καὶ  
 ἡσυχάζειν ἐμπρεπέστατον. τὸ δὲ ἐναντίον μεμε-  
 λετήκασιν οἱ φαῦλοι· καὶ γὰρ ἡσυχίας ἐπιλήπτου  
 καὶ ἐρμηνείας ὑπαιτίου ζηλωταὶ γεγόνασιν, ἐκά-  
 τερον ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ἐτέρων συγκρο-  
 275 τοῦντες. τὸ δὲ πλεόν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσκήσεως  
 ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἂ μὴ δεῖ· τὸ γὰρ στόμα διανοίζαντες  
 καὶ ἑάσαντες ἀχαλίνωτον, καθάπερ ῥεῦμα ἀκατά-

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἦν.<sup>2</sup> MSS. οἰκέται.<sup>3</sup> So MSS.: perhaps θερ. ψυχ.

## ON DREAMS, II. 271-275

For "then," says the text, "Israel sang this song 271 upon the well" (Num. xxi. 17), and by the "well" I mean knowledge, which for long has been hidden, but in time is sought for and finally found—knowledge whose nature is so deep, knowledge which ever serves to water the fields of reason in the souls of those who desire to see.

Again when we reap the 272 true harvest of the mind, does not the holy Word bid us bring, stored in the basket (Deut. xxvi. 2, 4) of our reasoning faculties, the firstfruits of that rich crop of things excellent, the product of the flowering, the sprouting, the fruit-bearing of ourselves, and as we display them pronounce with words of forthright oratory our laudings of God who gives fulfilment, in such words as these: "I have purged the things hallowed from my home and stored them in the house of God (*ibid.* 13) under the stewardship and guardianship of those who have been chosen for their high merit to the sacred temple-ministry." These are the Levites and the proselytes, the orphans 273 and widows (*ibid.*); the first suppliants, the second those who have left their homes and taken refuge with God, the others those who are as orphans and widows to creation, and have adopted God as the lawful husband and father of the servant-soul.

XLII. Such is the most fitting rule for speaking 274 and keeping silence. But the practice of the wicked is quite the contrary. For they ardently pursue a guilty silence and a reprehensible speech, and they work both as an engine for the ruin of themselves and others. Yet it is in speech—in saying what they 275 ought not—that they exercise themselves the most. For they open their mouths and leave them un-



σχετον, φέρεσθαι τὸν ἀκριτόμυθον, ἥ φασιν οἱ ποιηταί, λόγον ἰᾷσι,<sup>1</sup> μυρία τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν προσ-  
 276 επισύροντα. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ συνηγορίαν ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ πάσης πλεοναζούσης ὁρμῆς ἐτράποντο, ἄλογον πάθος ἐπιτειχίζοντες ἡγεμόνι λογισμῷ, (οἱ δὲ αὖ)<sup>2</sup> καὶ ταῖς ἐριστικαῖς φιλονεικίαις (ἐπ)αποδυσάμενοι συνεπλάκησαν, ἐλπίσαντες τὸ ὁρατικὸν πηρῶσαι<sup>3</sup> γένος καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν καὶ βαράθρων,<sup>4</sup> ἐξ ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἔτι γένοιτο  
 277 διαναστῆναι, δυνήσεσθαι ῥῖψαι. ἔνιοι δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀντιπάλους ἑαυτοὺς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπέφηναν ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς θείας· ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας ἤλασαν.

Τοῦ μὲν οὖν φιλοπαθοῦς ἑξαρχος ἀναγράφεται θιάσου τῆς Αἰγυπτίας χώρας ὁ βασιλεὺς, Φαραῶ· λέγεται γὰρ τῷ προφήτῃ· “ ἰδοὺ αὐτὸς ἐκπορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ στήσῃ συναντῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ  
 278 χεῖλος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.” τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον ἐπὶ τὴν φορὰν καὶ ἀνάχυσιν αἰεὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου πάθους ἐξιέναι· τοῦ δὲ σοφοῦ πολλῷ ῥέοντι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας λόγοις ὑπαντιάσαι οὐ τοῖς ποσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γνώμῃ, βεβαίως καὶ ἀκλινῶς, ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμίου χείλους, τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τῆς γλώττης, ἅπερ ἦν ὄργανα λόγου· παγίως γὰρ ἐπιβὰς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται τὰς συνηγορούσας τῷ πάθει πιθανότητος ἀνατρέψαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἐῷσι.

<sup>2</sup> The lacuna of five to six letters is filled up by Wend. with *ἐτι δὲ*. For my reasons for preferring *οἱ δὲ αὖ* (or *ἐνιοι δὲ*) see note *b* below.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. πληρῶσαι.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. βάθρων.

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* ii. 246.

<sup>b</sup> That we have here the second of three classes, and not a

## ON DREAMS, II. 275-278

bridled, and suffer their "promiscuous"<sup>a</sup> speech, to use the poet's term, to take its course like an unchecked torrent whirling along with its vast quantities of unprofitable stuff. And so some betake themselves to pleading the cause of pleasure and lust and of every superabundant appetite and raise up unreasoning passion to menace the ruling reason. (Others<sup>b</sup>) disencumber themselves to engage in disputatious controversies, hoping thereby to blind the race of vision and to be able to hurl them over precipices and chasms, from which they can never rise again. Some, too, have set themselves up to oppose the virtue not only of men but of God; to such a pitch of madness have they advanced.

The first of these three, the company of the pleasure-lovers, are described as having for their leader the king of the country of Egypt. For God says to the prophet, "Behold he himself goeth forth to the water, and thou shalt stand meeting him by the edge (lip) of the river" (Ex. vii. 15).<sup>c</sup> It is as characteristic of him, that he should ever go out to the spreading tide of unreasoning passion, as it is of the wise to meet its strong current, whose waters are the advocacy of pleasure and lust—meet it not with his feet, but with his judgement, steadfastly and unswervingly, on the "lip" of the river, that is on the mouth and tongue, the organs of speech. For firmly resting on these supports he will be able to overthrow and lay low the plausibilities which plead the cause of passion.

further denunciation of the first of two, as Wend.'s reading implies, seems clear to me from the sequel. The class here introduced are described further in §§ 279-280.

<sup>c</sup> Each of the three classes is furnished with a *χέλως* text, in this case Ex. vii. 15. So far as philosophical schools are suggested, these are clearly the Epicureans.

279

ὁ δὲ τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ γένους ἐχθρὸς ὁ τοῦ

Φαραὼ λαός ἐστιν, ὃς ἐπιτιθέμενος καὶ διώκων καὶ  
 δουλούμενος ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐπαύσατο, ἕως κακὰς ὧν<sup>1</sup>  
 διέθηκε τὰς ἀμοιβὰς εὖρατο, πελάγει<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἀδικη-  
 μάτων καὶ τρικυμίαις, ἃς τὸ λυ(ττῶν πάθος)<sup>3</sup>

[696] ἀνήγειρε, καταποντωθεῖς, | ὥς ὑπερβάλλουσιν θεάν  
 καὶ νίκην ἀνανταγώνιστον καὶ χαρὰν ἐλπίδος  
 280 μείζονα τὸν καιρὸν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐκείνῳ. διὸ λέγεται·

“ εἶδεν Ἰσραὴλ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τεθνηκότας παρὰ  
 τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης.” μεγάλη γε ἡ ὑπέρμαχος  
 χεῖρ, ἀναγκάζουσα παρὰ στόματι καὶ χεῖλεσι καὶ  
 λόγῳ πίπτειν τοὺς τὰ ὄργανα ταῦτα κατὰ τῆς  
 ἀληθείας ἀκονησαμένους, ἵνα μὴ ὀθνεῖοις ἀλλὰ  
 ἰδίοις ὅπλοις οἱ καθ’ ἐτέρων ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὰ

281 θνήσκωσι. τρία δ’ εὐαγγελίζεται τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ  
 κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν ἀπώλειαν Αἰγυπτιακῶν παθῶν,  
 ἕτερον δὲ τὸ μὴ παρ’ ἐτέρῳ χωρίῳ,<sup>4</sup> <ἀλλὰ> τῆς  
 ἀλμυρᾶς καὶ πικρᾶς πηγῆς, ὥς ἂν θαλάττης,  
 χεῖλεσι, δι’ ὧν ὁ πολέμιος ἀρετῆς σοφιστῆς λόγος  
 ἐξεκέχυτο, τελευταῖον δὲ τὴν θεάν τοῦ πτώματος.

282 μηδὲν γὰρ ἀόρατον εἶη καλόν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς \* \* \*<sup>5</sup> καὶ  
 λαμπρὸν ἥλιον ἄγοιτο· καὶ γὰρ τούναντίον εἰς βαθὺ  
 σκότος καὶ \* \* \*<sup>6</sup> ἄξιον τὸ κακόν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν  
 μηδ’ ἐκ τύχης ἰδεῖν<sup>7</sup> ποτε γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸν  
 μείζουσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀεὶ περιαθροῖτο. τί δὲ οὕτως

<sup>1</sup> I suggest κακὰς <κακῶν> ὧν. <sup>2</sup> MSS. ἐστρατοπελάγει.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. lacuna of four to five letters after λυ, which Wend. fills up as above. Why not λυττᾶν or λυττῶν simply? We are not, I think, concerned with πάθος here.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. ἐτέρων χωρίων.

<sup>5</sup> The lacuna here is of six to eight letters. Wend. suggests ἄσκιον φῶς.

## ON DREAMS, II. 279-282

Secondly,<sup>a</sup> we find the enemy of the race 279  
 that has vision in the people of Pharaoh who attacked  
 and persecuted and enslaved virtue without ceasing,  
 until they received the requital of evil for the evil  
 they meted out to others, submerged in the sea of  
 their wrongdoings and in the mighty billows, which  
 their raving had called up, and thus that occasion  
 brought a peerless spectacle, an undisputed victory,  
 and a joy which transcended hope. Therefore we read: 280  
 " Israel saw the Egyptians dead along the lip of the  
 sea " (Ex. xiv. 30). Mighty is that champion arm by  
 whose constraining force mouth and lips and speech  
 became the scene of the fall of those who had whetted  
 them as instruments against the truth, that so their  
 own weapons, not those of strangers, should bring  
 death to those who had taken them against others.  
 Three messages, the best of tidings, does this text 281  
 proclaim to the soul, one that the passions of Egypt  
 have perished, a second that the scene of their death  
 is none other than the lips of that fountain bitter and  
 briny as the sea, those very lips through which poured  
 forth the sophist-talk which wars against virtue, and  
 finally that their ruin was seen. For we may pray that 282  
 nothing that is good and beautiful should be unseen,  
 but rather should be brought into clear light and bright  
 sunshine, while its opposite evil deserves only to be  
 brought into night and profound darkness and (night).  
 And never may even a casual glimpse of evil come  
 our way, but may the good be surveyed with ever  
 growing eyesight. And what is so truly good as that

<sup>a</sup> The second class, whose *χείλος* text is Ex. xiv. 30, are presumably the sophists in general; *cf.* *σοφιστῆς λόγος* § 281.

<sup>6</sup> Lacuna of six to eight letters. For various suggestions to fill it see App. p. 610.

<sup>7</sup> MSS. *δεῖν*.

- ἀγαθόν, ὡς ζῆσαι τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τὰ φαῦλα;
- 283 XLIII. τρίτοι<sup>1</sup> τοῖνυν ἦσαν οἱ τὴν τῶν  
 λόγων δεινότητα μέχρῃς οὐρανοῦ τείναντες. οὗτοι  
 μελέτην κατὰ τῆς φύσεως, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τῆς  
 ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς ἐμελέτησαν φάσκοντες, μόνον εἶναι  
 τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὁρώμενον τοῦτο, οὔτε γενόμενόν  
 ποτε οὔτ' αὖθις φθαρησόμενον, ἀγέννητον δὲ καὶ  
 ἀφθαρτον, ἀνεπιτρόπευτον, ἀκυβέρνητον, ἀπροστα-  
 284 σίαστον. εἰτ' ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἄλλα συνθέντες ἐπιχειρή-  
 ματα, δόγμα ἀδόκιμον οἰκοδομοῦντες εἰς ὕψος οἷα  
 πύργον ἐξῆραν. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι " ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ  
 χεῖλος ἓν," συμφωνία τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν πάντων  
 ἀσύμφωνος ἐπὶ τῷ κινῆσαι τὸ συνεκτικώτατον ἐν  
 285 τοῖς οὖσιν, ἀρχήν. τοιγαροῦν ἐλπίσαντας αὐτοὺς  
 εἰς οὐρανὸν ταῖς ἐπινοίαις ἀναδραμεῖσθαι ἐπὶ καθ-  
 αἰρέσει τῆς αἰωνίου βασιλείας ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἀκαθ-  
 αίρετος καταβάλλει χεῖρ, καὶ τὸ οἰκοδομηθὲν δόγμα  
 286 συνανατρέψασα. κέκληται δὲ ὁ τόπος " σύγχυσις,"  
 οἰκεῖον ὄνομα τῷ καινουργηθέντι τολμήματι. τί  
 γὰρ ἀναρχίας συγχυτικώτερον; οὐκ οἰκίαι μὲν  
 ἀνηγεμόνευτοι προσκρουσμάτων γέμουσι καὶ ταρα-  
 287 χῆς; ἀβασίλευντοι δ' ἐαθεῖσαι πόλεις ὑπὸ ὀχλο-  
 κρατίας, ἐναντίον καὶ μεγίστου, φθείρονται; καὶ  
 χῶραι δὲ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ κλίματα γῆς, ὧν ἀρχαὶ  
 288 κατελύθησαν, οὐ παλαιὰς καὶ μεγάλας εὐδαιμονίας  
 [697] ἀπέβαλον; καὶ τί δεῖ | τὰ ἀνθρώπινα λέγεσθαι;

<sup>1</sup> mss. and all editors *τρεις*. See note *a* below.

<sup>a</sup> I have no hesitation in reading *τρίτοι* for *τρεις*, a corruption very easily produced by the use of the same symbol for the cardinal and ordinal. For Mangey's explanation of *τρεις* see App. p. 610. This third class biblically represented by the Babel-builders, with Gen. xi. 1 for their *χεῖλος* text, cor-

## ON DREAMS, II. 282-288

the excellent should live and the bad die ?

XLIII. Third on the list <sup>a</sup> were those who extended 283  
the activities of their word-cleverness to heaven  
itself, men who gave themselves to studies directed  
against nature or rather against their own soul. They  
declared that nothing exists beyond this world of  
our sight and senses, that it neither was created nor  
will perish, but is uncreated, imperishable, without  
guardian, helmsman or protector. Then piling enter- 284  
prises one upon another they raised on high like  
a tower their edifice of unedifying doctrine.<sup>b</sup> For  
we read that "all the earth was one lip" (Gen.  
xi. 1), a harmony of disharmony, that is a blend of all  
the parts of the soul, to dislodge from its position the  
greatest binding force in the universe, government.  
And therefore when they hoped to soar to heaven in 285  
mind and thought, to destroy the eternal kingship,  
the mighty undestroyable hand cast them down and  
overturned the edifice of their doctrine. And the 286  
place is called "confusion," a fitting name for wild  
audacious revolution. For what is more fraught  
with confusion than want of government ? Are not  
houses that have no ruler full of offences and disturb-  
ance ? Are not cities left without a king destroyed 287  
by the opposite of king-rule, the greatest of evils,  
mob-rule ? Do not countries and nations and regions  
of the earth lose their old abundant happiness when  
their governments are dissolved ? And why should 288  
we appeal to the case of mankind ? For the other

responds philosophically to the Epicureans and Sceptics, so  
far as the denial of providence is concerned. For ἀγένητον  
καὶ ἀφθαρτον see App. pp. 610 f.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "base" or spurious doctrine. The translation given  
is an attempt to produce something parallel to the untrans-  
latable oxymoron of the Greek.

- οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ ἄλλαι τῶν ζώων ἀγέλαι, πτηνῶν, χερσαίων, ἐνύδρων, ἄνευ τινὸς ἀγελάρχου συν-  
 εστᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ ποθοῦσι καὶ περιέπουσιν αἰεὶ τὸν  
 οἰκεῖον ἡγεμόνα, ὡς μόνον ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον, οὐ κατὰ  
 289 τὴν ἀπουσίαν σκεδάννυνται καὶ διαφθείρονται. εἴτ'  
 οἴομεθα τοῖς μὲν περιγείοις, ἃ βραχυτάτη μοῖρα  
 τοῦ παντός ἐστιν, ἀρχὴν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἀναρχίαν δὲ  
 κακῶν εἶναι αἰτίαν, τὸν δὲ κόσμον οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 βασιλεύοντος θεοῦ προήγησιν εὐδαιμονίας τῆς  
 290 ἄκρας πεπληρώσθαι; δίκην οὖν ἀρμότ-  
 τουσαν οἷς ἐτίθεντο<sup>1</sup> διδόασιν· φύραντες γὰρ τὸ ἱερὸν  
 <τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἀνίερν> πρὸς<sup>2</sup> ἀναρχίας φυρόμενον  
 ἐπεῖδον, συγχυθέντες οἱ<sup>3</sup> συγχέαντες. ἕως δὲ οὐπω  
 τιμωρίαν δεδώκασιν, ὑπὸ φρενοβλαβείας φυσώμενοι  
 τὴν μὲν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν ἀνοσίῳ λόγοις καθ-  
 αιροῦσιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας καὶ βασιλέας ἀνα-  
 γράφουσι, τὸ ἀκαθαίρετον τοῦ θεοῦ κράτος γενέσει  
 τῇ ἀκαταστάτῳ<sup>4</sup> ἀπολλυμένη καὶ φθειρομένη περι-  
 291 ἄπτοντες. XLIV. ἐπιτραγωδοῦντες γοῦν καὶ  
 ἐπικομπάζοντες<sup>5</sup> εἰώθασιν οἱ καταγέλαστοι λέγειν  
 ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἡμεῖς οἱ δυναστεύοντες·  
 ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὁρμεῖ<sup>6</sup> τὰ πάντα· ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων

<sup>1</sup> Probably read <ἐπ>ετίθεντο, or as Mangey <δι>ετίθεντο, a favourite word of Philo, but not as far as I have seen used by him in this sense in the middle.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. περὶ.  
<sup>3</sup> MSS. and all edd. οὐ. For discussion of the text of the sentence see note *a* below.

<sup>4</sup> So MSS.: Wend. ἀδιαστάτῳ without adequate reason, so far as I can see.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. ἐπιστομίζοντες.

<sup>6</sup> MSS. ὁρμᾷ.

<sup>a</sup> Wendland, who prints φύραντες γὰρ τὸ ἱερὸν περὶ . . . ἀναρχίας φυρόμενοι (so also Mangey for φυρόμενον from Trin.) ἐπεῖδον, does not make any attempt how to fill up the supposed lacuna. The suggestion I have made gives, I think, a very

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collections of animals, whether of the air, or the land or the water, do not hold together any more than men without someone to captain them, but they always desire the presence of their proper leader and pay him honour as the sole author of their welfare, and in his absence they scatter and are destroyed. Can we then suppose that, while the creatures of the 289 earth, who are but a tiny portion of the universe, find in government the cause of their well-being and in anarchy the cause of their ills, the world does not owe the supreme blessedness which fills it to the leadership of God its king?

So then these 290 aggressors against heaven suffered a penalty befitting their attempts. Having brought disorder into the holy, they saw their own unholiness disordered by anarchy; they had wrought confusion and were confounded.<sup>a</sup> But so long as they remain unpunished, puffed up by their delusion, they deal out destruction to the government of the universe with their unholy words, enroll themselves as rulers and kings, and make over the undestroyable sovereignty of God to creation which passes away and perishes and never continues in one stay.<sup>b</sup> XLIV. Thus it is their way 291 to talk bombastic, boastful absurdities such as "We are the leaders, we are the potentates; all things are based on us. Who can cause good or its opposite,

satisfactory sense, and if it is accepted the second suggestion of *οἱ συγγέαντες* for *οὐ συγγχ.* producing a similar antithesis will follow almost certainly. *περί* will require correction, and I have hesitated between *παρά* and *πρός*. The former comes more easily from *περί*, and may perhaps be used in the same sense as *πρός*, but *πρός* seems to have been corrupted to *περί* in § 12.

<sup>b</sup> The description of the third class, though primarily an attack on philosophical creeds, passes in this and the subsequent sections into a general denunciation of human pride.



τίνες αἴτιοι <ὅτι μὴ><sup>1</sup> ἡμεῖς; τὸ <εὖ καὶ> κακῶς ἐργάσασθαι τίσιν ὅτι μὴ ἡμῖν ἀψευδέστατα ἀνάκειται; φλυαροῦσι δὲ ἄλλως οἱ δυνάμεως ἀοράτου τὰ πάντα φάσκοντες ἐξῆφθαι, ἣν πρυτανεύειν τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θείων νομίζουσι.

292 τοιαῦτα καταλαζονευσάμενοι, ἐὰν μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης νήψαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς γένωνται καὶ τῆς παροινίας, ἣν παρώνησαν,<sup>2</sup> εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐλθόντες αἰδεσθῶσι καὶ κακίσωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐφ' οἷς ὑπ' ἀγνώμονος γνώμης ἐξαμαρτάνειν προήχθησαν,<sup>3</sup> ἀκολακεύτω καὶ ἀδεκάστῳ χρησάμενοι συμβούλῳ μετανοία,<sup>4</sup> τὴν ἴλεω τοῦ ὄντος δύναμιν ἐξευμενισάμενοι παλινωδίας ἀντὶ βεβήλων ἱεραῖς, ἀμνηστίαν

293 εὐρήσονται παντελεῇ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀφηνιασταὶ καὶ σκληραύχενες μέχρι τοῦ παντός γενόμενοι σκιρτῶσιν, ὡς αὐτόνομοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνες ὄντες, ἀπαραιτήτῳ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ ἀμειλίκτῳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐν ᾧ πασι μικροῖς τε καὶ μεγάλους οὐδένειαν

294 αἰσθήσονται. ὁ γὰρ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἡνίοχος ὡς ἄρματι  
[698] πτηνῷ τῷδε τῷ | κόσμῳ χαλινὸν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τὸ κεχαλασμένον τῶν ἡνίων ὀπίσω βία τείνας καὶ τοὺς κημοὺς<sup>5</sup> ἐπισφίγγας, μᾶστιξι καὶ κέντροις ἀναμνήσει τῆς δεσποτικῆς ἐξουσίας, ἥς ἐπελάθοντο διὰ τὸ χρηστὸν καὶ ἡμερον τοῦ κρατοῦντος ὥσπερ  
295 οἱ κακοὶ δοῦλοι. τὸ γὰρ τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐπιεικὲς εἰς ἀναρχίαν ἐκτρέποντες ἐπιμορφάζουσι τὸ ἀδέσποτον, μέχρις ἂν τὴν ῥοώδη τε καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῶν νόσον, ἀντὶ φαρμάκων τὰς τιμωρίας προσφέρων, ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna of four to five letters.

<sup>2</sup> Α παρανομίας ἢν παρηνόμησαν: Trin. παροινίας ἢν παρηνόμησαν (not παρώνησαν as Mangey states).

<sup>3</sup> MSS. προήχθησαν.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. μετανοίας.

<sup>5</sup> MSS. κόσμους.

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save we? With whom does it really and truly rest to benefit or harm, save us? They are but idle babblers who say that all things are linked to an invisible power, and think that this power presides over everything in the world whether human or divine."

Such is their presumptuousness. 292 Yet, if they pass from this intoxication to sobriety, and become themselves again; if realizing the sottishness of their past they feel shame and self-reproach for the sins to which their ill-judging judgement has led them; if they take repentance for their counsellor, a counsellor impervious to flattery and bribery; if they propitiate the merciful power of Him that is by recantations in which holiness replaces profanity, they will obtain full pardon. But if they 293 continue for ever to plunge and prance like stiff-necked horses disobedient to the rein, as though they were free and independent and rulers of others, necessity inexorable and implacable will make them feel that in all things great and small they are as nothing. For the charioteer who has mounted the 294 winged chariot<sup>a</sup> of this world will put his bridle upon them and pull back with force the hitherto slackened reins till they are taut, tighten the muzzles, and with whip and spur recall to them the nature of that imperious authority, which the kindness and gentleness of the ruler had caused them to forget, as bad servants do. For such misconstrue the mildness of 295 the master as failure to govern, and ape the state of those who have no master, until the owner stems the full flood of the disease, by applying punishments

<sup>a</sup> See App. p. 611.

- 296 κεκτημένος ἐπισχῇ. διὸ λέγεται. “ ψυχὴ ἄνομος ἢ διαστέλλουσα τοῖς χεῖλεσι κακοποιῆσαι ἢ καλῶς ποιῆσαι,” εἰθ’ ὕστερον<sup>1</sup> “ ἐξαγορεύσει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἑαυτῆς.” τί φῆς, ὦ γέμουσα ἀλαζονείας; οἶδας γάρ, τί ἐστὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀγαθὸν ἢ καλὸν
- 297 ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ὅσιον ἢ τίνα τίσιν ἐφαρμόττει; ἢ τούτων ἐπιστήμη τε καὶ δύναμις ἀνάκειται μόνῳ θεῷ, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ φίλος. μάρτυς δὲ καὶ χρησμός, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται. “ ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω.
- 298 πατάξω καὶ γὰρ ἰάσομαι.” ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπιπόλαιον ἔσχεν ἢ δοκησίσοφος ψυχὴ τὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὴν ὀνειρώξιν, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἢ δυστυχὴς ἐξηνεμώθη, ὥς καὶ ἐνώμοτον γενέσθαι περὶ τοῦ βεβαίως καὶ παγίως ταῦθ’ ἐστάναι, ἃ ψευδῶς
- 299 ὑπέλαβεν. εἰάν οὖν τὸ παλμῶδες καὶ παφλάζον τοῦ νοσήματος ἄρξῃται χαλᾶν, τὰ τῆς ὑγείας ἐμπυρεύματα κατ’ ὀλίγον ἐκζωπυρούμενα βιάσεται τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαγορεύσαι τὸ ἁμάρτημα, τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ κακίσαι ἑαυτήν, εἶτα πρὸς βωμοῖς ἰκέτιν γενέσθαι, ποτνιωμένην λιταῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις, (αἷς) ἀμνηστίας μόναίς ἐπιλαχεῖν ἔστιν.
- 300 XLV. Ἐξῆς δ’ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἐπαπορήσειε, τί δὴ ποτε τὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμὸν μόνον ἀνέγραψεν ἔχοντα χεῖλη, τὸν δ’ Εὐφράτην ἢ τινα τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ποταμῶν οὐκέτι. ὅπου μὲν γὰρ φησι. “ στήση συναντῶν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ
- 301 ποταμοῦ” \* \* \*. καίτοι τινὲς ἴσως ἐπιχλευά-

<sup>1</sup> Wend., evidently mistakenly, prints εἰθ’ ὕστερον as part of the quotation. There are twenty words in Leviticus between ποιῆσαι and ἐξαγορεύσει, cf. εἰτ’ ἐπφέρει § 71.

\* E.V. “If any one swear rashly with his lips to do evil or to do good,” i.e. to do anything whatever. The real 576

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in the place of remedies. Thus we read 296  
 " the lawless soul which distinguishes with its lips to  
 do well or do ill,"<sup>a</sup> and then later " shall proclaim its  
 sin " (Lev. v. 4, 5). O soul, brimful of presumptuous  
 folly, what is this which thou claimest ? Knowest thou  
 what is truly good, or excellent, or just, or holy, or  
 what befits who ? No, the knowledge and mastery 297  
 of these is a gift reserved for God alone, and for whoso  
 is God's friend. And this is testified by the oracle in  
 which we are told " I will kill and make to live : I  
 will smite and I will heal " (Deut. xxxii. 39). But 298  
 indeed when the soul, wise in its own conceit, enter-  
 tained this dream of things beyond its ken, it was no  
 fleeting thought, but to its sorrow so puffed up with  
 windy pride was it that it swore an oath<sup>b</sup> that these  
 things stood firm and established, which were but its  
 false imaginations. If then the throbbing fever of its 299  
 disease begins to abate, the embers of health will  
 gradually kindle into a blaze and force it first to  
 " proclaim its sin," that is reproach itself, then come  
 to the altar as a suppliant, beseeching grace with  
 prayers and vows and sacrifices, by which alone it  
 can obtain forgiveness.

XLV. Next we might reasonably inquire why 300  
 Moses speaks of the river of Egypt alone as having  
 " lips " and refrains from doing so in the case of the  
 Euphrates and other holy rivers. For while we have  
 in one place " thou shalt stand meeting him on the  
 lip of the river " (Ex. vii. 15). . . .<sup>c</sup> Yet some perhaps 301

meaning is that any rash oath can only obtain remission by  
 admitting the error.

<sup>b</sup> LXX (following on *καλῶς ποιῆσαι*) *ὅσα ἐὰν διαστειλῇ ὁ  
 ἄνθρωπος μεθ' ὅρκου.*

<sup>c</sup> Some text or texts must have dropped out, illustrating  
 the point. See App. p. 611.

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ζοντες ἐροῦσι, μὴ δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰς ζητήσεις  
εἰσάγειν· γλισχρολογίαν γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφέλειάν  
τινα ἐμφαίνειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡδυσμάτων  
τρόπον παρηρτύσθαι ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς βελ-  
τιώσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ὑπολαμβάνω·  
καὶ οὐδεμίαν τῶν ζητούντων καταγνωστέον εὑρεσι-  
302 λογίαν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ ζητοῖεν, ἔμπαλιν ἀργίαν. οὐδὲ  
γὰρ περὶ ποταμῶν ἐστὶν ἱστορίας ἢ παροῦσα  
[699] σπουδὴ, περὶ δὲ βίων | τῶν εἰκαζομένων ποταμίους  
ρεύμασιν, ἐναντιουμένων ἀλλήλοις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ  
σπουδαίου βίος ἐν ἔργοις, ἐν λόγοις δὲ ὁ τοῦ  
φαύλου θεωρεῖται. λόγος δὲ γλώττη καὶ στόματι  
καὶ χεῖλεσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς \* \* \*.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. χεῖλη.

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may say scoffingly that such points should not be brought into our inquiries, as savouring of petty trifling rather than any profitable process. But I hold that such matters are like condiments set as seasoning to the Holy Scriptures, for the edification of its readers, and that the inquirers are not to be held guilty of any far-fetched hair-splitting, but on the contrary of dereliction if they fail so to inquire. For the subject which now engages our researches is 302 not the lore of rivers as such, but that of lives which are compared to the currents of rivers and are of opposite kinds. For the lives of the good and the bad are shewn, one in deeds, the other in words, and words belong to the tongue, mouth and lips . . .



## APPENDIX TO *DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE*

§ 8. *There are people who fashion*, etc. Has Philo in mind *Phaedo* 96 B ff., where Socrates contrasts, or seems to contrast, the views of earlier philosophers, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Heracleitus, etc., with the higher thought suggested to him by Anaxagoras's dictum? Certainly there is no close resemblance between these theories, as noted there, and the views mentioned by Philo here, but he might perhaps without much difficulty have regarded the negation of a final cause implied in the former as the deification of some original ὕλη.

§§ 11-13. Jacob's expostulation with Laban is interpreted as an argument against the earlier philosophers who assumed an evolution in creation. On the contrary, he asserts, everything was made as it was to be, and had its ποῖόν from the first. The counterpart of this in the story is the protest of Jacob in Gen. xxx. 25-end, which results in his claiming the marked (ἐπίσημα) animals for himself, and leaving the ἀσημα to Laban. (In E.V. these are respectively the stronger and the feebler.)

For the Stoic equation of ποῖόν with εἶδος and the maintenance of its identity throughout cf. *S.V.F.* ii. 395.

§ 16. *Names*. Mangey, who suggested, not very helpfully, γένεσι, pointed out that there is nothing in the actual names of Leah and Rachel which suggests freedom. Possibly the thought may be that ἀσκητικά δυνάμεις, with stress on ἀσκ., are essentially free, but this seems strained. Mr. Whitaker had put "their standing," probably supposing that the allusion is to the freedom they have gained from Laban's control, as expressed in their speech. Possibly again "in the terms they use," or "their language," ὀνόματα being sometimes used for "words" in general as well as for "names," and this would at least give a good antithesis to ἐνθυμήμασι. But both these postulate an unnatural meaning



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for the word. If we suppose a corruption  $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma \delta\rho\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$  would be a possible correction.

§§ 25 ff. Fleeing from Esau.—Philo's views on this are perplexing. We shall perhaps best understand them by remembering that he keeps passing from the internal to the external danger, from the Esau within us to the Esau without. In §24 Esau is definitely the inward enemy. In §§25 ff. he may be either or both, but the temptation to make this topic an occasion for one of those "diatribes" or "commonplaces" which he enjoys so much, though to us they may seem to be unworthy interruptions of the argument, carries him away till by § 28 it is clearly the outward  $\phi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ . This enemy is to be met by a judicious and benevolent use of the good things of life, and after exhausting this subject Philo returns quite clearly in § 39 to the inward conflict. The advice of Patience for this, though given in a very different style, is practically the same. He who is not yet fitted for the highest life must accommodate himself to the lower conditions and make the best possible use of them.

In *De Mig.* 210-212 the danger is at the start said to be "either in thyself or in another person." We then pass on to language which if literally taken seems to leave "thyself" out of the question and to inculcate a degrading subservience to another. But as stated in the footnote to that passage, I believe that the thought is really the same as here, and that the principle of accommodation to the facts of life is parabolically compared to the insincere subservience of the worldly-wise. The long diatribe in *De Som.* ii. 80-92 must no doubt be reckoned with. But here Philo is dealing with a very different subject,  $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ , and his advice can hardly be said to contain anything degrading, unless it is the description of Abraham's dealings with the children of Heth, §§ 89-90. But is not this also a parable of the same kind as I have supposed in *De Mig.*? Both parables may in a sense be compared to that of the Unjust Judge.

§ 26.  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu \epsilon\iota\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ . The translation suggested in the footnote seems preferable, not only because  $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu \epsilon\iota\rho$ . more naturally refers to something further back, though it is perhaps sometimes used of something in the immediate neighbourhood, but because Philo frequently uses  $\tau\hat{\alpha} \pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha} \eta\varsigma \eta\delta\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$ . See e.g. *Leg. All.* ii. 107  $\tau\hat{\alpha} \pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha} \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$  (i.e.  $\eta\delta\omicron\nu\eta\varsigma$ ),  $\chi\rho\upsilon\varsigma\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha \tau\iota\mu\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota$ , where, however,  $\delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\alpha$  and

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τιμαί are ranked as ποιητικά, not as here as products. See also index to *S.V.F.* on ποιητικά and τελικά.

§ 31. δεξιότης. L. & S. 1927 have added "kindliness, courtesy," to their earlier "cleverness," etc., and refer to Philo ii. 30, *i.e.* *De Abr.* 208. There and in the other two of the four passages where I have noted the word this is suitable. But here the usage is somewhat wider. Philo's use of the word seems to extend to gentlemanly behaviour of any kind.

§ 42. πείσμα. Wendland suspects this word. But its use in this sense, though perhaps not common, is well supported. Here Philo is evidently led to it by the desire to accumulate names in -μα in antithesis to ἀνάθημα, and having once used it here was perhaps encouraged to use it again in § 114, where it seems to have the same meaning. Elsewhere it has the commoner sense of "cable."

§ 45. δόγμασιν \* \* \* οὗτος. Wendland, after giving Mangey's note in which, reading ἐπιμένοντα for -τι, he suggested the insertion of προτρέπονσι or some similar word to complete the sense, adds "sed plura desunt"; *i.e.* he considered that not only was something needed to shew what happens to the Lover of Discipline, but also an explanation of the Brother of Rebecca to lead up to οὗτος. This is perhaps the most probable view, but I do not think it is certain that there is any lacuna, or indeed any correction needed at all. If οὗτος is referred to βλος, the statement that while the resources of ordinary life are a danger to the fool, this ordinary life is to the man of discipline the testing-ground and therefore the brother of persistence, makes good enough sense. We have to set against it the distance of βλον from οὗτος, and that we should rather have expected ταῦτα.

Mangey's suggestion implies that the Lover of Discipline, who presumably is the person sent to the Brother of Persistence, is here identified with that Brother. This also, though confusing, is perhaps not impossible. But if so, the simplest emendation would be οὐχ, ὅς for οὗτος, *i.e.* the resources of life are a danger to the fool, but *not so* to the Man of Persistence, who is the Brother of Rebecca. Or perhaps οὐ, τῷ οὐ νοῦς, *i.e.* while the mind of the fool is the Syrian, the mind of the Lover of Discipline is the other Laban, which is not unduly elated.

§ 62. Removed . . . from the Divine Company. Wendland

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notes this and the similar phrase in § 74 as alluding to *Phaedrus* 247 A *φθόνος γὰρ ἔξω θεῶν χοροῦ ἴσταται*. The same thought has already appeared in *Leg. All.* i. 61, iii. 7. Philo, however, does not use it here in the sense of the original, which means that the Divine Company cannot feel envy. In *Spec. Leg.* ii. 249 he definitely quotes it and with the proper meaning. So also *Quod Omnis Prob.* 13.

§ 75. *Space entirely filled by a body*. This is in accordance with the Stoic definition. A *τόπος* must be completely filled by *σῶμα*; if partially filled it remains a *χώρα*. See *S. V. F.* ii. 504 f.

§ 82. This quotation from the *Theaetetus* follows almost immediately on the passage cited in § 68. Each of them is, I think, considerably longer than any citation from Plato to be found elsewhere, and the former is the only passage in this series of treatises in which he gives a reference to the dialogue quoted. The curious way in which in this second passage he disguises the fact that he is practically continuing an earlier quotation might suggest that he took both passages from some collection and did not know the reference for the latter, but probably it may be regarded as merely one of his mannerisms.

§ 101. *Placed nearest*, etc. Or "set up," *ἀφιδρυμένος*, in accordance with the common use of *ἀφιδρυμα* for an image, carrying on the thought of *εἰκών*. Drummond translates *ἐγγ. ἀφ.* by "the nearest model to," but if by this is meant the "closest reproduction of," the phraseology of *μηδενὸς ὄντος μεθορίου διαστήματος* seems strange. Wendland's *ἐφιδρυμένος* seems to me pointless.

§ 114. *ἀθεον*. To expunge this word as inappropriate seems to me rather hypercritical; that polytheism is essentially atheism is a natural remark. In fact Philo has made a very similar if not identical observation in *De Ebr.* 110, where the mss. have *τὸ γὰρ πολυθεὸν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀφρόνων ψυχαῖς ἀθεότης*, after which Wendland supplies *κατασκευάζει*, but Mangey's *ἀθεότης* is quite possible.

§ 134. "*Breath*" or "*spirit*." It seems impossible to get any satisfactory equivalent for the Stoic *πνεῦμα*, "a stuff or body akin to the element of air, but associated with warmth and elasticity" (Arnold); see note on *Quis Rerum* 242. For the term as applied to *νοῦς* cf. *De Som.* i. 30. I have not seen other examples in Philo or elsewhere, but it is very

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commonly applied to *ψυχή*, e.g. Diog. Laert. vii. 157, where Zeno is said to define *ψυχή* as *πνεῦμα ἐνθερμον*. For the idea that *πνεῦμα* is *ὑγρότερον καὶ ψυχρότερον* in plants, *ξηρότερον καὶ θερμότερον* in animals, see *S.V.F.* ii. 787 ff.

§ 150. In the shorter form of the allegory in *De Mut.* 134 f. the pledges are given a different meaning. This is natural because there Judah is no longer the human soul wooing virtue, but God Himself impregnating the soul. Consequently the pledges are not the attributes which constitute human virtue, but those which belong to God's working in the universe.

§ 177. *The reasoning habit.* Or "the acquisition of the reasoning faculty." Since in the section where Philo deals with *πηγή* in the sense of *παιδεία* this phrase does not recur, it would seem that he regards the two as more or less synonymous. This agrees with his use of *λογικὴ ἔξις* in *Leg. All.* i. 10 where it is applied to the mental condition of children when they first begin to reason. The use of it in *Leg. All.* iii. 210 is somewhat similar.

§ 191. *ῥύσις* or *ῥυεῖς*. The chief objection to *ῥυεῖς* is that it involves referring *οὗτος* in the next sentence to *προφορικὸς λόγος*, whereas it is clear that the "great deluge" is the *ῥύσις* of all the senses (and the mind). If *ῥύσις* is read, *γοῦν* would be taken, as not unfrequently, as transitional to the development of the *ῥύσις* of the text, which up to now has only been treated incidentally. It would be better perhaps in this case, though not necessary, to read *ἀκώλυτος*.

§ 200. This defective sentence seems to need something which will give a forcible contrast to the actual unretentiveness described in the next sentence. I suggest *κεῖ φρενὶ . . . ταμειῦεσθαι ἔστι*, i.e. they require the inpouring even if they can hold it (which they can't). Variants of this might be *κἂν . . . ἢ* or *εἰ εἴη*, in the latter case the *εἰ* clause being the protasis to *ἢ γένοιτ' ἂν . . .* in the sense of "which would (rather than "must") be the result, if only . . ." Dr. Rouse suggests *ἂ δεῖ* for *καί*, which will give much the same sense, but would, I think, require the omission of *τά* before *παραδοθέντα*.

## APPENDIX TO *DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM*

§ 7. *Into the darkness.* Philo treats this text in much the same way in *De Post.* 14 ff., and follows it up in the same way with Ex. xxxiii. 13. But there he insists on a point which he does not make here, viz. that the search is not altogether fruitless, since to realize that τὸ ὄν is incomprehensible is in itself a vast boon.

§ 12. *The three natural orders, etc.* This favourite idea of the "educational trinity" stated by Aristotle in the form παιδεία δεῖν τριῶν, φύσεως, διδασκαλίας, ἀσκήσεως, is several times applied by Philo to Isaac, Abraham, and Jacob respectively. See note on *De Sac.* 5-7. But the representation of Isaac as τελειότης (Joh. Dam.) or ὁσιότης (mss.) instead of as φύσις or αὐτομαθής does not seem appropriate, and is not, as far as I have seen, paralleled elsewhere. It may be worth consideration whether Philo wrote τῶν τριῶν, φύσεως, διδασκαλίας, ἀσκήσεως, and when φύσεως had been corrupted to φύσεων the blank thus created for Isaac was variously filled up. That the things symbolized should then be given in their ordinary order and the symbols in their historical order would not, I think, be unnatural. Mangey proposed φύσεως in place of ὁσιότητος, which seems somewhat more arbitrary.

§ 13. *ὀνομά τι.* This reading, which, supported as it is by the mss. ὀνόματι, has almost as much authority as Joh. Dam.'s τὸ ὄνομα, seems to me decidedly preferable in sense. In the next sentence Philo seems to lay down that τὸ ὀνομά μου κύριον is not a natural way of expressing "my proper name," and it is unlikely that he would himself adopt this order of the words.

*Ibid. Transposition.* Hyperbaton defined as an "arrangement of words or thoughts changed from the consecutive order" (λέξεων ἢ νοήσεων ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἀκολουθίαν κεινημένη τάξις) is a wide term of which the grammarians give several subdivisions, including tmesis and parenthesis. Quoted examples

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somewhat similar to the hyperbaton here as supposed by Philo are "transtra per et remos" and γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθών (for περιέγλασσε). See Ernesti *s.v.* and indices to *Greek and Latin Grammarians*.

§ 28. *In a sense relative.* On ὥσαυτε πρὸς τι Drummond writes (*Philo Judaeus*, vol. ii. pp. 48, 49): "When we ascribe to Him titles which are descriptive of relation, we refer only to certain aspects of His being, certain 'powers' which, because they are directed towards objects, are *quasi*-relative. The limitation *quasi* seems to imply that the dependence of the correlative terms is not mutual, but is all on one side, and that not the divine side. The powers of the self-existent are put forth into exercise without experiencing any alteration in their intrinsic character through the reaction of the objects to which they are applied; so that, although their names involve a relation, it would be truer to say that their objects are relative to them than that they are relative to their objects." It is perhaps worth noting that ὡς πρὸς τι (*quasi ad aliquid*) was an accepted grammatical name for exclusive opposites as "night," "day," and "life," "death," distinguished from πρὸς τι, *e.g.* "father," "son." See index to *Grk. Gramm.* Philo, however, cannot be using ὥσαυτε in this sense, as βασιλεὺς and εὐεργέτης are clearly πρὸς τι.

§ 32. *And all that company.* Compare the Stoic dogma αὐστηροὺς εἶναι πάντας τοὺς σπουδαίους, Diog. Laert. vii. 117, *S. V. F.* iii. 637-639. At the same time it is strange to find Philo limiting the wise entirely to this kind, in view of what he says in §§ 39 ff., and though his alternations between the Stoic strictness and the τιθασὸς καὶ ἡμέρος σοφία of the Peripatetics are often startling, I think it may be worth while to consider the textually easy suggestion in the footnote: <τοιοῦτος δὲ πᾶς ὁ θίσιος <δ>.

§ 34. *Was not found.* This wording of the LXX suits Philo's argument admirably, since one phrase of theirs was that the wise man μεχρὶ τοῦ νῦν ἀνεύρετός ἐστι (*S. V. F.* iii. 32, p. 216).

§ 36. *A wise man is non-existent.* Other Stoic pronouncements more or less in this sense, though not quite so absolute, are that the wise man like the Phoenix appears once in 500 years, Seneca, *Ep.* 42. 1; that there have been not more than one or two of them, Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.* vi. 8. 13; that Hercules or Ulysses may have realized the ideal, Seneca,

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*De Const.* 2. 1, and that Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus all fell short of it, Quintilian xii. 1.

§ 46. *Because He was good.* Evidently taken from *Timaeus* 29 D, Ε λέγωμεν δὴ δι' ἣν τινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸδε ὁ ξυνιστὰς ξυνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ὧν πάντα ὃ τι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ. But by stopping short at ἀγαθός and ignoring the last ten words Philo seems rather to miss Plato's point. See note on *De Cher.* 125.

§ 47. *Positively righteous conduct.* Philo here uses κατορθόω in a sense slightly different from the regular Stoic use. With them the κατόρθωματα are actions done from a good motive and part of a generally virtuous course of conduct, and are opposed to καθήκοντα or common duties; here it is opposed to simple abstention from evil-doing. See note on *Quod Deus* 100.

§ 57. ἐνηχεῖ. The word is inadequately treated in the *Lexica*. L. & S. "whisper, prompt," cited from Philo (omitted in later editions) cannot be maintained in face of *Quis Rerum* 67, where it is coupled with ἐμβοήσαι. The six examples quoted from Philo in the index as well as in others from later writers in Stephanus suggest that, as with κατηχεῖν, the main idea is insistent or reiterated address, thus passing easily (again like κατηχεῖν) into "instruction." So perhaps here, where the thought may be that generally the teacher stands superior to the taught, but in this case treats him as an equal. Cf. also *Quis Rerum* 71.

§ 61. Wendland's expunging of στοιχείω περιττεῖν is rather arbitrary. Short of this there are three possibilities: (a) read as Markland στοιχείου περιττόν. This seems pointless, unless we might take it as a reference to the cacophony of a repeated α (the combination αα is certainly rare); (b) <ὡς> στοιχείω περιττεῖν<ν>, i.e. to be better off by a letter—again somewhat pointless; (c) <τὸ> στοιχείω περιττεῖν<ν> and transfer to after παρῆσχήσθαι—"a fine boon—to be better off by a letter." This would certainly be effective, if the transference is not too drastic.

For τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀλφα perhaps read ἐνός, τοῦ ἀλφα. Cf. § 77.

Need we suppose with Wendland that a clause has slipped out after παρῆσχήσθαι? Abraham's case has been dealt with; Sarah's has not. It is possible, I think, to regard τὴν <γάρ>

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Ἀβράμ . . . παραλαβὼν as a parenthetical explanation by Philo himself of the addition of rho.

§ 62. *Misgivings of this sort.* Or simply "ideas," i.e. that God actually changes names, cf. ὑπονοεῖν, § 64. In this case the insertion of τοιαύτας seems necessary. Possibly, however, ὑπονοίας is used in the regular Philonic sense of underlying or allegorical meanings, and the corruption lies in ἐκκόψαιμεν (ἐκκαλύψαιμεν?). In this case the insertion of τοιαύτας is not needed.

§ 65. *Signs.* The use of χαρακτήρ here, as compared with 70 and 83, all of which must stand together, is difficult. Ordinarily χαρ., if it does not mean literally a stamp, is not a type or symbol, but a trait or characteristic, and this suits § 83, for the two kinds of virtue. It may with some forcing suit § 70, for though the names are the χαρακτήρες they represent characteristics. But here this is not so, for the χαρ. which are small, sensible, and obscure must be the names and *not* what they represent. I have tried to evade the difficulty by translating "signs."

§ 77. *Facts.* Philo here uses τυγχάνοντα more or less in the sense in which it was used in the Stoic theory of speech. They distinguished between (1) φωνή, the actual word spoken; (2) σημαίνόμενον or σημαίνον πρᾶγμα, otherwise called λεκτόν, the meaning understood by the hearer; (3) τύχανον, the actual object spoken of. Cf. *S.V.F.* ii. 166. Philo seems to make this distinction in *Leg. All.* ii. 15 τοῦ τυγχάνοντος ἢ τοῦ σημαινομένου. Here he perhaps uses τυγχ. for σημ., and though in Plutarch *Adv. Colotem* 1119 ε the Epicureans are censured by the Stoics for eliminating σημ. and retaining only φωνή and τύγχ., the Stoics themselves are said to do the same in *S.V.F.* ii. 236.

§ 106. *The so-called sacred games.* Cf. *De Agr.* 116 f, where after describing the pentathlon and other contests he says τούτων μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀγώνων πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἱερὸς οὐδεὶς, καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι μαρτυρῶσιν . . . ὁ τοίνυν Ὀλυμπιακὸς ἀγὼν μόνος ἂν λέγοιτο ἐνδίκως ἱερὸς, οὐχ ὃν τιθέασιν οἱ τὴν Ἥλιω οἰκοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ κτήσεως τῶν θείων καὶ ὀλυμπίων ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀρετῶν.

§ 113. If Mangey's correction of φαινόμενα to ποιμαίνόμενα is adopted the picture becomes clear. The shepherd-mind and its sheep "the flock of reasoning" are naturally inseparable, and if the mind is enticed out into the bodily



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region, the flock will be easily given over by the senses into the hands of the "shepherds of an evil herd."

§ 114. *Guidance and rule of law.* In the Stoic sense of law see *S.V.F.* iii. 613, 614 λόγος ὀρθὸς προστακτικὸς μὲν ὦν ποιητέον, ἀπαγορευτικὸν δὲ ὦν οὐ ποιητέον, and therefore the wise man alone is νόμιμος.

§ 121. ποῖος οὗτος. Siegfried in a pamphlet, *Die hebräischen Worterklärungen des Philo*, pp. 21, 22, has the following note which I transcribe for the benefit of Hebraists: "τὸν Ὡσηέ μετονομάζει Μωυσῆς εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, indem er den irgendwie beschaffenen zu einer bestimmten Qualität umprägt. Denn Ὡσηέ ist = ποῖος οὗτος 'irgendwie beschaffen ist dieser' Hebräisch dachte sich Philo Ὡσηέ etwa = מִי־כֵן. Er mochte meinen מִי bediente an sich 'irgendwie,' da מִי mit כֵן = כִּי־כֵן = 'wie' ist."

However plausible this explanation may be as far as the Hebrew goes, it cannot be fitted into the Greek. ποῖος is not "irgendwie beschaffen," which would rather be ὅποιος οὖν or even ἀποῖος. And even if ποῖος can mean this, it is incompatible with the use in the next sentence and in the references given in the footnote to *Leg. All.* Mangey makes the same mistake when he translates "salus qualiscumque."

§ 135. *Chain of destiny.* Though there is no real philosophical connexion between εἰμαρμένη and εἰρμός, it seems to have been regularly assumed. See *S.V.F.* ii. 915-921, e.g. 918 ἡ εἰμαρμένη εἰρμός τις οὖσα αἰτιῶν ἀπαράβατος· οὕτω γὰρ οἱ Στωικοὶ ὁρίζονται.

§ 138. *Superstition*, etc. It is noticeable that here also as in *De Cher.* 48 Philo insists on the esoteric character of the doctrine, that God was the father of the child of a human mother, as something which should not be mentioned to profane ears. See also *Leg. All.* iii. 219. Presumably he felt that it easily lent itself to confusion with pagan myths.

§ 144. ἀμβλίσκουσαν for ἀναλίσκουσαν. In support of this conjecture and the suggestion that Philo may have in mind *Theaetetus* 149 D, it may be noted that Plato in the same passage speaks of the midwives regulating συνοῦσται, also that, in the parallel passage in Hannah's hymn, *Quod Deus* 14, we saw some reason to suspect a quotation from the *Theaetetus*. He alludes again to the treatise in § 212 and quotes it at some length in *De Fuga* 63 and 82.

It may be objected, no doubt, that ἀμβλίσκειν used trans-

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itively would properly apply to the fruits of the *συνουσία*, rather than to the *συνουσία* itself; but this does not come out clearly from the words of the *Theaetetus*. I do not at any rate think that *ἀναλίσκουσαν* can be right.

§ 146. *Many and indeed infinite particulars*. For this "recognized formula of the Platonic school" cf. particularly *Philebus* 14 c, 15 b ff.

§ 150. *Perversions of art*. Cf. Quintilian ii. 15. 2 "(rhetorice) quidam pravitatem quandam artis, id est κακοτεχνίαν, nominaverunt."

§ 152. *The Sage alone is king*. This Stoic "paradox," see *S.V.F.* iii. 617, has already appeared in *De Sobr.* 57 and *De Mig.* 197, and appears later in *De Som.* ii. 244.

§ 153. The definitions of the four virtues are those regularly accepted by the Stoics, see *S.V.F.* iii. 262. Cf. *Leg. All.* i. 63.

§ 160. *Orousis*. See *S.V.F.* iii. 169, where it is defined as *φορὰ διανοίας ἐπὶ τι μέλλον*, but (*ibid.* 173) the *ὁρμή πρὸ ὁρμῆς* is called *ἐπιβολή*.

§ 167. *Virtue is . . . a thing for joy*. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 43 "semper sapiens beatus est. Atque etiam omne bonum laetabile est."

*Ibid.* *A state of happy feeling*. Who are the philosophers alluded to? Hardly the Stoics. I have found no evidence that they identified *εὐπάθεια* with *ἀρετή*, and it is *prima facie* unlikely. Outside Stoicism the word seems to be used rather with the suggestion of bodily welfare, or at least without the higher sense which Philo, who several times couples it with *ἀρετή*, often gives it. See note on *De Mig.* 219. I can hardly think, however, that he speaks without authority and should conjecture that there were philosophers who like him used it as = *εὐδαιμονία* and naturally therefore equated it with *ἀρετή*, perhaps also like him colouring it with the Stoic insistence on joy as "the best of the higher emotions."

The mss. reading *ἀπάθειαν* was retained by Mangey, and has in its favour that the Stoics definitely identified *ἀπ.* with *ἀρ.* (οἱ Στωικοὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίθενται ἐν τῇ ἀπαθείᾳ *Ps.-Plut. Hom.* 134, cf. *S.V.F.* iii. 201), but the context clearly makes it impossible.

§ 197. *Worthy of perseverance*. Though neither Mangey nor Wendland question the reading, this use of *ὑπομονή*

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seems to me strange, for ἀνδρεία consists of ὑπομονή, or at least of knowledge of αὐτοῦ ὑπομένειν, cf. § 153, and no one could be said ὑπομένειν ἀνδρείαν. I think ἐπιμονῆς should be read, used by Philo for "persistence," e.g. *Quod Det.* 118. The phrase then = δεῖ ἐπιμένειν τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ. A tempting emendation would be <ὑπομονή> ὑπομονῆς ἀξίῳ ἢ ἀνδρεία, φυγῇ ἢ δειλίᾳ, which would be in exact accordance with the Stoic definition, but definition would be somewhat out of place here.

§ 207. *Demonstrative pronouns . . . indicate.* Both δειξέις and παρεμφαίνειν are technical terms in Greek grammar, the former, however, being used to describe the function performed by pronouns in general, personal as well as demonstrative. Possibly therefore "pronouns" would be a better translation here than "demonstrative pronouns," see *Grk. Gramm.* Part II. vol. i. p. 9. The meaning of παρεμφαίνειν is best seen from the use of ἀπαρέμφατος as the regular term for the infinitive, because it does not particularize any gender, number, or person like the "paremphatic" words. See an article by myself in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, January 1921.

§ 217. *His charge.* Mangey and Wendland question ὁ ἀγομένος, proposing ὁ εἰσαγομέμος or ὁ παιδαγωγούμενος. I understand Philo to be thinking of the derivation of παιδαγωγός from παῖς and ἄγω, and probably also of the fact that one chief function of the παιδ. was to escort the boy to school.

§ 242. *Freedom from disturbance.* This translation is put forward as a desperate attempt to give some sense to the text as it stands. If we take ἡσυχία in the natural sense of "silence," as it clearly is used, with reference to this passage, in § 251, the whole becomes absurdly pointless. Even with Wendland's conjecture of ἐπεὶ τοι for κἀπειτα, "if a man does not keep silence he can surely be silent if he wishes" is strangely inept. I believe the passage is corrupt. The sense required is, speaking is voluntary, and therefore abstinence from kind words and speaking unkind words are equally wrong. This might be obtained by correcting to ὁ μὴδ' ἐκ τύχης ἐθέλων τι τῶν ἐπιεικεστέρων φθέγγασθαι, οὐ δὲ (or καὶ οὐ) λυσitelῆς τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἡσυχίαν δεξιούσθαι, μὴ ἡσυχάζων· ἐπεὶ τοι τις κτλ. In this case εἰ μὴ . . . φωνῆν would mean "if he fails to speak kindly."

§ 243. *The word is the shadow of the act.* This saying is ascribed to Democritus, Diog. Laert. ix. 37, Ps.-Plut. *De Lib. Educandis* 14.

## APPENDIX TO *DE SOMNIIS*, I.

§§ 1-2. Wendland calls attention to the resemblance between these sections coupled with *De Som.* ii. 1-2, and the classification ascribed to Posidonius in *Cic. De Div.* i. 64: "Tribus modis censet (*sc.* Posidonius) deorum adpulsu homines somniare, uno, quod provideat animus ipse per sese, quippe qui deorum cognatione teneatur, altero, quod plenus aer sit immortalium animorum, in quibus tamquam insignitae notae veritatis appareant, tertio, quod ipsi di cum hominibus colloquantur." Of these the first agrees fairly well with Philo's third: "When the soul, setting itself in motion and agitation of its own accord, becomes frenzied, and with the prescient power due to such inspiration foretells the future."

There are also distinct points of contact between Posidonius' second kind and the dreams of this book. In the first vision it is the Logos which Jacob "meets," and the Logoi are described in § 127 in words which recall the "animi immortales" of Posidonius. Also the point is made in § 241 that it was God's "image," not God Himself, which the dreamer beheld. In the second vision it is the Angel who speaks, and the point that God uses His ministers for this purpose is stressed in § 190. Whether any such connexion can have been made between Posidonius's third kind and Philo's first, *i.e.* the dreams treated in the lost book, seems to me more doubtful. If, as Wendland supposes, these were the warnings sent to Abimelech (*Gen.* xx. 3-7), and to Laban (*Gen.* xxxi. 24), it is true that in both these cases "God" is said to have come and spoken, but would Philo have admitted that these were real visions of the Self-existent? Moreover the main ideas underlying the two classifications are different. With Posidonius it is the distinction between the natures of the divine monitors, with Philo the presence

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or absence of human volition. The conclusion seems to be that while he probably had the Stoic classification in mind, he has put it into a very different shape.

§§ 21-23. The illustrations which follow are mostly drawn primarily from Wendland's article in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1897, pp. 1074-1079. Wendland refers usually to Diels's *Doxographi*, to which I subjoin the references as well as to the sources from which Diels took them.

§ 21. *Crystal* (or *ice*?). Empedocles said στερέμνιον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξ ἀέρος παγέντος ὑπὸ πυρὸς κρυσταλλοειδῶς (Stobaeus, *Ecl.* i. 23, p. 500 H., Diels p. 339).

*Pure fire.* Parmenides, Heracleitus, Strato, Zeno, said πύρινον εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν (Stob. *ib.*, Diels p. 340).

*Fifth substance.* Aristotle ἐκ πέμπτου σώματος (οὐρανόν) (Stob. i. 23, p. 502 H., Diels *ib.*).

§ 22. *Lumps of earth.* Thales γεώδη μὲν, ἔμπυρα δὲ τὰ ἄστρα (Stob. i. 24, p. 506 H., Diels p. 342).

*Dells and glades.* Wendland quotes from Diels p. 356 (Stob. i. 26, p. 552 H.) that Anaxagoras and Democritus said that the moon was στερέωμα διάπυρον ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ πέδια καὶ ὄρη καὶ φάραγγας. But a better illustration would be that Democritus called its face an ἀποσκίασμα τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μερῶν. ἄγκη γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔχειν καὶ νάπας (Stob. *ib.* p. 564 H., not in Diels). But apart from both these being said of the moon and not of the stars, the statement that they were "dells and glades" is totally different from saying that they have them. I should suggest that Philo misunderstood Democritus and supposed him to mean that the stars were fiery hollows in the plain of heaven.

*Masses of fiery metal.* Archelaus said that they were μύδροις διαπύροις δέ (Stob. i. 24, p. 508 H., Diels p. 342). The same was said by Anaxagoras and Democritus of the sun (Stob. i. 25, pp. 528 and 532 H., Diels p. 349). See footnote.

*Unbroken and close harmony.* No illustration is forthcoming for this, and I can make no clear suggestion as to the meaning. πυκνός (Lat. *spissus*) is a term used in music with compounds ἀ-, βαρύ-, ὀξύ-, μεσό-πυκνός, and applied to φθόγγος. Whether there can be any connexion with this, I must leave to others. Stephanus also quotes from Pollux, as epithets of a flute-player, εὐστομος, πυκνός, ξυνεχής.

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That the stars *produced* a harmony is of course a well-known Pythagorean belief.

*Indissoluble compresses of ether.* Anaximander called them *πιλήματα αέρος τροχοειδῆ, πυρὸς ἔμπλεα* (Stob. i. 24, p. 510 H., Diels p. 342). As there seems little connexion between this view and that of the "harmony" one is tempted to insert ἦ before *πιλήματα*.

*Living and intelligent.* Zeno said that each of the stars is *νοερὸν καὶ φρόνιμον* (Stob. i. 25, p. 538 H., Diels p. 467).

§ 23. *Borrowed light.* Ascribed to Thales in the first instance and held by Pythagoras, Parmenides, Empedocles, Anaxagoras and Metrodorus (Stob. i. 26, p. 558 H.). *A light of its own* to Anaximander, Xenophanes, Berosus (Stob. i. 26, p. 556, Diels p. 358).

§ 28. *Genera . . . systems.* On this section I have consulted two high musical authorities, Professor Percy Buck and Dr. Rootham, though neither of them must be considered responsible for the choice of words in these two cases. As *γένη* is the technical term in Greek music for the three "modifications," enharmonic, diatonic and chromatic (see Aristides Quintilianus i. 9), I have followed the *Dictionary of Antiquities* in translating it "genera." Other words suggested are "groupings" or "scales." Again as to *στάσει* (or *τάσει*) as applied to conjunct and disjunct tetrachords the same authorities shew that the regular term is *συστήματα* (A. Q. i. 8), and I have sought safety in adhering to this. Professor Buck suggests "relationships (of tetrachords)." As to the reading, while *στάσις* is certainly not a full equivalent for *σύστημα*, it seems possible here in the sense of "placing" or "setting." *τάσις* is a "pitch." Professor Buck notes that the word is so far appropriate that conjunct and disjunct tetrachords can be placed at any "pitch" you like, but could we say that the *συνημμένον* in general is one *τάσις* and *διεzeugμένον* another? I am inclined to suggest *συστάσεις*. In *σύστασις* we have a fairly near synonym for *σύστημα*, easily corrupted into *στάσις* or *τάσις*, and perhaps preferred by Philo as avoiding the jingle with *διαστήμασι*. (Or again *τάξεσι* might be possible, though textually less satisfactory.)

§§ 30-32. Illustrations mostly drawn, as those on §§ 21-23, from Diels are as follows. It should be noted that, properly speaking, they apply to the *ψυχή* rather than to the *νοῦς*.

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§ 30. *Breath*. "Zeno concretum corpori spiritum (dixit animam)" (Cicero, *Somn. Scip.* i. 14. 19, Diels p. 213). Much the same is said of Hippocrates and Democritus, *ibid.*

*Blood*. "Empedocles et Critias sanguinem," *ibid.*

*Boundary-line*. Or "limit"? Wendland cites Iamblichus quoted in Stob. *Ecl.* i. 41, p. 858 H. to the effect that Aristotle reduced the properties of the soul to three, thus *πέρας τῶν ἀπείρων ἀνευρών*. But does this mean more than that the properties of the soul are really infinite? I should imagine the opinion to be Pythagorean and to embody to some extent the idea of *πέρας* as it appears in Philolaus's dictum that all things are composed *ἐξ ἀπείρων τε καὶ περαινόντων*, cf. Plato, *Philebus*, 16 and 23.

*Form*. "Posidonius ideam (animam dicit)" (Cic. *ibid.*). Perhaps more to the point *ὡς δὲ τῶν Ἀριστοτελικῶν τινες ὑφηγοῦνται, εἰδὸς ἐστὶ τὸ (ἐπὶ?) περὶ τοῖς σώμασι* (Stob. i. 41 from Iamblichus). See also definition of *ἐντελέχεια*.

*Number*. Pythagoras *ἀριθμὸν αὐτὸν κινούμενα* (Stob. i. 41, p. 794 H., Diels p. 386); Cicero, *Somn. Scip.* i. 14. 19, Diels p. 213, "Xenocrates numerum se moventem."

*Continuity*. I have retained *ἐνδελέχεια* in the text, as Wendland, with grave doubt. The somewhat slight arguments in its favour are (1) the unanimous authority of the mss., (2) Cic. *Tusc.* i. 22 "Aristoteles . . . animum *ἐνδελέχεια* appellat novo nomine quasi quandam continuatam motionem et perennem." And if this is as it seems a mistake of Cicero's it is one which Philo may easily have made. On the other hand Diog. Laert. v. 32 of Aristotle is clear for *ἐντελέχεια*. The soul is incorporeal, *ἐντελέχεια* οὖσαν τὴν πρώτην σώματος φυσικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος. λέγει δ' ἐντελέχεια, ἧς ἐστὶν εἰδὸς τι ἀσώματον. And so also Stob. i. 41, p. 796 H., Diels p. 387. If *ἐντ-* has to be translated I should prefer to keep "entelechy" rather than "realization" (Hicks), or "actuality" (L. & S.).

*Harmony*. Pythagoras and Philolaus, Cic. *ibid.*, Diels *ibid.*

§ 31. *Introduced . . . from without*. Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, Xenocrates, Cleanthes, *θύραθεν εἰσκρίνεσθαι τὸν νοῦν* (Stob. i. 40, p. 790 H., Diels p. 392).

*The air . . . impart hardness*, etc. Cf. *S.V.F.* ii. 804-808, where this theory is mentioned with the use of the same

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verb *στομοῦται* and the same derivation of *ψυχή* from *ψῦξις* (originally given by Plato, *Crat.* 399 ε).

§ 32. *Head . . . heart.* See note on *De Sac.* 136. "Citadel" from *Timaeus* 70 A, where Archer-Hind quotes from Galen, *De Plac. Hipp. et Plat.* ii. 230 καθάπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῇ κεφαλῇ δίκην μεγάλου βασιλέως ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ἰδρυται.

§ 44. *Sails of the sovereign mind . . . oars of sense-perception.* I have retained Mr. Whitaker's translation which brings out the original meaning of the proverbial *δευτερος πλοῦς* (see L. & S.). Philo's insistence on the nautical idea, as shewn in *εὐπλοῆσαι*, suggests that he is not using the phrase casually, as no doubt it often was used. But since *πρός* suggests the goal of the sailor rather than the means he employs, it may perhaps be thought better to translate "those voyagers who have failed to reach the sovereign mind can always take the 'second-best voyage' to sense." Philo again uses the phrase, which Plato had made familiar to him, in § 180 below and *De Dec.* 84, but with no special emphasis on the metaphor.

§ 47. *Grandfather . . . of his knowledge.* I take this opportunity of making good an omission in earlier volumes. The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Philo (P. Oxy. ix. 1173, xi. 1356), to which my attention has been called by a paper by Mr. W. G. Waddell (*Études de Papyrologie*, tom. i., Le Caire, 1932), had entirely escaped our notice, though published some twenty years ago. Though of about the same date as the Paris Papyrus (see Introductions to *De Sac.* and *Quis Rerum*), it appears to be exceedingly fragmentary, and I doubt whether it would have influenced our text, with the possible exception to be now mentioned. One of the pieces (Fr. 3) contains fragments of that part of *De Sac.* (§ 43) in which the parallel phrase *πάππῳ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παιδείας* occurs, and on which, following Cohn, we threw some suspicion. It now appears from Mr. Waddell's analysis of this Papyrus that in a lacuna between *μεμάθηκε δὲ ταῦτα* and *ἑαυτοῦ παιδείας* there is room for about seven letters more than what appears in the other authorities, viz. *παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ τῆς*, and he suggests *παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ <τῷ πατρὶ> τῆς*. The fact is noticeable, and standing by itself would certainly increase the natural suspicion of this odd phrase. But, on the other hand, the recurrence here of an almost identical expression applied to the same two persons, Abraham and Jacob, points to the conclusion



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that "grandfather of his education" (or "knowledge") is right, and that some other explanation is needed for the phenomena of the Papyrus. Cohn himself (*Hermes*, 1897, p. 140) cast doubt on his own suspicions, basing himself on *Quod Deus* 92. But the far more conclusive evidence of this phrase in *De Som.* i. seems still to have escaped his notice; unless indeed, which I can hardly think possible, he took ἐπιστήμης as dependent on βρομα, as Mangey does.

§ 53. *Whether it is a foot in diameter.* So Heraclitus εἶπος ποδὸς ἀνθρώπου (Stob. i. 25, p. 526 H., Diels p. 351).

*Many times its size.* Perhaps referring to Anaximander's opinion that the circle of the sun is 28 times that of the earth, though the visible portion which we call the sun is equal to the earth (Stob. i. 25, p. 524, Diels *ibid.*). Cf. Cic. *Acad.* ii. 82 "quem mathematici amplius duodeviginti (? duodetriginta) partibus confirmant maiorem esse quam terram. Mihi quidem pedalis videtur." For other opinions which Philo may have in mind see Reid's note *in loc.*

§ 54. *What is above . . . close to yourself.* Wendland compares with this the words ascribed by Tertullian to Epicurus (Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 229). Other writers assign the saying to Socrates.

§ 57. *All that existeth, etc.* This quotation, which has already been made by Philo in a similar context, *De Mig.* 195, has special appropriateness because it was said to have been applied by Socrates himself to his own inquiries (Diog. Laert. ii. 21).

*Ibid.* The exact meaning of § 57 is not very clear. The thought suggested in the translation is that the meteorologist is ironically told that he may mount to heaven if he will, but the only good he can do by this is to get hold of the "explorer" and bring him down to earth. Philo seems to forget that the whole speech is addressed to the κατάσκοπος, see § 53.

Again, if γνῶθι σαυτὸν, or, as we should certainly expect, <τὸ> γ. σ., is the object of ἀντισπάσας, the passage has a curious resemblance to the "e caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτὸν" of Juv. xi. 27. This phrase receives no illustration from the commentators on Juvenal, and I suspect may be founded on some proverbial line, which Philo also makes use of. If on the other hand γ. σ. is the principal verb and ἀντισπάσας governs τὸν κατάσκοπον, it will be almost necessary

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to omit *εἴτα*, as Mangey and indeed the majority of the mss. do.

§ 99. *ἀνείμονα*. The only quotation given for this word either in Stephanus or the revised L. & S. is *Od.* iii. 348:

*ἀνείμονος ἡὲ πενιχροῦ,  
ὣ οὐ τι χλαῖναι καὶ ῥήγεα πόλλ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,  
οὐτ' αὐτῷ μαλακῶς οὔτε ξείνοισιν ἐνεῦδεν.*

The fact that in both passages the word is used of sleeping with inadequate covering suggests that we have here a distinct reminiscence of Homer. Note also the appearance of *πενιχρός*, a rare word in Philo, just above. But he also uses the word in *De Spec.* i. 83 of the priests when clad *ἐν μόνοις τοῖς χιτωνίσκοις*, and perhaps in *De Gig.* 53, where I have suggested *ἀνείμονι* for the mss. *ἀνειμένη*.

§ 101. *Explanatory statement*. L. & S. 1927 give this passage as an example of *ἀφορισμός* = "a pithy sentence," "aphorism." I do not see anything pithy in it, or, if there is, how it bears on Philo's view that the form of the passage favours an allegorical rather than a literal interpretation. The argument is clearly very similar to, and I believe identical with, that of 82 above, *De Fuga* 171 and *De Ebr.* 138, where stress is laid on the use of the future indicative instead of the imperative. In all these cases the thought was that the words indicated not a personal prohibition but a fact in spiritual life. I suggest that here it is the same, though it is true that it is not a universal fact that the "taker" of "reason" will restore it before the spiritual sunset.

In the other cases the verb used is *ἀποφαίνεται* or *ἀποφαίνεται γνωμῇ*. That here we have *ἀφορισμός* and *ἀφορίζομενος* will cause little difficulty if it is remembered that *ἀποφαντική* and *ὀριστική* are convertible terms for the indicative mood. The latter word is generally used by Apollonius Dyscolus (see index to *Grk. Gramm.* vol. i.). Thus after mentioning that both terms are used he adds *ἰδίας μέντοι ἐννοίας ἔχεται ἡ ὀριστική*, διὰ γὰρ ταύτης ἀποφαίνοντο ὀριζόμεθα (*Syn.* 25 b), i.e. the name *ὀριστική* carries with it the idea not only of a fact stated, but of a particular fact parted off from others. So too the statement itself is regularly called *ὀρισμός*. That we have here the prefix *ἀφ-* cannot weigh, I think, against the otherwise overwhelming evidence that the words are used in this grammatical sense.

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I have followed Wendland's suggestion of inserting ἀποδώσεις αὐτῷ because it seems almost impossible that Philo would have failed to make the point. But the continuation of the quotation is by no means otiose. The verbs are all in the indicative and (except the last) state facts, while in the hortatory form we have the subjunctive expressing purpose. It is a possible conjecture that in some grammatical terminology, otherwise unknown, a sentence containing several indicatives was called an ἀφορισμός instead of an ὁρισμός.

§ 126. *Princely abundance of materials.* As the text stands the sense is presumably that the conditions described are as good as those of royal state. But a comparison with *Quod Det.* 13, where Jacob is spoken of as possessing βασιλεὺς περιουσίαν, leaves the possibility that Philo is contrasting his simple living with the patriarchal wealth. If this is the meaning we might conjecture that καίτοι has fallen out after καὶ νῦν.

§ 134. *First of those which are related to us (or near to us?).* I do not understand what this expression, which implies two sets of κύκλοι, means, or know of any cosmological theory which would justify them. As τῶν for MSS. τοῖς or τῆς is purely conjectural, I should prefer to omit it or substitute τό. We should then get the natural statement that the moon-sphere is the last of the Eight, taking them down from the top, but first if they are taken up from the earth.

§ 138. *The numbers and periods determined by nature.* What is the reference in these words, called in *De Plant.* 14 "certain fixed periods"? Have we an allusion to the three περίοδοι χιλιετείς of *Phaedrus* 248 ε ff., assigned to the philosophical souls, while the unjust remain on earth for 10,000 years? Compare also *Rep.* x. 617, and the proem of Empedocles quoted by Thompson on the *Phaedrus* passage.

§ 145. Aristotle speaks of the moon as ἐν μεθορίοις ἀέρος τεταγμένην καὶ τῆς πέμπτης οὐσίας μετέχουσαν (*Stob.* i. 26, p. 564 H., Diels p. 356). Also μὴ εἶναι αὐτῆς ἀκήρατον τὸ σύγγραμμα διὰ τὰ πρόσγεια αερώματα τοῦ αἰθέρος, ὃν προσαγορεύει σῶμα πέμπτον (*Stob.* 16, Diels p. 361). For the last part compare the Stoic opinion, τοῦ ἀέρος διαμελαινόντος ἔμφασιν γίνεσθαι μορφοειδῆ <προσώπου> *S.V.F.* ii. 673.

§ 153. εἰδῶλον. This use of the word is very strange. The nearest parallel for its use as an "idea" or "mental conception" is *Xen. Symp.* 4. 21 οὕτω σαφὲς ἔχω εἰδῶλον αὐτοῦ ἐν

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τῇ ψυχῇ, ὥς, εἰ πλαστικὸς ἢ ζωγραφικὸς ἦν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον ἐκ τοῦ εἰδώλου ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ὁμοίον αὐτῷ ἀπειργασάμην. But both the genitive following and the context put this on a different footing. Wendland suggests ἐμφαίνει δ' ἔτι καὶ τοιοῦτον <τὸ> or ἐμφαίνεται . . . τῷ εἰδώλῳ. Both these assume that εἶδωλον can be used for a dream in general. If the word is to stand I should prefer to read τοιοῦτου εἶδωλον, "an image or picture of the following idea."

§ 158. ἐπερείδοντας. The mss. have this word in the active here and § 241, and *De Plant.* 7 in the sense of "support" or "establish." In each case editors have suggested ὑπερείδω (Mr. Whitaker in *De Plant.* 7 ἀπ-). The lexica certainly give no evidence for this meaning for ἐπ-, which would naturally mean "to make to rest upon" (something in the dative), and Philo frequently uses it so in the passive. As, however, stability is generally given in this way, it is not unnatural that the word should get this extended meaning, and it seems hardly wise to overrule the repeated evidence of the mss.

§ 164. *Prompter.* This is perhaps as near as we can get to the meaning of ὑπήχει. But the word, which is frequently used by Philo, seems to carry with it the thought of a voice heard inwardly and not audible in the ordinary sense. Thus it is sometimes coupled with ἐνδοθεν, and several times (*e.g.* *De Mut.* 139) applied to the divine voice which speaks to the prophet, to the memories or echoes of the lecturer's words which the student carries away with him (*De Cong.* 67), and to the "haunting" voice of enticing pleasure (*De Post.* 155). Other examples in this volume are *De Som.* ii. 2 and 252. This usage is entirely ignored in L. & S. Stephanus quotes some of these passages, but inadequately translates by "succinere."

§ 184. *A space outside it in the interval between worlds.* An allusion to the Epicurean doctrine that the gods' habitation was the μετακόσμια (*intermundia*). Cf. (Ἐπικούροσ φησι) καθῆσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐν τοῖς μετακοσμίοις οὕτω καλουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 240 (quoted from Hippolytus); "deos induxit Epicurus . . . habitantes tamquam inter duos lucos sic inter duos mundos propter metum ruinarum," Cic. *De Div.* ii. 40.

§§ 186-188. The two chief difficulties are the phrases ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι and ὁ κόσμος μετακληθήσεται. Mr. Whitaker's

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theory as to the first, that the "appointed one" is the Logos, may be tenable in so far as there is good evidence for the thought that the intelligible world is in the Logos or is itself the Logos, see *De Op.* 17 and 20, and it has the great merit that it takes the text as it stands. But the application of "Him who was appointed in accordance with divine bounties" (or "elections," reading *χειροτονίας* for *χορηγίας* as Mr. Whitaker proposed) to the Logos does not seem to me natural, and at any rate it does not lead up to any explanation of the difficulty in § 188.

My alternative suggestion cannot, of course, claim to be more than a guess, but I think it has the merit that without any great change of the text it provides an explanation of the whole passage which is consistent throughout and is thoroughly after Philo's manner.

I will take § 188 first. Wendland excludes the whole of the last sentence as a Christian interpolation describing the Celestial City. I see little grounds for this. The New Jerusalem of the Revelation has walls and gates, though it is true that the latter are always open. Possibly Wendland took *μετακληθήσεται* as meaning "shall receive a new name" in allusion to Rev. ii. 17, and though this sense of the word has little evidence recorded in the lexica it is a quite possible and natural meaning, and has been adopted in the translation. But this carries us but a little way to Wendland's theory of Christian interpolation.

On the supposition that the passage is genuine, the general sense is clear enough that while ordinarily we can only know the intelligible world through our experience of the sensible world, there are conditions in which, or persons to whom, it is known directly. As I have said, the only difficulty is the phrase *ὁ κόσμος μετακληθήσεται*. If *μετακ.* is taken as "shall change its name" I can see no sense that Philo could have meant. If we give the word its usual sense of "summoned" we expect a person instead of *ὁ κόσμος* for the subject, and presumably that person will be Moses, and the higher type of soul that Moses represents. This will be quite consistent with other passages, e.g. *De Mut.* 7, where the darkness which Moses enters is the contemplation of the incorporeal and invisible substance, and there is a very close analogy in *Leg. All.* iii. 100: "There is a mind more perfect and more thoroughly cleansed which has been initiated into the great

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mysteries, a mind which gains its knowledge of the first cause not from created things, as one may learn the substance from the shadow, but lifting its eyes above and beyond creation obtains a clear vision of the uncreated. This mind is Moses." Here there is the difference that the thing directly seen is God Himself, not the world of mind, but otherwise the thought is the same. I propose then to correct κόσμος to κοσμολόγος, "the world explorer," whose world is that of intelligible substance or reality. That the word is not given in the lexicæ matters not at all; it is a perfectly natural formation which anyone might make on the analogy of μετεωρολόγος, etc., and the phrase κοσμολόγος νοητῆς ὑποστάσεως is as natural at any rate as κόσμος ν. ὕ. The only other emendation actually needed is ἐν τῷ <νῷ> διαχαραχθεῖσα for ἐν τῷ διαχαραχθέντι, though it is possible that μακρόθεν may have fallen out before or after θεαθέν, cf. Ex. xx. 21, "the people stood afar off (μακρόθεν), but Moses entered the darkness." I should explain the corruption in the first case by supposing that νῷ dropped out and that then -θείσης was altered to -θέντι for grammatical reasons.

The translation of the first half of the sentence will then be: "But the world-explorer whose world is intelligible reality will need no sight of outward shapes, but only the archetypal 'idea' engraved in the mind, and by this he will be summoned to the Form (or Vision), which he sees not in shadow but in substance" (or "will be summoned with no intervening shadow to the Form which he has beheld from afar"). μετακληθήσεται will be an echo of ἐκάλεσε Κύριος τὸν Μωυσήν, Ex. xxiv. 16, and εἶδος of εἶδος, *ibid.* 17.

In § 186 the only difficult words are ἐν τῷ χειροτονηθέντι. I suggest that here we have the foreshadowing of the next section, *i.e.* that they state the exception to the general sense of this section. This can be obtained by correcting ἐν to πλὴν, an easy correction in itself, though it is a more serious difficulty that κόσμον νοητόν can hardly stand in that position and some rearrangement is required, the simplest being to transfer the words to after συσταθέντα.

§ 205. ῥυθμούς καὶ μέτρα κτλ. Wendland puts no comma after μέτρα but one after διατονικά, thus implying that enharmonic, etc., are μέτρα. This, which perhaps is a mere slip, is quite impossible. μέτρα must be used in the sense which it regularly bears in the accepted division of music into

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melody, rhythm, metre, viz. what we mean by metre, cf. Aristides Quintilianus i. 4, where we have *μελωδία, ῥυθμός, λέξις* followed at once by *περὶ τὴν λέξιν τὸ μέτρον*, and later (i. 10) by a full discussion of *μετρική*. The triple division is given by Philo in *De Cher.* 105, *De Sob.* 36, and *De Agr.* 137, where the enharmonic, etc., are given as subdivisions of *μέλος*.

*Ibid.* *From rhetoric*, etc. Here we have the fundamental divisions of rhetoric which appear in the same form in most of the rhetorical treatises, except that it is perhaps unusual to find both *τάξις* and *οἰκονομία*, the latter, which covers the management and organization of the material, either superseding the former, or including it as a subdivision. Synonyms for *φράσις* are *λέξις, ἀπαγγελία, ἐρμῆνεια*, the last named of which is used by Philo in *De Cher.* 105, and, I believe, in *De Mig.* 35. See notes on those two passages.

§ 214. *Ashes*. As the point is essential to Philo's illustration, one must suppose that he found, or thought he had found, some authority for the statement that ashes were used in purificatory ritual. The nearest evidence I can find is the use of the "ashes of the heifer" in Num. xix. 9, alluded to in Hebrews ix. 13. Possibly *τέφρα*, like *κονία*, may have been a name for some kind of lye or soap, but I know of no evidence for it.

§ 230. *Not from any superstitious nicety*, etc. The explanation I should prefer to give to this passage is that Philo feels that his distinction between *θεός* and *ὁ θεός* might subject him to the charge of giving the name of *θεός* to inferior beings, which would constitute *δαισιδαιμονία* in the ordinary sense. What then is the meaning of *πραγματολογεῖν*? Judging from the sequel it is not so much "to use words to express facts" as "to accommodate language to practical needs." The course of thought seems to be: (1) any name for God is a *κατάχρησις* permitted for the needs of men (§ 230), a point further illustrated in § 231 (the spacing should perhaps be placed at the end of that section rather than at the beginning); (2) God allows men to think that He has been really seen by them (§ 234), and this is illustrated by the pagan legend (§ 233), and the anthropomorphic language of the law (§§ 234-237); (3) He in the same way speaks here of the Angel or Logos as God, though it really was God's

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image which was seen, and thus *πραγματολογεῖ*, etc., suits His words to the capacity of His hearers.

It may be thought that this strains the meaning of *πραγματολογεῖν*. The fact is that this word, which has been used in *De Fug.* 54, is rare and of uncertain meaning. Besides these two instances only two others are quoted. In Diog. Laert. ix. 52 it appears to mean "argue," or make a business of arguing, and so possibly in *De Fug.* 54 (see note). In Anaximenes, *Rhet. ad Alex.* 32 (31) ἵνα πραγματοποιοῦντες ἀπλοῦν τὸν λόγον καὶ μὴ ποικίλον ποιῶμεν, it seems to mean "speaking plainly and intelligibly," and this is not far from the sense suggested by the context here.

§ 244. *Erecting*. It is a pity that the impossibility of using the phrase "make to stand" prevents the translator from bringing out fully the insistence with which Philo harps on the thought of "standing" in connexion with *στήλη*. He finds the idea, no doubt, in the word itself, and repeats it not only in the *ἐστηκα* of § 241 and *στάσις* of § 242, but also in *ιστάς* § 244, *στήσεις* § 245, *ἀνίστησι*, *ἀναστήσας* § 249.

§ 247. *Set up*. Similarly the thought of *ἀνάθεσις* is repeated in *ἀνετέθη* here, and *ἀνακείσεται* (*κείμαι* as often being treated as the passive of *τίθημι*), though in these cases the idea of "dedication" seems to be reduced to the literal "set up," unless, as perhaps is possible, it is used in the sense of "devoted" under a curse, *cf.* the common use of *ἀνάθεμα*, or (in the first case) unless there is an allusion to models of wrecked ships or pieces of the actual wreck being dedicated as votive offerings by the saved. For votive pictures of this kind see Mayor on Juv. xii. 27.

§ 254. 1 *Sam.* i. 11.—Wendland erroneously gives the reference as to v. 28 ("I lend him as a loan"), as also in *Quod Deus* 6, on which passage, carelessly following Wendland, I suggested in a note that Philo in v. 28 had a different version of the text from the LXX. A German reviewer pointed out the mistake.



## APPENDIX TO *DE SOMNIIS*, II.

Note on text.—The Trinity ms. which Cohn on a cursory inspection (Cohn on *De Op.* p. xxx) declared to be worthless as a whole, and which was therefore practically ignored in his and Wendland's reconstruction of the text, does not seem, in this treatise at least, to deserve such a wholesale condemnation. While it certainly shares with A the great majority of that ms.'s mistakes and adds a fair number of its own, there is a not negligible number of cases where it is more correct. In three cases Wendland has adopted the reading of "Mangey e codice Cantabr. Coll. S. Trin.," viz. σύγχυσις § 152, πᾶσαν § 196, ἐκατέρως § 241, as well as φουρόμενοι § 290, which Mangey had given on the authority of ms. Vat., a name apparently unidentified. But besides these there are several examples in which Wendland in correcting the text of A has actually reproduced that of Trin. Such are παρανέβλαστε § 64, ἀγείροντες § 127, εἰ δὲ δεῖ § 128, φῶς § 140, ὄντος § 250, κλίματα § 287.

The lacunas in Trin. are also of some interest. While they occur in the same places, except twice where the text runs on continuously, they do not by any means always occupy the same spaces, being in several cases considerably longer. This rouses a suspicion whether Wendland is justified in basing his conjectures, as he does to some extent, on the length of the spaces in A. Professor Minns indeed tells me that the tendency of scribes is to shorten the gaps, and that the greater length may point to the possibility that though Trin. (fifteenth or sixteenth century) is much later than A (thirteenth century) it may belong to a better tradition. In spite, however, of my doubts on this point, I have thought it wiser to record Wendland's notes on the length of the spaces in A.

§ 27. *Double diapason*. Or perhaps "the two ways of completing the scale," *i.e.* the conjunct tetrachords symbolize

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the attitude of the soul when it contemplates the universe by itself. In the disjunct tetrachords it is still concerned in the first tetrachord with creation, but breaks off and passes in the second to the contemplation of the Creator, whom it recognizes to be something different and transcending creation.

§ 38. *εὐκαταφροντιστώ*. This is certainly an odd-looking word, but it is correctly formed, if we assume *καταφροντίζω* as an intensive form, like so many *κατα*'s, of the simple verb; and though only one instance of the verb in this sense (Polybius xxviii. 11. 10) is quoted, and that is said in L. & S. 1927 to be a doubtful reading, this is not much argument in dealing with Philo. On the whole, though the word is regarded as corrupt in Stephanus, I do not see much reason to doubt its genuineness. Wendland is somewhat rash in printing *ἀνανταγωνιστώ*. It is not only far from the mss. but has less point. The seeker after rewards needs not only persistence but care, and though swiftness is requisite his swift actions must be "well thought out." I should say much the same of Mangey's *εὐκαταφόρω*.

§ 45. *Image and ideal form*, etc. Are *εἰκὼν* and *ἰδέα* merely synonyms? They are combined in much the same way, though without any definite mention of the Logos, in *Leg. All.* i. 33, 42 and 53. I should suggest that in all these cases the Logos is the *εἰκὼν* of God, but the *ἰδέα* to creation. The usage is thus parallel to the phrases in which man is said to be the *εἰκὼν εἰκόνης*, and God the *παράδειγμα παραδείγματος*. See on *De Som.* i. 75.

§ 48. *Barley-cake and water*. Wendland refers to Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 13 (Usener, *Epicurea* 602) ὁ αὐτὸς (*i.e.* Epicurus) ἔλεγεν ἐτοίμως ἔχειν καὶ τῷ Διὶ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας διαγωνίσεσθαι μᾶζαν ἔχων καὶ ὕδωρ.

§ 55. οἱ ἐντρυφῶντες <τοῖς καθεστῶσι νόμοις, MSS. ζῶσι νόμοις. This emendation of Mangey, accepted by Wendland, implies the use of *ἐντρυφάω* = "scorn," a sense which the word does bear, but not apparently elsewhere in Philo, with whom it means "delight in." I am inclined to think that ζω- at any rate may be right. ζῶον, ζωότης, ζωύφιον, ζωοφόρος are all used of sculptured or painted figures not confined to animals, and *cf.* ζωγραφία itself. ζωοφόροις would suit the context excellently as it is particularly used of friezes. It is, however, rather far from ζῶσι νόμοις in form. I would ask for con-

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sideration of the nearer ζωωμένοις. Though the dictionaries know nothing of any use of ζῶω = to carve figures, it is more or less implied by ζωωτός.

§ 70. Wendland by giving the reference to Gen. ii. 9 implies that the twofold tree combines the tree of life with the tree of knowledge. It is more probable, I think, that the latter only is meant, twofold because it is the knowledge of good and evil. The reference is certainly also to Gen. iii. 3, where we have οὐ μὴ ἀψησθε αὐτῆς, thus linking up the story of the tree with the prohibition against "taking hold of the pair." While in *De Op.* 154 Philo interprets the knowledge of good and evil as φρόνησις, i.e. the power to distinguish the two and choose the good, in *Leg. All.* i. 101 f. the tree is the cause of good and evil, abstinence from which is abstinence from evil. Cf. also *ibid.* 61. The thought comes out most clearly in *Quaestiones Gen.* i. 15, where speaking of the tree he says that when good and evil are mingled together, the combination contains the beginning of death ("ubi vero bonum et malum commixta sint, principium habent mixturae mortis").

On the other hand, the tree of life may be the "monad" which Adam neglects. Cf. παρελθόντες τὸ ζωῆς ἀθανάτου φυτὸν, *De Op.* 156.

Observe the condemnation of duality in this section contrasted with the approval of it in §§ 26-28, a contrast which Philo surely has in mind. When the soul couples its contemplation of creation with acknowledgement of the Creator, duality is blessed; when it mingles good with evil, duality is accursed.

§ 119. The "sacred line." For what little is known of the technical meaning of τὸν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς κινεῖν in the game of πεσσοί see L. & S. on γραμμή, and *Dict. of Ant.* s.v. *latrunculi*. In the other passages quoted it seems to be a proverbial phrase for "try the last chance." This does not fit here. Possibly we might suppose that if the piece on the sacred line was the last to be moved in defence, it would also ordinarily be the last to be attacked, whereas Xerxes attacks it first. More probably Philo, seeing an effective play of words on the sacredness of the heavens and the sacred line of the draught-board, strains the phrase to cover something especially rash and desperate.

§ 121. *The Germans*, etc. Wendland quotes Strabo vii. 2. 1 οὐδ' εὖ οὐδ' ὁ φήσας ἑπλα αἰρεσθαι πρὸς τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοὺς

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Κέλτοισι. The same is said by Aelian, *Hist.* ii. 23, of the "Kelts," probably meaning the Germans. It is suggested that this story gave Shakespeare the idea of "taking arms against a sea of troubles."

§ 122. *Spared, wounded, etc.* So Aelian, *ibid.* ὡσπεροῦν ἢ φοβῆσαι δυνάμενοι ἢ τρῶσαι.

§ 123. *One of the ruling class.* Mangey positively declared that this person was Flaccus. It is as positively denied by Edersheim (*Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, article on Philo) and by Ewald (*Geschichte Volkes Israel*, vol. vi. p. 253 n. 1). There is certainly nothing said in the treatise *In Flaccum* of an attempt to enforce Sabbath-breaking; and if it had been made, it is most unlikely that Philo would have passed it over. In fact the attempt here mentioned seems to have been unsuccessful, and the point lies in the arrogant and (in Philo's eyes) blasphemous language in which the threat was couched. The immediate predecessors of Flaccus were Iberus (not Severus as in Mangey's text, see Reiter's note on *In Flaccum* 2) and Vitrasius Pollio (Dion Cassius lvi. 19. 6), and either of these may have been the governor here alluded to.

§ 140. *Shall we first bow, etc.* Assuming, as in the footnote, that ἀφέντες may be corrected to ὑφέντες (or καθέντες, cf. *De Plant.* 145), and that πρότερον can be used in antithesis to εἶτα, the following alternative is possible, <δ> (i.e. χεῖρας) ὑφ(καθ)έντες, i.e. the hands are first raised in prayer, then lowered as the suppliant prostrates himself.

§ 209. *Pleasure is said by her votaries, etc.* The Epicurean view that present ills are mitigated by the memory of past good is several times referred to. See Usener, *Epicurea* 436-439. The closest parallel to this passage is Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 34. 95 "(praecepit Epicurus) corpus gaudere tamdiu, dum praesentem sentiret voluptatem, animum et praesentem percipere pariter cum corpore et prospicere venientem nec praeteritam praeterfluere sinere: ita perpetuas et contextas voluptates in sapiente fore semper, cum expectatio speratarum voluptatum cum perceptarum memoria iungeretur."

§ 221. Mangey retained ἐγχαρπεῖν ("before thou wast dwelling"), supposing that Philo read or thought he read it in the Lxx. But the argument here and elsewhere shews that he understood εἶναι.

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§ 245. The lacuna.—Mangey in proposing to fill this up with μάλλον recognized its inappropriateness to ὡς εἶπέ τις, which he wished to correct to ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις. This seems to me unnecessary. One would prefer to suppose some single poetic noun which would signify a waterspout, but I do not know of any such. The missing letters, however, may easily be some epithet applied to rushing water in general (e.g. βαθυδίνης) or adverb (e.g. ἀμβολάδην) or some longer phrase. Wendland does not state the length of the lacuna in A. In Trin. it is over twenty letters. It is a fairly likely guess, considering the number of Homeric phrases in this treatise, that this too comes from Homer. For τις applied to Homer cf. § 260 below, and *De Somniis*, i. 150.

§ 247. For the lacuna here Wendland suggests ἐπαλλάλως or ἀπαύστως, for example. But I do not see why the initial λ, which also appears in Trin. should be ignored in this case.

§ 282. For this lacuna the following suggestions have been proposed: νυκτός (Hoeschel), νύκτα πεσεῖν (Cohn), νύκτα αἰώνιον (Wendland), νύκτα ἀκτέον (Mangey), αἰώνιον or ἀκτέον being corrections for ἄξιον. Except for the doubtful evidence of space (in Trin. it is about fifteen letters), I see no objection to νύκτα alone. It is easy to supply ἄγεσθαι.

§ 283. *Third on the list.* Mangey, retaining τρεῖς, suggested as possible that the three Aloeidae are meant, cf. *De Conf.* 4. But the Aloeidae, Otus and Ephialtes, were two, not three. Apart from this, the explanation seems to me very improbable. In *De Conf.* 4 the story of the Aloeidae is no doubt compared to that of the Babel-builders, but only by the scoffers. While Philo often illustrates his points from Greek myths, I know of no instance where he accepts them in the way which Mangey's suggestion involves.

*Ibid. Uncreated, imperishable.* Cf. *De Op.* 7, where the belief that the world was ἀγέννητος καὶ αἰδῖος is described as an impious falsehood ascribing inactivity (ἀπραξία) to God. On this Cohn quotes the statement that Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Melissus held that it was ἀγέννητος καὶ αἰδῖος καὶ ἀφθαρτος (Diels, *Doxographi*, p. 332), and the somewhat similar words of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. x. 39), τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν ὅλον νῦν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀεὶ τοιοῦτον ἔσται. Philo, however, in the treatise *De Aet.* maintains that it is ἀφθαρτος, and indeed ascribes this belief to Moses (§ 19). May a recon-

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ciliation of these conflicting views be found in the opinion mentioned in *Quis Rerum* 246 φθαρτὸν μὲν εἶναι, μηδέποτε δὲ φθαρησόμενον? The Maker *can* destroy it, but *never will*. See note on that passage. Cf. also *De Dec.* 58.

§ 294. *Winged chariot*. From *Phaedrus* 246 Εὐὸς μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται. So also in *Quis Rerum* 301.

§ 300. *Ex. vii. 15*. It is idle to guess what text or texts followed. Though Euphrates, except in Gen. ii. 15, is only mentioned as a boundary, this and the other three rivers of that passage, as well as the "river of God" in Ps. xlv., would serve his purpose. His point is that spiritually the "river of Egypt" alone is identified with mere speech. He seems in § 302 to ignore the fact that in §§ 238 f. he has identified *all* rivers with λόγος. Possibly the sequel went on to shew that in good rivers speech is reasonable speech which is inseparable from action.



SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF CASES IN VOLS. I-V.,  
NOT RECORDED IN THE FOOTNOTES, WHERE  
THE TEXT PRINTED IS NOT VOUCHERD  
FOR BY ANY MANUSCRIPT OR ANCIENT  
AUTHORITY

The following list has been drawn up in order to carry out, though in a belated and not very convenient manner, the principle laid down in the preface to Vol. IV., viz. that the places in which the text printed has no ms. authority should be recorded. In that preface I stated that while no consistent attempt had been made to do this in the first two volumes, it was otherwise with Vols. III. and IV. The reviewer of Vol. III., to whose criticism I was replying, rejoined in his review of Vol. IV. that this statement was not quite borne out by the facts. I am grateful to him, for on re-examination of the footnotes to these two volumes, and also of those in Vol. V. which was already in type, I was forced to the conclusion that to a great extent he was right. Not only had a few, though I think very few, of the major emendations been unnoticed in the footnotes, but the fact that while so many minor examples were recorded several others not obviously less important were omitted might justly be said to be misleading.

I hope this catalogue is fairly complete. The only exceptions which I have deliberately made are that I take no notice of (1) mistakes in accents and breathings, (2) orthographical mistakes, using the word in a stricter sense than that which I gave it in the preface to Vol. IV., *i.e.* for cases where the scribe intends the same word as that which is printed but has spelt it otherwise, (3) changes in the order of words, (4) wrong division of words, in which the actual letters are correct, *e.g.* *μὲν εἰ* for *μένει*, (5) grammatical blunders such as *ἔσαν* with an optative or *εἰ* with an infinitive.



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In the heading of the list, by MSS. must be stood under besides the codices, not only the Papyrus in the two treatises where it is available, but the excerpts from earlier writers adduced by Cohn and Wendland in their Apparatus Criticus.

## VOL. I

### DE OFIFICIO MUNDI

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
15	εὐθυβόλῳ	εὐθυβόλως	113	εἰσι	εἰσεισι (ἴησι)
	αὐτῇ	αὐτὴν	117	εἰς πέντε	πρὸς πέντε
50	τοῦ φύσει	τῇ φύσει	135	δ γὰρ	τὸ γὰρ
54	ἐμπαρεῖχε	παρεῖχεν (ἐμπαρ- έχει)	136	ἐκατέρων	ἐκάτερον (-α)
			147	ἐξήρται	ἐξήρτηται
56	ἐναργείας	ἐνεργείας	151	ἐναπεματτε- το	ἀπεμάττετο
58	ἀποκρύψει	ἐπικρύψει	154	γνωριστικοῦ	γνωστικοῦ (ὀριστικοῦ)
72	ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ	ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ	156	προσελθόν	προσελθεῖν (-ών)
78	αἰς ἀπάσαις	αἰς ἀπᾶσαν (οἷς ἅπασιν)	158	ἀναρριπίζου- σαι	ἀναρριπτοῦ- σαι
80	ἀπαντᾷται	ἀπαντᾷ τε		ἀθρόων	ἀθρόον
81	παραγαγεῖν	παρελθεῖν	165	κάν	καὶ (κάκ)
85	ἄροτον	ἄροτρον	166	ἐρώντα	ἐρωτα
104	ἀμφοτέρων	ἀμφότερα	171	καθ' οὗς	καθὼς
107	καθ' ὃν	καθ' ἣν			
108	ἐκ τῶν τεσσ- σάρων	ἡ τῶν διὰ τεσσάρων			

### LEGUM ALLEGORIA, I

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
1	δὴ ἀμφοτέ- ρων	δι' ἀμφοτέ- ρων	6	τῶν ἐξηκόν- των	ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων (ἐξ ἧς ἰόν- των)
3	διαιρετόν	διαιρετέον	15	μονάδι	μονάδος
6	περατωθέντα	περαιωθέντα	99	τότε δέ	τὸ δέ

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

## LEGUM ALLEGORIA, II

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
14	ἐστ' ἄν	δταν	104	ἐπιστομίζειν	ἐπιστοματί- ζειν
31	τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ	τοῦτο δ' ὅτι	108	ἐχορήγησεν	ἐχώρησεν
39	ἐναργέλας	ἐνεργέλας			
73	αἱ ἡλικίαι	καὶ ἡλικίαι			

## LEGUM ALLEGORIA, III

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
1	θεὸν	θεοῦ	69	νοήσης	ποιήσης (-ειε)
2	ὅτε	ὅτι	78	νομίζουσι	ὀνομάζουσι
9	ἐνώπιον	ἐν τόπῳ	81	προσφερέτω	προφερέτω
11	σύμπαντα	σύμπασα	83	Ἀβράμ	Ἀβραὰμ
16	λογισμῷ	λογισμῶν	84	ἄλεκτον	ἄληκτον
21	κακῶν	κακῶν	87	ἀναχεῖ τε	ἀναχεῖται
22	συνηχοῦσαι	συνηχοῦσι	94	παθῶν	ποταμῶν
24	μηδὲν	μηδὲ	96	ἐν σκιᾷ θεοῦ	ἐν σκιᾷ ὁ θεός
25	ἡμερήσιος	ἡμέριος	104	ὑπὸ θεοῦ	ἀπὸ θεοῦ
27	ἀποκρύπτειν	ἐπικρύπτειν	105	ἐπεὶ	ἐπὶ
29	ὁ γὰρ	ὁ δὲ	110	ἀκακίαν	κακίαν
31	παρὰλλάττον	παράλογον	115	ἥτρον	ἥτορ
32	τετρημένῳ	τετρωμένῳ	121	σαφῶς	σοφῶς
38	ἐπὶ κήρον	ἐπὶ καιρον		ὑπάτην	ὑστάτην
	τύπτοντα	τύπτον	123	κεκριμένον	κεκρυμμένον
	ἐνώσεως	γνώσεως		ἀσάφειαν	σαφήνειαν
40	νοερά	νεαρά	128	Μωυσῇ ἐκ-	Μωσῆς ἐκ-
	ἐντὸς	ἐκτὸς		τέμνοντος	τέμνων
45	ἀνεμαῖοι	ἀνεμοι (ἀναι- μοι)	132	μετριο-	μετριοπαθῶς
				πάθειαν	
49	ἐπίστασιν	ἐπίσπασιν	133	τούτου	τοῦτο
	γυμνή	γυμνή	134	ἡνιόχου	ἡνιόχων
53	οὐδαμοῦ	οὐδαμῶς	135	ἀπονός... ᾧ	ἀπονός . . . ὄς
54	ἀποκρυπτό- μενοι	ἐπικρυπτό- μενοι			
57	κατέλαβε	ἀντελάβετο (ἀντέλαβε)	137	παραχώρη- σιν	παραχώρησιν
58	ὄγκον	οἶκον	139	μετὰ ταύτην	μετὰ ταῦτα
67	φύσιν	φήσιν	140	τελείος	τελείως
	μοχθηρὰν	μοχθηρίαν	144	προκόπτον- τος	προσπίπτον- τος
68	διδοὺς	διδούσῃ			

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§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
144	ἐπλυνεν	πλύνειν	202	ἐξαδιαφορεῖν	ἐξω διαφορεῖν
149	ἐμέτοις	ἐτι αὐτοῖς	203	τὸ ὄρκῳ βεβαιῶσαι	τῷ ὄρκῳ βεβαιώσας
150	καὶ ἐκσπερματιεῖ σπέρμα	ἐκ σπερμάτων εἰς σπέρμα	206	πιστοῦν . . . πιστῶσαι	πιστεῦναι . . . πιστεῦσαι
152	ὀκῶν	ὀσσῶν		ἐαυτοῦ μόνος	ἐαυτοῦ μόνου
155	ἀκράτου ἀμέτρου	ἀκράτῳ ἀμέτρῳ	207	ἰσχυρότατος	εὐχάριστος
157	διορύξεις	θωρήξῃ	209	εὐσεβές	εὐθές
160	οὐκ ἔστι κινήσεως	οὐκ ἐτι αἰκίσεως	211	ἀνιαρῶς	ἀνιανοῖς
162	ὅπως ἢ οὐ. ὀρᾶς	ὅταν ἢ οὐχ ὀρᾶς	215	εὐλογιστεῖτε	εὐλογιστεῖται
163	οὐ χωρήσει	οὐκ ὠνήσει	217	γεννῶντα	γεννῶσαν
164	καὶ ἀπιστίαν	καὶ ἀνελπιστίαν	220	αἰσθήσεως ἐαυτᾶ	αἰσθήσεων ἐαυτὴν
	ἀσφάλειαν καὶ βεβαιότητα	ἀσφαλῇ καὶ βεβαιότατον	226	πάντας	πάντως
174	ἀναγγέλλῃ	ἀναγγέλλωσι	229	διατάσεις ἀφ' ἐκατέρων τῶν τε λογισμῶν	διαστάσεις ἀφ' ἐκάτερά τε τῶν λογισμῶν
178	ἐπιγράφων . . . τὸ δοκεῖν	ἐπιγράφω . . . τῷ δοκεῖν	231	ἀπώλου	πῶλις
180	αὐτὴν μωμησάμενος τὰς ψυχῶν μήτρας	ἐαυτὸν μιμησάμενος τὰ ψυχῶν μέτρα	232	λαλοῦντων λόγου	λαοῦ λαοῦ φωνῇ
181	υἱούς	υἱός	235	ὁσμὴν	φωνήν
183	ὁλνφ ἢ ἔρωτι	ὁλνων ἔρωτι	236	ὁς πῶς πρὸ ἀλληγορίας	ὅπως πρὸς ἀλληγορίαν
184	εὐτρεπές	εὐπρεπές	239	ἐντὸς	ἐνθεν
186	τὸ ὄρων	τῷ ὄραν	242	ἐκκεκρυμμένην θείου χοροῦ	ἐγκεκρυμμένην θείῳ χορῷ
188	τῷ γὰρ ὀφείλεται	τὸ γὰρ ὀφείλεται	243	ὑλῆς	δλῆς
190	μαχομένην	μαχομένους	246	ὁς . . . ἐξ-ετάζεται	ὥς . . . ἐξ-εταξέσθαι
193	κοινωνήσεις	κοινωνήσας	247	δρῶντος	δρῶντες
195	ἀνάξιος εἶ	ἀναξίαις	248	ὀρμῇ πυρὸς	ὀρμῇ πρὸς
199	τρυνᾶσθαι δουλεύειν	τρυνάσθω δουλεύῃ			

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

## VOL. II

### DE CHERUBIM

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
4	ἀνεπάνακτος	ἀνέπακτος	91	ἀ δ' ἄν	ἀς δ'
7	γεγωνὸς	γεγωνὼς	96	καίτοι ταῖς	καὶ τοιαύταις
19	ποιήσας	ποιῆσαι	102	μνήμη	μνήμαι
23	ἐξαχῇ	ἐξ ἀρχῆς	103	μετανάστιν	μετανάστην (-στασιν)
24	ἐπιστάσιαν	ἐπίστασιν	105	πᾶσιν	πᾶσαν
48	ἐπιστήμη	ἐπιστήμης	120	ξένην	κνήν καὶ κνήν
52	μεταβαλ- λούση	μεταβαλ- (λ)ούσης	121	κυρίως	κύριος
59	ἐτύγχανεν	τυγχάνει(-ῆ, -οι)	124	ἐπειδὴ	ἐπὶ δὲ
81	τι	τινὶ		νοῦν ὡς	νοῦν ὡς

### DE SACRIFICIIS ABELIS ET CAINI

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
97	κέκτησαι ... προσάγης ... σαυτοῦ	κέκτεται ... προσάγη ... ἐαυτοῦ	131	ἀφ' οὗ	ὕφ' οὗ

### QUOD DETERIUS POTIORI INSIDIARI SOLEAT

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
6	δηλὼν ὅτι	δηλὼν ὅτι (δηλον- ῶν). So also § 114	77	ἐνεσημήναν- το	ἐσημήναντο
12	ἀφ' ὧν	ὕφ' ὧν	80	πάλιν	πάλαι
42	διεργεῖσθαι	διαιρεῖσθαι et alia	95	ἐπεξεύξαμεν	ὕπεξεύξαμεν
44	ἐπιδεικνύν- ται	ἐπιδεικνύν- τες (-as)	96	ἀπὸ	ἐπὶ
	ψυχῆς νόσους	ψυχᾶς νό- σους (δσ- σος) τε	108	τροφῆς	τροφεῖα
49	κοινῶς	κοινῶν	111	ἀπαθανατί- ζει	ἀπαθανατί- ζεται
51	ἐνδεξαμένη	ἐνδεξαμένη	113	ἔτι	ἐπὶ
58	ἐπὶ	ὑπὸ	119	οὐδὲν	οὐδὲ
61	ἔδοξε	δύξει		αὐτὴν	αὐτῆς
62	εἵπομ' ἄν	εἵπομεν	121	δικαιοσύνη	δικαιοσύνην
	ἀνάξιος	ἀξιος		ταύτης	ταύτη
69	διὰ τὸ	διὰ τοῦ	139	ἐλπίζουσας	ἐλπίζουσα (-ιν)
			154	εἰ τὸ ἔν	εἴτ' οὐν
			161	ἀναγκαῖον	ἀναγκαῖως

# PHILO

## DE POSTERITATE CAINI

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
6	τοῦ ἀπολει- πομένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ	τὸ ἀπολει- πόμενον ἐαυτοῦ	49	μεγέθους ἐνδιαίτημα	μέγεθος διαίτημα
12	ἔχεσθαι	εὔχεσθαι	50	τειχῶν πόλει	τείχη πόλεων
14	ὄντος	οὗτος		κατὰ γῆν	καὶ γῆν
17	πῶς ἔστι	πῶς ἔτι	51	κατασκευά- ζειν ὁ Κάιν	κατασκευά- ζει δ καὶ
19	νομίζει	νομίζεις	52	ἐταῖροι	ἑτεροὶ
20	ἐπιβολὰς ψαῦσαι	ἐπιβουλὰς ψεύσασθαι	53	βουλευθεὶς ἔστι λόγον	βουληθεὶς ἔστιν ἡλόγον
21	ὃς ἀφάντασ- τον τοῦ ὄντος	ὡς ἀφάντασ- τον ὄντως	54	ἀρα τῆς ἀναγκάζουσι	ἀρετῆς ἀνακράζουσι
22	χώραν ᾧρα ἐπήσθηται ταλαντεύ- ουσα	καλίαν ᾧρας ἐπήρτηται θαλαττεύ- ουσα	56	ἀποτίκτουσι τὸν	ἀποτίκτου- σιν αὐτὸν
24	ἀναπαύσει σε παρὰ	ἀναπαύσεις περὶ	60	Τάνιν φυσικώτατον	τὰ νῦν φυσικώτα- τοις
25	τῶν αὐτῶν μηδενὸς περὶ αὐτὰ	τῶν ἀστῶν μηδὲν ὡς περὶ αὐτὰς	62	διαφερόντων Τάνεως	διαφερόντως τοῖς νεωστὶ
30	τοικίως	τοπικῶς	66	ἀγειρομένας	ἐγειρομένας
33	τίνα	τί	67	εὐχόμενος εἰσελεύσεται	ἐχόμενος ἐξελεύσεται
34	ἀνοσίου εἰσηγησά- μενοι	. . . οῦσι ἡγησάμενοι	68	προστάτης ἐαθὲν αὐτό	πρὸς τὰς ἐσθὲν ἐαυτή
35	τίς φασὶ	τί φησὶ	70	ἐπιτυχόντα ἅμα	ἀποτυχόντα ἅλλα
36	ἀδιεξίτητος	διεξιόντος	72	τῶν τὸν . . .	τούτων . . .
37	κερασάμενος	κερασάμε- νοις		ἀπολα- χόντων	ἀπολα- χόντα
38	καλῶ	καλῶς	73	πάθος ἄλο- γον	πάθους ἄλο- γος
41	εἶπον ἄλλων	εἶπε ἄλλων	77	Μωυσῇ	Μωυσῆς
42	ἐπιγρά- φοντες	ἀναγρά- φοντες	79	εὐθίκτους ἐπιβολὰς	εὐθήκτους ἐπιβουλὰς
47	πολυτρόπου	πολυτρόφου	81	τὰ διάφορα ἐξαδια- φορεῖν	εὐδιαφορᾶ ἀδιάφορος ῶν
48	καρτερᾶς	καρτερίας	83	ἐπιβουλαῖς ἀνακυκλεῖν	ἐπιβουλαῖς ἀνακυκλεῖν

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
90	ἐκείνῳ ἀνεπιστή- μονες	ἐκάστω ἀνεπιστή- μονι	110	καταλέγε- σθαι συστέλλων	κατάγεσθαι διαστέλλων
91	αὐτοῦ	αὐτῶν	112	ἔτι δ'	ὅτι δ'
93	μεταλλοίων	μεταποιῶν	114	κτησάμενοι	στησάμενοι
94	τοσοῦτον δέ . . . ἐπι- τρέπειν	τοσοῦτων δεῖν . . . ἐπιτρέπει	116	ἀκριβῶς τού- των ἕκα- στον	ἀφθόνως οὓς ἕκαστος
95	ἐνὸς ἐν ἀντι- καταλλάτ- τεσθαι	ἐνὶ ἕνατι καταλλάτ- τειν	117	σκοπῶν κτήσεως	σκοποῦ κτίσεως
98	ποιμένων	ποιμνίων	119	οὐδενὸς ἄλ- λου ἀλλὰ νοημά- των	οὐδενὸς ἄλλα ἀλλ' ὀνομά- των
99	ὑπὸ τῶν	ὑπὲρ τῶν	120	λάχωσι ψυχῆς	λάβωσι ψυχῇ
100	φησι ἐπαμφοτερί- ζειν	φασι ἐπαμφοτερί- ζει	121	ἐπελάθετο μένηται	ἐπελάθου μένηται
101	παρέρχεσθαι  ἀστείως καὶ αὐστηρῶς	περιέρχε- σθαι  ἀστείω καὶ αὐστηρῶ	122	σοφία πια- νόμενοι	σοφίας πε- παιδευμένοι
104	τῶν κύκλων διαχομένην τὴν ἀκοὴν φύσις	τὸν κύκλον διαχομένης τῆς ἀκοῆς φωνῇ	130	βάθους ἀξιοῖ	πάθους ἀξιον
105	ὅσα φθαρτὸν γένους ὧ τέτιμη- ται	ὅσως ἀφθαρτον γένος ὧς τέτιμη- ται	135	ἐπομβρήσει	ἐτι ὁμβρήσει
106	κλάσει ταῖς ἐπαλλή- λοις . . . μεταβολαῖς	κλάσιν τῇ ἐπαλλή- λοις μετα- βολῇ	136	πηγὴν πλῆ- σαι σπουδαίου	γῆν ἀντλή- σαι σπουδαῖον
107	ἐμμελὲς πληχθεῖς	εὐμελὲς πλεχθεῖς	137	τοῖς παιδεύ- μασι τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις τῆς αἰσθή- σεως	τοὺς παιδεύ- μασι καὶ ἐγκυκλίους τῶν αἰσθή- σεως
108	συνωδὸς τις  τέκνοις	συνωδὸς ἐστιν τέχναις	142	ἐν ἐτέροις ἐτέρων	ἐν ἐτέρῳ ἐταίρων
109	οὐδὲ τὰς τυ- χούσας	οὐδὲ τυχῆς	145	κορεσθέντας ἐξυβρίσαι	κορεσθὲν ἐξ- ύβρισε
			148	ἀπόλαυσιν ποτίσασα	ἀνάπαυσιν ποταμός
			150	τῶν ἀ χρη-	τὴ χρη-
			151	προχέασα	προσχέασα
			156	ἐπαγόμεναι	ἐλαυνόμεναι

## PHILO

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
159	ἀ γε	ἀλλά γε	169	ἐξανέστησε	ἐξανέστησας
161	ιεράκων	δορκάδων	171	ζῶων	ζωήν
162	τῶν δὲ ὑπερ- βάλλουσιν	τὴν δὲ ὑπερ- βάλλου- σαν	173	Σῆμ. εἰς	ἡμεῖς
163	μέρους	μέρος	174	ἐπιδόσεις	ἐπιτάσεις
	ἰδρυθείη	ἰδρυνθῆναι	176	κατακλύσαι	καταλύσαι
164	λόγῳ	λόγων	178	τροπὴν	τροφὴν
	καταλέσαν- τας	καταλύσαν- τας	179	χλεύην	χλόην
165	τυφογερόν- των	τύφων ἐρών- των	181	οὐκοῦν	οὐκ ἂν
169	εὐθυωρίαν	εὐθὺ θεωρίαν		ὠφέληθῆς	ὠφέλησαι
	οὐσίαν	ιδέαν		ἐθῶν	ἐθνῶν
	αὐτῷ	αὐτοῖς		ἐκχείς	ἐχεις
			183	καταπαύσας	κατακαύσας
			185	καταλύσαι	καταγήσαι
				σχήσει	σχήσειν

## DE GIGANTIBUS

§	TEXT	MSS.
26	γνωρίμων	γνώριμον (-ω)

## VOL. III

### QUOD DEUS IMMUTABILIS SIT

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
49	χρησόμενον	χρησάμενον	121	εισάγειν	εισάγει
62	οὐδ'	οὐτ'	150	ὅσοις	ὅσα
66	τῆς ψυχῆς	τῇ ψυχῇ	162	προτίωσαν	προσίτωσαν (προσιέτω- σαν)
85	πρὸς	περὶ			
104	ἡξιωμένον	ἡξιώμεναι			

(Delete footnote on p. 56 "<sup>1</sup> MSS. ἰδίον.")

## DE AGRICULTURA

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
4	τὸ μὴ . . . εἶναι	τῷ μὴ . . . εἶναι	34	ἐξώκειλαν	ἐξοκείλουσι et alia
30	ἐξαχῇ	ἐξ ἀρχῆς	41	προτιμῶσιν	περιποιοῦσιν (-ειεν, -ήσειν)

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
43	τὰ αὐτὰ	τὰ δυνατὰ	156	ἔρχεται	εὐχεται
71	τέχνης	τέχνη	157	προκοπὰς	προτροπὰς
78	ἄλλων	ἄλων	158	ἐλπίζει	ἐλπίζεται
96	παντελοῦς	παντελῶς		ἐπιμελὲς	ἐπιμελῶς
97	κραταιοτά- της	κραταιοτέρας	159	μελετώντων	μελετῶν
106	τὰς τῆς	τὰ τῆς		ἢ δυσμενῆς	ἢ δυσμενεῖς
109	πάθους	πάθος		αὐτοῖς	αὐτοῦς
113	τούτων ἀγώ- νων ἄθλα	τούτων ἀ- θλων (?)	161	ἐπιστήμης	ἐπιστήμην (-η)
	ἢ ὁ κατα- παλάσας	εἰ καταπα- λάσας	162	τοῦ μὲν οὖν	τοῦτο μὲν
	ἢ ὁ . . .	ἢ δν (οἶον)		ἑαυτοῦ	ἑαυτῶν
	δυνάμενος	. . . δυνά- μενος		ἐπισταμένου	ἐπισταμέ- νους
120	περίεισιν	περίασα		ἐπιπροσθεῖ	ἐπιπροσθεν
122	συνορθιάζη- ται	συνορθιάζη		σκότος	εἰκότως
	διδασκαλι- κώτατον	διδασκαλι- κώτερον		τοῦ . . .	τὸ . . . φέγγος
123	ῶ	δ		φέγγους	
129	θαυμάζετε	θαυμάζειν	164	τὸν τῆς ἐπι- στήμης	τὸν τ' ἐπι- στήμης
	αὐ	οὐ	165	διότι	δι' δν (ὦν)
138	γεωμέτραι	γεωμετρία	167	φθειρομένοις	συμφθειρο- μένοις
141	ἔτι δ'	εἰ δ'	171	ἀργαλεώτα- τον	ἀργαλεωτά- των
	ἐλάττω	ἐλαττον		φύσιν	φησιν
142	προσηνῇ	πεινῇ (πεῖ- ναν)	176	αἰφνίδιον	αἰφνιδίως
143	τιμῇ	τιμῇ	178	ἐνδιατρίψαι	διατρίψαι
			179	τὰς τῆς	τὸ τῆς
			181	τῶν ἄκρας	τὰς ἄκρας

## DE PLANTATIONE

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
3	δέος	δέον (δὲ)	65	τῷ . . . κάλλει	τοῦ . . . κάλ- λους
4	ιδρύσθαι	ιδρύσασθαι	75	πλάτει	πλάτους
14	οὐ ταῖς	οὔσαις	83	οὐδ' ἐν νῷ	οὐδὲ νῷ
24	κούφον	κούφος	93	τε καὶ τέλος	τινα κάλλισ- τον λαμ- βάνεσθαι
42	ἀμετόχων	μετόχων		ὑπολαμβάν- εσθαι	
61	ἀποσεμνύ- ων μὲν	ἀποσεμνυό- μενον			



# PHILO

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
102	ἀφθονον τοῖς	ἀφθόνως (ἀφθονον)	159	κεκλασμένοι	κεχαλασ- μένοι
133	παντοδαπὰς	(ἀ)παντα ποιούσα	160	τὸν ἀκρατον	τὸ ἀκρατον
135	τράπηται	τραπή	165	ἡρτημένος	ἡρτημένον
138	τούτῳ	τοῦτο	169	ὧ παίζειν	ὃς (οὗς) παί- ζειν
141	ἐξερευνή- σωμεν	ἐξερευνή- σομεν		ὧ . . .	οὐ (οὐ) . . .
150	ὅτι ὁμωνυμία	τὴν ὁμωνυ- μίαν		παρώκη- σεν	παρώκη- σεν
155	οἰνώσεως	γνώσεως	171	κακῶ δέ	κακὰ δέ
			176	ἀλλ' οὖν	ἀρ' οὖν

## DE EBRIETATE

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
6	ἀπαμπί- σχουσα	ἀπαν πιούση <i>et alia</i>	115	συντίθεντα	συντεθέντα
7	ἐπαμπί- σχεται	ἐπαμπίσεται <i>et alia</i>	120	δ παρέδωκε	ἀ παρέδωκε
38	παγίως	πλαγίως	143	φυρούσης . . .	φυρούσας . . .
58	εἰκότως	εἰκός		συγχεού- σης	συγχεού- σας
70	τοῦ φιλαρέ- του καὶ θείου	τῷ φιλαρέτῳ καὶ θείῳ	192	τούτων δὴ	τούτων ἤδη
71	πάντως	πάντων	193	προπιστεύ- ειν	προσπιστεύ- ειν
73	μόνου	νόμου	203	συναινέσεως	συνέσεως
76	ἄγων	ἄγων (ἀγῶνα)	218	ἀνθίμου	ἀναίμου
80	οὔτοι τοίνυν	οὔτοι νῦν (οὐ τοίνυν)	221	τὰς ἀμύσταις	τοὺς ἀμύ- σταις
95	θρῆνον αὐτοῖς	θρῆνον αὐτῶν	222	μαϊμάζει	μαρμάζει (wrongly given in footnote)
			223	ἀκράτορος	ἀκρότητος (-α)

(Delete on p. 412 footnote " <sup>1</sup> MSS. παρὰ. ")

## DE SOBRIETATE

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
1	περίεστι	περιέσται	8	πανσαμένον	πανσαμένω
6	ὀφείλοντα	ὀφειλόμενα		... ἐκείνου	... ἐκείνω

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
11	οὐκοῦν τέκνα	οὐκοῦν τε	29	χρόνου . . .	χρόνω . . .
12	κάλλους ἀτε- λέστερα	καλῶν ἀτε- λέστερα		εὐρηγται	εὐρηται
23	ἐπαγωγό- τατα	ἀγάγοτα <i>et alia</i>	30	αὐτοῦ	αὐτά
28	ὀνόματι	ὄνομα τῷ	36	γεωργικά	γεωργεῖ καὶ
			40	εὐσεβείας	εὐσεβειαν
			57	ἀφειμένος	ἀφιέμενος
			61	ὑγεία	ὑγείαις

## VOL. IV

### DE CONFUSIONE LINGUARUM

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
22	αὐτῇ νηὶ	αὐτὴν ἡ	126	δεκάζεσθαι	δεκ(δικ)- άσασθαι
34	ἀδοκίμων ἀψευδῶς	δοκίμων ἀψευδῶν	134	προσιέναι . . .	προσεῖναι . . .
54	ψυχῇ	ψυχῆς		ἀπιέναι	ἀπεῖναι
58	ποιήσωμεν καὶ ἀκου- σάμεθα	ποιήσομεν καὶ ἀκου- σάμεθα	138	ὦδε στὰς	ὁ δὲ στὰς
65	οὐκ ἄνοια δεινὴ	οἷα δεῖν ἡ (οὐ δεινόν)	141	δεκάζεσθαι εὐθήθῃ	δικάζεσθαι εὐθῇ
66	καταπεπον- τωμένης	καταπεπον- τωμένος (-ην)	151	κατασκή- πτουσι	κατα(ε)σκευ- άκασι
67	ἀφορμὴ	ἀφροσύνη	158	πρὸς τῷ	πρὸς τὸ
78	ξένην	ξένον	162	λόγους	λόγων
118	ἀπὸ τούτων καρπωσάμε- νοι	ἀπ' αὐτῶν καρπωσαμέ- νους (-οις)	165	ἐπανατάσεως	ἐπαναστά- σεως
119	τιμωρίαι	τέχναι	176	ἐναντίας	ἐναντίαις (-α)
			181	μόνον ὡς	μόνως
				ἔλεως	ἔλεω
			195	σύγχυσιν	χύσιν
			196	τὴν κακίας	τῆς κακίας

### DE MIGRATIONE ABRAHAMI

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
15	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοὺς	59	ἐν πεφυρ- μένῳ	ἐμπεφυρ- μένῳ
46	τὰ . . . μοίρας λαχόντα	τὰς . . . μοίρας λαχόντα			(ἐμπεφορη- μένῳ)

# PHILO

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
64	ἐν πᾶσι	ἐπὶ πᾶσι	151	ἀπελείπομεν	ἀπολείπομεν
89	καὶ ταμείας	καὶ ταμίας (κατὰ μιᾶς)			(-ομένων, -ομένην)
90	ἐαυτῆς	ἐαυτῇ (-οὺς)	155	συνίησι	σύνεισι
108	δοξαζόμενον	διδασκόμενον	167	γε	τε
142	δόντι	ιδόντι		ἔργων	ἔργον
150	ἐπὶ	ὑπὸ	215	εὐεργέστατον	εὐεργέστατον
			224	λαθεῖν	παθεῖν

## QUIS RERUM DIVINARUM HERES

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
21	τὸν . . . νομοθέτην	τὸ (τὸν) . . . νομοθέτημα	113	λήψεσθε	λήψεσθαι
23	τῶν ὅλων δεσμός	τῶν ὅλων δεσμῶν (δεσπότης)	142	ἀκριβῶς ἂν	αγριαν
34	ἀνεγεῖρον	ἀνεγείρων (-ω)	143	γενητὸν	ηττον, ἕσον
71	μὴ πρὸς	τὰ πρὸς	161	ἐχθίστης	εχθιστου (αἰσχίστης)
79	καὶ τὰς οὐρανοῦ περιόδους, πεπαίδευται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ	Omitted by Codices. Pap. καὶ τας οὐρας δους πε- παίδευτοι . . . το	193	μοίραν	μοίρας
			201	διακρίναντος	διακρίναντος
				ἐνδεξάμενοι	ἐκδεξάμενοι
			249	εἰ δὴ	εἰ δε (ἐπειδὴ)
			251	ιερώων	ιερέων

## DE CONGRESSU ERUDITIONIS GRATIA

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
119	ἐργάσεσθαι	ἐργάσασθαι	170	ἡ οὐ· καὶ ἐκάκωσε	ἡ οὐκ ἐκάκωσε

(In § 87 correct in text and footnote κακίας to κακιῶν.)

# SUPPLEMENT TO TEXTUAL FOOTNOTES

## VOL. V

### DE FUGA ET INVENTIONE

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
15	ἡ . . . ἀλ- λότριοι	καὶ . . . ἀλ- λότριοι	140	τὸ τοῦ	τούτου (τοῦ)
25	πολὺν	πολὺ	148	τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν	τῷ (τὸ) ἐν ἡμῖν
91	ἀποβαλοῦ- σης	ἀποβαλλοῦ- σης	181	μὴν περὶ	μὲν περὶ
92	διοικήσαντος	διοικήσαντος	191	παθεῖν	ἀπαθεῖν (ἀ παθεῖν)

### DE MUTATIONE NOMINUM

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
8	τῷ θνητῶν . . . γενεῖ	τῷ θνητῷ γένει	173	τιθασεύοντα	τιθασεύ- οντα
17	ἐφάντα- σιώθη	ἐφάντα- σιάσθη	174	τὸν μυελὸν	τῶν μυελῶν
53	συντάξεσι	πράξεσι	217	χρήσεσθαι	χρησασθαι
56	πλήξειε	πλήξει	221	ἀποφανεῖ	ἀποφαίνει
63	πάν	πάντα	230	ἐστί	ἐσται
73	οὐδὲ	οὐδὲν	248	τῶν δὲ πτη- νῶν τὸ μὲν	τῶν δὲ πτη- νῶν τὰ μὲν
113	αὐτὰς	αὐτὰ	257	σοφιστὴν	σοφιστῇ
			260	αὐτομάτων	αὐτομαθῶν

### DE SOMNIIS, I

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
82	λαμπρότη- τας ἔτι	λαμπρότητι (-τος)	131	ναρκήσειε	ναρκήσει (-οι)

### DE SOMNIIS, II

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
25	ἐξευρῶν	ἐξεύρον	62	στεφανοῦ- σθαι . . .	στεφανοῦσι ... ἀξιούσι
49	ἐδωδὴν . . . γῆτεια	ἐπωδὴν . . . γοητεία		ἀξίωσι	
49	ἀνθρώπων	ἀνθρωπος	65	μεταδιώ- κοντα	μεταδιώ- κοντες
53	βάπτειν	ράπτειν			
61	ἀφθονόν	ἀφθόνων	100	βασιλεύσεις	βασιλεύσῃς

# PHILO

§	TEXT	MSS.	§	TEXT	MSS.
139	συντενοῦσι	συντείνουσι	194	ψευδὲς	ψευδῶς (Tr. ψεύδος)
147	ἀρχέτυπον	ἀρχετύπων	203	εἰς αὐτὸ	ταυτὸ
149	κελεύση	κελεύσει	206	θεασόμεθα	θεασώμεθα
154	ἀναρχία . . .	ἀναρχίαν . . .	211	ἀπολαύει	ἀπολαύειν
	ἀρχή	ἀρχήν	223	αὐτίκα γε	αὐτίκα δὲ
158	κανῶν	κανὸν (Trin. ικανὸν)	250	ὀξυδορκούση	ὀξυδορκούσι
169	ὅτι καὶ	ὅτι καὶ	258	διοικίσας	διοικήσας
172	εὐσκόπως	εὐσκόποις	259	ἀναίμοις	ἀνέμοις
181	τῷ θάτερον	τὸ θάτερον	260	ἐγγίνεται	ἐγγενεῖται
	εὐφροσύνην	εὐφροσύνης		κολῶν	κωλύων
184	εὐνοῦχος εἰμι	εὐνοῦχος εἰ μὴ	278	ὑπὲρ ἡδονῆς	ἄπερ ἡδονῆς
			279	ἐπιτιθέμενος	ἐπιθέμενος